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ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT,

AND THE EMERGENCIES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

UNDER

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY I.

WITH

LARGE APPENDIXES, CONTAINING ORIGINAL PAPERS,
RECORDS, &c.

One generation shall praise thy works unto another, and declare thy power.—The memorial of thine abundant kindness shall be shewed; and men shall sing of thy righteousness.

Psalm cxlv. 4, 7.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. II. PART I.

OXFORD,
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HISTORICAL MEMORIALS,

CHIEFLY ECCLESIASTICAL,

AND SUCH AS CONCERN

RELIGION,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT,

AND THE PROGRESS MADE THEREIN,

UNDER THE REIGN AND INFLUENCE

OF

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

CONTAINING ALSO

MANY NEW DISCOVERIES OF THE LIFE, ACTS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THAT PRINCE.

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MEMORIALS

OF MATTERS WORTHY REMARK

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL

IN THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD VI.

MEMORIALS 1

OF MATTERS WORTHY REMARK

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL

IN THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD VI.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The birth and christening of Prince Edward. Queen Jane his mother's death and burial. The young Prince's education.

THE incomparable Prince Edward (the subject of our ensuing history) was born on the 12th day of October, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of his father, King Henry VIII. at Hampton Court; and christened on the Monday following, being the 15th of the said month, at the chapel there. And an heir male being now happily given to the realm, after so many a long year's expectation, the christening was performed with the greater solemnity. Which, since our historians are silent in, I shall set down at length. The infant Prince was brought forth from his own lodgings, and conveyed through the council chamber into the gallery, leading through the King's great chamber, and so through the hall, and the second court into the gallery, that went into the chapel; torches all the way borne by the King's and other noblemen's servants; the way fenced with barriers (where no walls were) and richly hung, and underfoot strewed thick with rushes. At the chapel 2

Anno 1537.
Prince Edward born;

And christened.
Ex Offic. Armor. i. 14.
The solemn manner thereof.

Anno 1537.

door was a large porch made, covered with rich cloth of gold, and double hanged with rich arras, the floor boarded and covered with carpets. All the body of the chancel hung also with rich arras; wherein was set a font of silver and gilt, upon a mount or stage four degrees in height, eight square in compass, enclosed with double barriers made of timber, with two or three entrances, one to come in, another to pass to the traverse, a third to the altar. The said barriers were covered with red say, and tacked with small latin nails. The steps of the said mount were covered with carpets; and the barriers hanged with cloth of gold, or arras. Over the font a rich canopy. On the south side, a little from the mount, was prepared a traverse of damask sarcenet, or satin, for making ready the Prince to the christening; the same traverse underfoot was covered with carpets or cushions; and therein a firepan of coals with a good perfume; and basins and chavers of silver and gilt, with water (whereof the sayes surely taken) to wash the Prince, if need were. And all that time of the Prince's opening, the Bishops and godfathers (saving the lady godmother) remained under the canopy, there abiding the coming of the Prince. The choir hung on both sides with arras, and the high altar garnished sumptuously with stuff and plate. On the south side of the altar a traverse of cloth of gold, covered underfoot with carpets, and furnished with cushions; and likewise the space between the font and the altar spread with carpets.

Gentlemen Ushers kept the door of the porch, the chapel door, the entrances of the barriers about the font, and the traverse, with Yeomen Ushers to assist them. Sir John Russel, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Nicolas Carew, and Sir Anthony Brown, in aprons and towels, took the charge of the font, and kept the same, till they were discharged thereof by the Lord Steward, or Treasurer of the King's house in his absence. Other Gentlemen Ushers kept the choir door, and the traverse next the altar. The Sergeant of the ewry was ready at the nursery door, to deliver the basins, cup of assay, and towels, and to give his attendance at the chapel

Anno 1537.

to receive the same after the christening was done. The Sergeant of the chandlery was ready at the same chamber door to deliver the tapers. The Sergeant of the pantry to deliver the salt: and they to be ready at the chapel to receive them again. The Sergeants of the trumpets, with all the company of that office, were ready with their trumpets, and stood and sounded as they were appointed by the Lord Chamberlain. Garter Principal King of Arms, and all the other kings and officers at arms, gave their attendance with their coats of arms. Also the Dean of the chapel and the choir gave their attendance to such service as to them appertained. The Sergeant of the vestry prepared the font, and all things that to his office belonged. The Lord Marshal of England had his servants there, with tipstaves to execute their office. The Knight Marshal and his men gave their attendance, to do as the Lord Steward, or, in his absence, as the Treasurer and Comptroller of the King's household should appoint. And all officers of the household were there, to do their respective services.

Moreover, all estates, knights, and gentlemen, had warnings, by the King's letters, to make their repair to the Court, to do the service that to them should be appointed, whose names shall be set down hereafter. The like warn- 3 ings had all Sergeants at Arms; and such of the King's Chaplains as were thought meet to do service at that time.

The order of going from the Prince's lodgings to the christening was thus: first, all gentlemen, esquires, and knights, went two and two, every of them bearing a torch in his hand, not lighted, till the Prince was baptized. After them the children and ministers of the King's chapel, together with the Dean, in their surplices and copes, going outward. Next them the King's Council, with the great Lords spiritual and temporal. Next them, the Comptroller and Treasurer of the household. Then the Queen's Chamberlain, the King's Chamberlain, and the Lord High Chamberlain of England in the midst. Next, ambassadors, and with them personages meet to accompany them. Then were carried a pair of covered basins, and a towel there-

Anno 1537.

upon, with a cup of assay borne by the Earl of Sussex, supported by another Lord. Next after, a taper of virgin's wax, borne by the Earl of Wiltshire, with a towel about his neck. After that, a salt of gold, richly garnished with pearl and stone, borne by the Earl of Essex, with a towel about his neck. The chrysom, richly garnished, borne by the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, who, for her tender age, was carried by the Viscount Beauchamp, assisted by the Lord Morley. The Prince himself was carried by the Lady Marchioness of Exeter, assisted by the Duke of Suffolk, and the Lord Marquis her husband. The train of the Prince's robe was borne by the Earl of Arundel, and sustained by the Lord William Howard. The nurse went equally with him that supported the train, and with her the midwife. A rich canopy was borne over the Prince by Sir Edward Nevyl, Sir John Wallop, Mr. Richard Long, Mr. Thomas Seimer, Mr. Henry Knyvet, and Mr. Radcliff, Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber. Torches of virgin wax were borne about the canopy by Sir Humfrey Foster, Robert Tyrwit, George Harper, and Richard Southwel. Next after the canopy went the Lady Mary, the King's daughter, appointed for the lady godmother. Her train was borne by the Lady Kingston. After the Lady Mary all other ladies of honour, and gentlewomen, in order after their degrees.

The Prince's name proclaimed by Garter.

When the Prince was christened, all the torches were lighted, and Garter Principal King at Arms proclaimed his name in this form following; *God of his infinite grace and goodness give and grant good life and long to the right high, excellent and noble Prince, Prince* EDWARD, *Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, most dear and most entirely beloved son to our most dread and gracious Lord, King Henry VIII. Large, Large.*

This being performed, the service following was done, while the Prince was making ready in the traverse. *Te Deum* was sung. Then first to the Lady Mary the Lord Williams gave the towel, the Lord Fitzwater bare the covered basins, and the Lord Mountague uncovered them.

Anno 1537.

To the Bishop that did administer, the Lord Butler bare the towel, the Lord Bray the basins, and the Lord Delaware uncovered them. To the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk, godfathers to the Prince, the Lord Stourton bore the towel, and the Lord Wentworth gave the water. *Item*, For the serving the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth with spices, wafers, and wine, the Lord Hastings bore the cup to the Lady Mary, and the Lord Delaware another cup to the Lady Elizabeth. The Lord 4 Dacre of the South bare the spice-plates to them both, the Lord Cobham the wafers, and the Lord Mountague uncovered the spice-plates. The Bishop that administered was served with spice, wine, and wafers, by three of the ancient knights appointed by the Lord Chamberlain. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, godfathers at the font, and the Duke of Suffolk, godfather at the confirmation, were served with like spices, wafers, and wine, by three knights, also by the Lord Chamberlain appointed. All other estates and gentlemen within the Church and Court were served with spice and hippocrass; and all others with bread and sweet wine.

The Prince going home, the ceremonies used.

This being done, the going home with the Prince was in the same manner as the coming out was, saving that the taper, the salt, and the basins were there delivered. The gifts that were given by the gossips were carried in order: a cope of gold, given by the Lady Mary, was carried by the Earl of Essex: three great bowls and two great pots, silver and gilt, given by the Archbishop, were carried by the Earl of Sussex: the same gifts with those of the Archbishop's were carried next by the Earl of Wiltshire: the two great flagons, and two great pots, silver and gilt, given by the Duke of Suffolk, were carried by the Viscount Beauchamp. The Lady Elizabeth went with the Lady Mary, her sister, and the Lady Herbert of Troy bore her train. After the King at Arms had proclaimed the name of the Prince, the trumpets set in the utter court within the gate continually sounded, till the Prince was brought into the Queen's chamber. And all other minstrels stood with the trumpets to do their office when they should be called. At the going of the Prince the chapel sang the service, and performed the ceremonies belonging, all the way. And this, at length, was the splendid procession of our young Prince's baptism.

The estates and gentlemen present.

To which I will add the names of all the estates and gentlemen summoned to be present, and give their attendance at the said baptism.

- The Lord Chancellor
- The Duke of Norfolk
- The Duke of Suffolk
- The Marquis of Exeter
- The Lord Privy Seal
- The Earls of
    - Arundel
    - Oxon
    - Essex
    - Wilts
    - Sussex
- Viscount Beauchamp
- The Lords
    - Admiral
    - Delaware
    - Sands
    - Bray
    - Mountague
    - Waintworth
    - Stourton
    - Hungerford of Hetchbury
    - Cobham
    - Dacres of the South
    - William Howard
    - Mountjoy
    - Fitzwater
    - Hastings
    - Butler
    - Morley
- The Archbishop of Canterbury
- The Bishops of
    - London
    - Lincoln
    - Rochester
    - Chichester
    - St. Asaph
    - Carlile
- The Abbots of
    - Westminster
    - St. Albans
    - Waltham
    - Towerhil
    - Stratford

Knights and Gentlemen.

- Mr. Hennage
- Sir John Russel
- Sir Francis Brian
- Sir Nicolas Carew
- Sir Thomas Cheyny
- Sir Anthony Brown
- Sir John Wallop
- Richard Long
- Thomas Seymer
- Henry Knyvet
- Peter Meutas
- Sir Humfrey Foster
- George Harper

John Welsborn
Roger Ratclif
Anthony Knyvet
Robert Tyrwhyt
Sir Humfrey Radclif
Sir John St. Johns
Sir Thomas Rotheram
John Williams
Rafe Verney
Sir William Essex
Sir Anth. Hungerford
Sir William Burnden
Sir Walter Stonar
Sir John Brown
Sir John Bourghchier
Sir Edward Bainton
Sir Henry Long
Sir William Kingston
Sir John Bridges
Sir Nicolas Poynts
Sir Walter Denys
Anthony Kingston
Sir John St. Lo
Sir Hugh Poulet
Sir Giles Strangwais
Sir Thomas Arundel
Sir John Horsay
Sir John Rogers
Sir William Poulet
John Powlet
Sir John Gage
Sir William Goryn
Sir Edward Nevyl
Sir John Dudley
Sir William Hault
Sir Edward Wotton
Sir William Kemp
Sir Thomas Poynings
John Norton
Sir Richard Weston
Sir Richard Paige
Sir Giles Capel
Sir John Rainsforth
Sir Thomas Darcy
Sir John St. Leger
Sir John Tyrrel
William Sailiard
Sir Christ. Willoughby
Sir Richard Sands
Sir George Somerset
Sir Arthur Hopton
Sir Anthony Wyngfield
Sir William Drury
Edward Chamberlain
Richard Southwel
Sir Henry Parker
Sir Gryffith Dune
Sir Philip Butler
Sir Robert Peyton
Sir Giles Alyngton
Thomas Meggis
Thomas Wryothesley
Richard Manors.

Churchmen.

The Dean of St. Stephens
The Archdeacon of Richmond
The Deans of
  Exeter
  Windsor
  Sarum
Dr. Bell
Dr. Thurlebe
Dr. Turrit
Mr. Pate
Dr. Wilson
Dr. Skippe
Dr. Day.

Anno 1537.

His mother dies.

But all this joy and splendour soon received a sad check by the death of the Prince's mother, who deceased about twelve o'clock on Wednesday night, the 24th day of the same month of October, that is, twelve days after the Prince's birth; as it is expressly set down in one of the manuscript volumes belonging to the Heralds' Office, where, under the particular date of each day, are shewn the ceremonies done to that Queen's corpse, from her death to her funerals and last interment. What credit is to be given to the aforesaid manuscript book I leave to the readers, especially when in this particular it disagrees with all our common historians, as Fox, Stow, Holingshed, the Lord Herbert, and others, that write she died on Sunday the 14th day of October, two days after her delivery. But I suspect they borrowed one from another: and the first having mistaken might soon draw on the rest, in a matter so easily to be slipt over: for some probability of the truth of this manuscript, in dating the Queen's death ten days later than we commonly find it, it may be considered, that if she had died the 14th day, it is not likely there should have been such a great and splendid Court, such feasting and triumph, such trumpets and music sounding at the christening of her son, the very next day after she was dead, and in the same house where she, the mother, lay a lifeless corpse; nor is it likely, that after the ceremonies were performed at the chapel, that the Prince, with all his procession, should be 6 brought into the Queen's chamber, as he is said to be in the former relation. It is also to be considered, that this date of her death agrees well with the letter of the King's Doctors to the Council, concerning the Queen's declining condition; and that her Confessor had been with her, and was preparing to minister to her the holy unction; which supposes her near the point of death. And this letter was dated on Wednesday, at eight in the morning. On which day of the week, at night, our said manuscript assigns her death. Add also the excessive grief the King took, and the real sadness that seized on all at her death, could not consist with the magnificence of the christening, as was related before, unless she were at that time alive, and that there

Ex Offic. Armor. i. 11.

The true date of her death.

Cott. Libr. Nero c. 10. exemplified in Full. Eccl. Hist. p. 224.

Anno 1537.

were hopes of her. "Whose departure (as that book relates) was as heavy to the King as had been seen or heard "tell of many years; yea, and likewise to all the states of "this realm, and citizens, with the commons, great and "small, as ever was for any Queen."

And if this date of her death be true, it will serve against slanderous Saunders, and other Papists, King Henry VIII's mortal enemies, that labour all they can to bespatter his name and memory; I mean, to disarm them of one instance of his pretended cruelty, in appointing this his son to be cut out of his mother's womb. For if she lived twelve days after her delivery, this will sufficiently confute that spiteful tale.

The grief conceived thereat.

The manuscript goes on in way of diary, beginning at the day of her death, that is, Oct. 24, as it is there stated, *viz.* That immediately the King retired to a solitary place, not to be spoken with, leaving some of his counsellors to take order about her burial. Then she was embowelled, and wax-chandlers and plumbers, and such others, did their office about her: and this was the work of Thursday, October 25. The next day, being Friday 26, was provided in the chamber of presence something in manner of an hearse, with twenty-four tapers standing aloft the majesty, garnished with pensils and other decencies. In the same chamber was an altar provided for mass to be said, richly appareled with black, garnished with the cross, images, censers, and other ornaments. And daily masses said by her Chaplains and others. This done, the corpse was conveyed reverently from the place where she died, under the hearse, covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross set thereupon; lights burning night and day with six torches, and the lights aforesaid upon the altar, all divine service-time. All ladies and gentlewomen put off their rich apparel, doing on them mourning habits, and white kerchiefs hanging over their heads and shoulders: there kneeling about the said hearse all the service-time, in lamentablewise, at *Mass* aforenoon, and at *Dirige* after. There was also a watch nightly, during the time that the corpse lay in

Her burial.

the same chamber: and so continued till the last day of the said month of October.

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On which day, being Wednesday, and the vigil of All Saints, the corpse was removed between three and four of the clock in the afternoon, from the chamber to the chapel, in very great state and solemnity; the chapel coming up with the Bishop of Carlile, her Almoner, who did execute *in pontificalibus*, assisted by the Bishop of Chichester, Dean of the King's chapel, and the Sub-dean; entering into the chamber where the corpse lay; and there doing all such ce- 7 remonies thereto appertaining, as censing, holy water, with *De profundis*. The solemnity in the chapel lasted day by day until the 12th day of November, being Monday, which was the day of removing the corpse towards Windsor: which was done with all the pomp and majesty that could be.

The corpse carried towards Windsor.

The corpse was put in the chair covered with a rich pall; and thereupon the representation of the Queen in her robes of estate, with a rich crown of gold upon her head, all in her hair loose, a sceptre of gold in her right hand, and on her fingers rings set with precious stones, and her neck richly adorned with gold and stones; and under the head a rich pillow of cloth of gold tissue; her shoes of cloth of gold, with hose and smock, and all other ornaments. The said chair drawn with six chariot horses trapped with black velvet: upon every horse four escutcheons of the King's arms and Queen's, beaten in fine gold upon double sarcenet; and upon every horse's forehead a shaffron of the said arms. The Lady Mary, the King's daughter, was chief mourner; assisted on either hand by the Lord Clifford and the Lord Mountague: her horse was trapped in black velvet. These great ladies following, (their horses being trapped in black cloth,) the Lady Frances, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk; the Countesses of Oxford, Rutland, Sussex, Bath, Southampton, and the Lady Margaret Howard: every of their footmen in demi-gowns, bareheaded. Then followed four other chairs with ladies and gentlewomen sitting in them, and other ladies and gentlewomen riding in order after each. On the 13th day she was interred, and the solemnities were finished.

Anno 1537.

The Prince's education.

It redounded much to the praise of King Henry VIII. that he would have his children's minds well cultivated to knowledge and virtue by the best education. And when this royal child was arrived to six years old, great care was taken to enter him now into learning, to qualify him for his high function to fall to him. A great point of which lay upon Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, both as he was his godfather, and the chief overseer of the Church: whose welfare and peace he knew depended so much upon the wisdom and religion of the Prince. And here was a subject fit, by the pains and discretion of able masters, to make a most accomplished man, and an absolute governor. For he was of a most towardly, apt, and good disposition, of a ready wit and great industry, as well as of most beautiful external features. William Thomas, one of the most learned men of these times, and afterwards one of the Clerks of the Council, gave this character of his person and conditions, when he was young, and scarce yet come to the crown: "If ye knew the towardness of that young Prince, your "hearts would melt to hear him named, and your stomach "abhor the malice of them that would him ill: the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, "the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world. "Such a spirit of capacity, learning the things taught him "by his schoolmasters, that it is a wonder to hear say. And, "finally, he hath such a grace of posture and gesture in "gravity, when he comes into a presence, that it should "seem he were already a father, and yet passeth he not the "age of ten years. A thing undoubtedly much rather to be "seen than believed."

His excellent parts.

Thomas's Pilgrim.

8

The Prince's instructors.

We have seen the child; now shew us the persons chosen out for the forming of this excellent piece of matter. And surely they were happily chosen, being both truly learned, sober, wise, and all favourers of the Gospel. Sir Anthony Cook, Knight, famous for his five learned daughters, was

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Epist. Dedic. in Ep. ad Roman.

one of them: to whom the great Doctor Peter Martyr, in an epistle from Zuric, professed, "that ever since he dwelt "in England he bare a singular love to him, and no small "and vulgar affection, as for his piety and learning, so for "that worthy office which he faithfully and with great re"nown executed in the Christian state, in instructing Ed"ward the most holy King, and most worthy to be loved." Another of his masters was Dr. Richard Cox, a very reverend Divine, sometime Moderator of the school of Eaton, afterwards Dean of Christ-church, Oxon, and Chancellor of that University. Who instructed him in Christian manners, as well as other learning. He had also for his teacher of the Latin and Greek tongues, that most accomplished scholar, Sir John Cheke, Knight, once Public Reader of Greek in Cambridge. Divers pretty letters of his writing, in Latin, remain, some in manuscript, and some printed: which being writ when he was very young, shew what notable progress he made. One or two of these I shall insert here for a specimen, and the rather, because never yet printed: the one to the King, his father, and the other to Queen Katharin Par, his mother-in-law. That to the King ran in this tenor:

The Prince's Latin epistle to the King. E Biblioth. C. C. C. C. D. No. 23.

Non misi ad te literas tam sæpe quam vellem, nobilissime Rex et Pater charissime, quia audivi Majestatem tuam perturbari negotiis bellicis contra Regem Franciæ. Etenim ante hoc tempus nolui scribere ad Majestatem tuam, ne ullo tempore impedireris puerilibus illis literis meis. Sed nunc do literas ad Majestatem tuam, cùm propter officium, tum propter amorem erga te meum; denique quia Deus dicit, Honora parentem: *postremò, nè ob ullam causam putares me ingratum. Nullum enim signum, nec ullum aliud tam indicat tibi mentem meam absentis, sed cupientis admodum esse tecum, ac literæ, quæ declarant mentem meam tibi, quum alia signa non declarant. Præterea, rogo Majestatem tuam, ut impertias mihi benedictionem tuam. Deus, qui præbet omni carni cibum, tueatur ac servet Ma-*

jestatem tuam. Vale Rex nobilissime et Pater observandissime. Hunsdoniæ 4to. Maii[a].

CHAP. I.

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[a]Ann. 1546.

Filius observantissimus
Nobilissimo Regi patri meo. *Majestatis tuæ*
Edoardus Princeps.

This which follows seems to have been written the same month and year, to Queen Katharin Par, his dear mother-in-law, whom it appears he used frequently to address with epistles.

His Latin letter to the Queen. Vespasian F. 3.

Fortasse miraberis me tam sæpe ad te scribere, idque tam brevi tempore, Regina nobilissima et Mater charissima, sed eadem ratione potes mirari me erga te officium facere. Hoc autem nunc facio libentiùs, quia est mihi idoneus nuntius servus meus, et ideo non potui non dare ad te 9 *literas ad testificandum studium meum erga te. Optimè valeas, Regina nobilissima. Hunsdoniæ vigesimo quarto Maii.*

Tibi obsequentissimus Filius
Illustrissimæ Reginæ *Majestatis tuæ,*
matri meæ. *Edouardus Princeps.*

He writes in French to his sister.

And as other masters attended on him for other tongues, so one John Belmain for the French: and one of his French letters coming to hand at present, wrote when he was little above nine years old, I will here expose to the view of the reader. Whereby may be seen to what ripeness he had attained in that language also, even in his childhood, and how handsomely he was able to write his mind. And being writ to his sister the Lady Elizabeth, then but three years older, we may collect hence her proficiency, and her staidness too, at those years: taking upon her then to give her brother counsel to ply his learning; and lastly, his good nature, promising to make her exhortation and example a spur to him.

Prince Edward to his sister the Lady Elizabeth.

MSS. D. G. Petyt, Armig.

Puisque vous a pleu me rescrire (treschere et bien ai-

mée Sœur) je vous remercie de bien bon cœur, et non seulement de vostre lettre, mais aussi de vostre bonne exhortation et exemple: laquelle, ainsy que j'espere, me servira d'esperon pour vous suivre en apprenant. Priant Dieu vous avoir en sa garde. De Titenhanger 18 *jour de Decembre, et l'an de nostre Seigneur* 1546.

Vostre Frere,
Edovard Prince.

This, by the date, appears to have been written but the month before his father's death, being now nine years and about two months old. He was now at Titenhanger; where, as also in some other places, in the pleasant healthful country of Hertfordshire, as Hunsdon, Hatfield, and Hertford, as also at Ampthil in Bedfordshire, the Prince, for the most part, held his court, and had his education.

Other letters of the Prince.

There be other epistles of this Prince, that may be found printed in Fox, and in Dr. Fuller's Church History, and others remaining in Sir Simonds D'Ewes' library, *manu sua scriptæ*, and divers others in private hands.

His tutors.

Cook.

His tutors were latewardly much detained at Court; Cook (if I mistake not) being one of the bedchamber, and Cox the King's Chaplain: but Cheke did most constantly reside with him. Yet they supplied their absence by wholesome counsels and instructions conveyed to him by their letters. One from Cox, Dr. Haddon, a Fellow of King's college in Cambridge, brought, in his return home; the Prince being then at Hertford. He delivered it to Cheke, and Cheke to the Prince; into whose presence he introduced the said Haddon: to whom he spake two or three 10 words, *suaviter et perbenignè*, (as Haddon reported to some of his friends,) *after a sweet and very obliging manner;* such was his mild and affable address.

Cox.

Cheke.

His chaplains.

And as he had these learned men for his tutors, of the same endowments were his chaplains: of whom were these two, Giles Aire and Tong, in household with him. The former of whom was afterwards Dean of Chichester, and Prebendary of Winchester and Westminster, and died anno 1551.

CHAP. II.

King Henry's departure. Young King Edward's Governors and Council. He is proclaimed: and comes to the Tower. New commissions to the Justices. The Duke of Somerset Protector. The war with Scotland: and victory obtained.

Anno 1546.

Conferences between the Earl of Hertford and Secretary Paget upon King Henry's death.

WHILE King Henry lay on his deathbed in his palace at Westminster, Sir Edward Seimour, Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget, among others, were at Court; and Paget, being Secretary of State, was much about his person: whom, being a man wise and learned, and well versed in the affairs of state, both by reason of his office and his several embassies abroad, the Earl prudently made choice of for his inward friend and counsellor. By the King's desperate condition, the Earl well perceiving the crown ready to fall upon Prince Edward his nephew's head, before the breath was out of his body, took a walk with Paget in the gallery; where he held some serious conference with him concerning the government. And immediately after the King was departed they met again, the Earl devising with him concerning the high place he was to hold, being the next of kin to the young King. Paget at both meetings freely and at large gave him his advice, for the safe managery of himself, and of the mighty trust likely to be reposed in him: and the Earl then promised him to follow his counsels in all his proceedings, more than any other man's. To his failure in which promises the said Secretary attributed those miseries which afterwards befell the nation and himself; as he plainly told him in one of his letters.

King Henry's funerals.

The King then departed this world on the Friday before Candlemas-day, being the 28th day of January; and was buried in a most magnificent manner, Feb. 15, at Windsor. His corpse remained in his privy chamber five days, covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and an altar set up at his feet, where services, obsequies, and oraisons, were used night and day, with thirty persons of the gentlemen of his privy

BOOK I. Anno 1546. chamber, besides his chaplains, always about him. On Wednesday, Feb. 2, being Candlemas-day, in the night, the royal corpse was removed, with great reverence and ceremony, into the chapel; and there it abode twelve days, 11 with services, masses, and dirges, said daily morning and even. The 14th day the corpse was conducted in all imaginable solemn state from Westminster towards Windsor: resting that night at Sion, and the next day was brought to Windsor. A particular account of all the solemnity of this funeral may be found in a volume in the Heralds' Office; and is transcribed thence into the Repository. Offic. Armor. i. 11. A.

The Earl of Hertford repairs to the Prince.

The same day King Henry expired, the said Earl of Hertford, accompanied with Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse, and a great number of noblemen, with knights pensioners, esquires, and gentlemen, did ride in their best manner, with all speed, to the Court of Prince Edward, to attend upon his Grace there, as on their Sovereign Lord, according to the last will and testament of his said illustrious father: which was, That the true title of the crown of England should appertain, undoubtedly, to his said most dearly beloved son, and right heir apparent, then Prince Edward, now most worthily named, Our Sovereign Lord, &c. and King of England, &c.

The present posture of affairs.

For the precise hour of King Henry's departure, and who they were he entrusted by his last will with the care of the Prince his son, and the public affairs, when the new King was proclaimed; and how the public state of the kingdom at this crisis stood, I had rather the reader should take these things from the pen of a great Peer then at London, I mean Henry Earl of Sussex; who wrote thus to his Countess the last day of January:

The Earl of Sussex to his wife concerning the new King. Titus, B. 2.

"These be to signify unto you, that our late Sovereign "Lord the King departed at Westminster, upon Friday "last, the 28th of this instant January, about two of the "clock in the morning; and the King's Majesty that now "is, proclaimed King this present last day of the same "month. And like as for the departure of the one we may

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" lament, so for the establishment of the other, to all our " comforts, we may rejoice. The names of his executors " are, the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Wriothes- " ley, Lord Chancellor of England; the Lord St. John, " Lord President of the Council, and great Master; the " Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of Hertford, " Lord Great Chamberlain of England; the Viscount Lisle, " Lord Admiral; the Bishop of Durham; Mr. Secretary " Paget; Sir Anthony Denny; Sir Anthony Brown; Sir " William Herbert, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common " Pleas; Bromley, another Justice there; Sir Thomas " [John] Baker, Chancellor of the Tenths; Sir Edward " North, and divers others, aiders to the same, which for lack " of time I pretermit. The Parliament is clearly dissolved; " the term and all writs closed. The Court is now at the " Tower; from whence the King to-morrow shall be received " and conducted to his house, Durham Place. His Highness' " coronation shall be at Shrove-tide, &c. From Ely Place " in Holbourn, the last day of January, in the first year of " the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edward VI.

" Your assured loving husband,

" Henry Sussex."

12 The manner of proclaiming the King in London. Vol. N°. 17. intit. Coronation. In Offic. Armor.

The ceremonies and circumstances that attended the proclaiming of the King were as follow. On Monday, about ten of the clock in the morning, the officers of arms and trumpets assembled in the palace of Westminster: where there was a stage of boards upon hogsheads; and upon it stood Garter, York, Richmond, Somerset, and Rouge Cros, with their coats of arms; and all the trumpeters standing on the ground in a range right before the said officers. And then one of the said trumpets blew three several times. Whereat was a great audience. Then when the Lords were come from the Parliament House to the same place, Somerset Herald gave the audience command to keep silence, and with a loud voice proclaimed these words following:

" Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God King of Eng- " land, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of

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"the Church of England, and also Ireland, in earth su-"preme Head, greeting: Where it hath pleased Almighty "God, on Friday last past in the morning, to call to his "infinite mercy the most excellent, high and mighty "Prince Henry VIII. of most noble and famous memory, "our most dear and entirely beloved father, (whose soul "God pardon.) Forasmuch as we being his only son "and undoubted heir, be now thereby invested and esta-"blished in the throne imperial of this realm, and other his "realms, dominions, and countries, with all regalities, pre-"eminencies, styles, names, titles, and dignities, to the same "belonging or any wise appertaining, We do by these pre-"sents signify unto all our said most loving, faithful, and "obedient subjects, That like as we for our parts shall by "God's great grace shew ourselves a most gracious and be-"nign Sovereign Lord to all our good subjects in their "just and lawful suits and causes; so we mistrust not but "they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, "at all times and in all causes shew themselves unto us, "their natural liege Lord, most faithful and obedient sub-"jects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances. "Whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that "shall tend unto their own preservation and sureties: will-"ing and commanding all men, of all estates, degrees, and "conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be "obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will "answer for the contrary at their extreme perils. In wit-"ness whereof we have caused these our letters patents. "Witness ourself at Westminster, the 31st January, in the "first year of our reign."

Also Clarencieux, Carlyle, Winsor, and Chester, in their coats of arms, with one trumpeter, in places accustomed of the City, having the like commission, sealed with the King's Great Seal, assisted with the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, proclaimed the same in like manner the same morning.

And in the countries.

The King then was proclaimed the 31st day of January. The very next day warrants were hastened from the King to the sheriffs of the several counties, to see him proclaimed in their several sherifwicks. That to the Sheriff of Nottingham and Darby, having come to my hands, it may not be amiss to specify; especially for some variation that may be perceived in the proclamation.

Rex Vicecomiti Nottingham et Derby salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod statim visis præsentibus, in singulis locis infra ballivas tuas, &c. " The King our Sovereign Lord 13
" Edward the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. of " the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the " supreme Head, doth give to understand to all his most " loving, and faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every " of them: that where it hath pleased Almighty God, on " Friday the 28th of January last past in the morning, to call " unto his infinite mercy the most excellent, high and mighty " Prince Henry VIII. of most noble and famous memory, " the King's Majesty's most entirely beloved father, whose " soul God pardon; forasmuch as the King's Majesty now " being his only son and undoubted heir, is now hereby " invested and established in the crown imperial of this " realm, and other his Majesty's realms, dominions, and countries, with all regalities, preeminencies, styles, names, titles, " and dignities to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining: the same our Sovereign Lord doth signify unto all " his said most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that " like as his Majesty for his part shall by God's grace shew " himself a most gracious and benign Sovereign Lord to all " his good subjects, to all their just and lawful suits and " causes: so his Majesty mistrusteth not but they, and " every of them, will again for their parts, at all times and " in all causes, shew themselves unto his Highness, their " natural liege Lord, most loving, faithful, and obedient " subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances. Whereby they shall please God, and do the thing " that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties. " Willing and commanding all men, of all states, degrees, " and conditions, to see the peace kept, and to be subject to " his laws, as they tender his gracious favour, and will an-

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"swer for the contrary at their extreme perils. And God "save the King. *Et hoc sub periculo incumbenti, nullatenus omittas, teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, primo die Febr. anno reg. Edwardi primo.*"

The King comes to the Tower. Vol. i. 7. In Offic. Armor.

On the same day the King was proclaimed in London he was accompanied in goodly order, from his place of Enfield, to the Tower of London; to the which he came about three of the clock in the afternoon. Where all the nobility of the realm were ready to receive him, to their great joy and comfort. At his approaching near to the same was great shooting of ordnance in all places thereabouts, as well from the Tower as from the ships; whereat the King took great pleasure. Being there arrived, he was welcomed by the nobles, and conducted by them to his lodging within the Tower, being richly hung and garnished with rich cloth of arras, and cloth of estate agreeable to such a royal guest. And so were all his nobles lodged and placed, some in the Tower and some in the City. His Council lodged for the most part about his Highness, who every day kept the council chamber for determination of main causes, as well about the interment of the King's father, as for the expedition of his own coronation.

The nobility kiss the King's hand.

The morrow after, being Tuesday, all the Lords aforesaid, and most part of the nobility of the realm, as well spiritual as temporal, there assembled about three of the clock
14 in the afternoon, went into the King's chamber of presence. And after that the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Admiral, and other of the King's executors, had brought the King's Majesty from his privy chamber to his chair of estate prepared in the chamber, his Highness there standing, all the said Lords according to their degrees proceeded in order one after another: and there kneeling kissed his Majesty's hand, saying every one of them, "God save your Grace." And after they had so done, the Lord Chancellor in most eloquent wise declared unto them the effect of the late noble King's last will and testament, with the names of the executors therein contained, being sixteen in number, (which are commonly to be seen in our historians.) Adding,

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The Earl of Hertford accepted governor of the King's person.

that it was condescended and agreed with the whole assent and consent of them all, that the Earl of Hertford should be governor of the young King during his nonage. Whereupon all the said Lords made answer in one voice, That there was none so meet for the same in all the realm as he; and said also, That they were well content withal. Then the Earl gave them hearty thanks, and said, he trusted in God so to use himself, that it should be to their contentation, and required them in general to afford him their aid and help in the right of the realm. Who made answer all in one voice, That they would be ready at all times with all their might and power, both for the defence of the realm and of the King. This ended, they cried all together with a loud voice, "God save the noble King Edward." Then the King's Majesty put off his cap, and said, "We heartily "thank you, my Lords all; and hereafter in all that ye "shall have to do with us for any suit or causes, ye shall "be heartily welcome to us." Then immediately after, all the Lords temporal were warned to repair to the Star-chamber at Westminster, upon the next morrow, to be sworn to the King: and so they were.

The Lords temporal,

And spiritual, sworn to the King.

On Thursday and Friday ensuing were sworn at the same chamber the Lords spiritual; and the Master of the Rolls, with the Clerks of the Chancery, in like manner sworn, to register the testament and last will of the late noble King Henry.

The Protector's prayer.

When this high dignity and trust was devolved upon the Earl of Hertford, he, like a considerate man, began to think well what a weighty and ticklish office lay upon him; and how much wisdom and conduct it required to govern this great people: and therefore, first of all, like a good Christian, solemnly implored the assistance of the King of kings in a very proper devout prayer, (which, I suppose, was his constant form.) Therein professing to God, how holy and sincere his intentions were, and that his endeavours should be to promote the divine glory and the good of God's Church. And for that end beseeching the Almighty to inspire him with all suitable qualifications; to grant him wisdom, and by his counsel to set forth his cause; and to give knowledge to all that should counsel him. And that as God had begun great things by his hand, so to let him be his minister to defend them. By the whole prayer may be perceived his piety and good intentions. See it in the Repository.

B.

Proclamation for claims at the coronation. Offic. Armor. i. 7.

On Friday, February 4, Chester Herald, accompanied with trumpets, proclaimed this proclamation in three several places in London. "Edward the Sixth, &c. Where by the "laws and ancient customs of this realm of England, the 15 "noble Knights and other the King's subjects, by sundry "tenures of their lands and hereditaments, are bounden to "attend upon his Majesty's person royal at the time and "day of his Grace's coronation; to do, exhibit, and minister to his Highness their several services, duties, ministries, and offices; and thereupon to receive of his Majesty such gifts, fees, and rewards, as to several services, "offices, and duties of ancient time hath been accustomed "and appertained; his Majesty Royal by his proclamation signifieth to all his said nobility, and other his "subjects, claiming to do service at his said coronation, "that his Majesty hath by his Highness' commission, appointed, assigned, and authorized his right trusty and "right wellbeloved cousins and counsellors Francis Earl of "Shrewsbury, William Earl of Essex, and John Lord "Viscount Lisle, High Admiral of England; and his "right wellbeloved counsellors Richard Lyster, Kt. Chief "Justice of England, and Edward Mountague, Kt. Chief "Justice of the Common Pleas, [&c.] and eight, or three "of them, to be Commissioners for the receiving and allowance of the said claims. Who shall begin his Majesty's courts for that purpose upon Monday the 8th of "this month of February, within Whitehall of his Majesty's palace."

The King knighted.

On Sunday following, the King was made Knight by the Lord Protector, his uncle. And immediately upon the same his Highness made the Mayor of London, and Justice Portman, Knights.

Upon Monday next after, the King's Commissioners began the Court of Claims and Services in Whitehall.

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Court of Claims.

On Friday, Feb. 11, [10,] the Lord Protector did receive and make oath, before the Lord Chancellor in Westminster Hall, to be a true Treasurer to the King, as of his treasure, and to deliver it truly, when it should be demanded. And also to his power to defend his realm, and to withstand the power of the Bishop of Rome and his laws.

The Lord Protector sworn,

Then Thursday, Feb. 17, that is, the day next after the burial of the late famous King, all the temporal Lords assembled at the Tower of London in their robes of estate; where the aforesaid Earl of Hertford was created Duke of Somerset, together with some other creations.

And created Duke.

One of the first cares of the deceased King's executors, and counsellors to the young King, was to renew commissions to the Justices of peace of the realm; whose former commissions, immediately upon King Henry's death, actually ceased. Which was necessary in the first place to be looked after, that so the course of justice and the order of laws throughout the countries might run as they did before. To these commissions the persons subscribed, who by the late King's will were made the chief administrators of the government, till the King should attain to eighteen years of age. And particularly wholesome politic directions were given to the said Justices, in order to the preserving of peace, righteousness, and good order; and for their meeting in the several hundreds every six weeks, and that no alteration or innovation should be made. The commission to those of the county of Norfolk may deserve to be perused. The original is in the Cotton library. Which transcribed will be found in the Repository.

Commissions to the Justices renewed.

C.

Cott. Library. Titus, B. 2.

King Edward VI. a child, but of admirable hopes, being thus come to the crown, his uncle, created Duke of Somerset, (which honour, they say, was intended him by King Henry,) was (as we heard before) governor of his person. 16
Who in the beginning of this reign grew an exceeding great man, swelling with titles. And this was his style; "The "most noble and victorious Prince Edward, Duke of So-

Seimour, Governor and Protector.

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"merset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord "Seimour, Governor of the person of the King's Majesty, "and Protector of all his realms, his Lieutenant General "of all his armies both by land and by sea, Lord High "Treasurer, and Earl Marshal of England, Governor of "the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the "most noble order of the Garter."

He is the people's favourite.

And because as he was thus great, so he also was a very generous and good man, and a sincere favourer of the Gospel, he was entirely beloved of those that professed it, and for the most part by the populacy; and therefore was commonly called, *The good Duke.* And indeed died the people's martyr.

Gets a great victory over the Scots.

It added still further to his glory and esteem, that he got a complete victory over the Scots in this first year of the King, in the month of September: and it was the more glorious to him, in that the Scots were not only match and equal in force with the Protector's army, but treble, or at least double in number at the first onset, as was reported by strangers. And it was the more glorious still, because it was now given out, that this success would effect or bring on two admirable ends: "the one, the bettering and per"fecting the crown imperial of England, in reconciling the "unnatural and ungodly hatred between two members of "one body, *viz.* England and Scotland; which of right "and office should be as the right hand and the left, in "peace and amity, to resist and withstand the force of all "strange and foreign assaults. And the other, that the "old amity and friendship might be restored between the "two kingdoms, that God by the creation of the world "appointed to be in this one realm and island, divided "from all the world by the impaking of the sea, and by "natural parentage and blood; one in language and "speech, in form and proportion of personage; one in "manners and condition of living. And that the occasion "of all discord and hatred banished, the good Scotish "English man might confess and do the same at home that "he did in foreign countries, calling an English man al-

" ways his countryman, and studious to do him pleasure " before any other nation of the world. The breach of this " divine and natural friendship was the very work of the " Devil by his wicked members, that hath not only taught " Scotland disobedience unto her natural and lawful Prince " and superior power, the King's Majesty of England, but " the contempt of Christ, and his most holy word." As John Hoper, then at Zuric, (afterward bishop and martyr,) spake in his epistle to a book which he dedicated to this Duke soon after this victory.

Declarat. of Christ and his Office.

CHAP. III.

The Protector's declarations and letters before and after the war with Scotland. Sir W. Paget's new-year's-gift to the Protector. King Edward's coronation. His piety.

Anno 1547.

The cause of entering into war with Scotland.

BUT to stay a little at this war with Scotland, which might seem to be hardly reconcileable with good policy, so soon after a young King's access to his crown, to embroil himself in wars with his next neighbours, and that only upon the account of a mistress. Therefore to lay open the merits of this cause somewhat more particularly than our printed histories have done. Before actual entrance into this hostility, the Lord Protector issued out proclamations, " declaring therein to the Scots, the justness of the English " quarrel with them, and offering them all the terms of " peace, in case they would perform what the states of " Scotland had before agreed to, in relation to the marriage with the daughter of Scotland; and assuring them " that they came not with any design to conquer their " country, or make themselves masters over the Scots, to " bring them into any bondage: but that both kingdoms " might live for time to come in perfect love and amity."

The Scotch officers averse to England.

But the Scotch governors and captains withheld these proclamations from their nation, and stifled them for their own particular wealth and interest; not regarding the public good so much as their own private power and authority;

still abusing the people with forgeries and tales concerning the English nation.

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The Lord Protector's letter to Scotland.

As the Lord Protector dealt thus fairly with that nation before the war, so after his victory and return home, he endeavoured by all fair means and messages to pursue the same ends. And indeed a very great number of the Scotish realm, that more impartially considered the benefit of the friendship of England, and the danger of the French, who were sending forces now to Scotland to assist them, came over to the King's side, and were well-willers to him, and aiders of his purpose. There was a very excellent letter exhortatory sent to the Scots by the Lord Protector, in the beginning of February; which was also printed, I suppose, for this end, that it might not be stifled, as his other former letters and proclamations were; but that it might be read of all. Of which notable letter our historians make no mention: herein he wrote, "that it made him to marvel "what fatal chance it was that had so dissevered their "hearts, and made them so unmindful of their own profit, "to heap to themselves most extreme miseries, which the "English, whom they would needs have their enemies, went "about to take away from them. That though they [the "English] were superiors in the field, and masters of a great "part of their realm, and so might expect the Scots should "seek to them, yet such was their charity and brotherly
18 "love, that they would not cease to provoke and call upon "them to their own commodity: and they were content to "cry and call upon them, to have the English rather their "brothers than their enemies, their countrymen than their "conquerors. And this should be a witness before God "and all Christian people between the two nations, that the "English, professing the Gospel of Christ, did not cease to "call and provoke them from the effusion of their own "blood, and the destruction of the realm of Scotland, from "perpetual feud and hatred, and the final eradication of "their nation, and from servitude to foreign nations."

The Protector, in his said letter, shewed "the great bat-"tles that had been fought between the two realms, the in-

" cursions, roads, and spoils made on both parts; how the " realm of Scotland was five times won by one King of " England, and several of the Scotish Kings, some taken " prisoners, some slain, and some for very sorrow dying. " And how notwithstanding both nations were united together in one language, in one island, in like manners, " form, and conditions; so that it was a very unmeet, unnatural, and unchristian thing, that there should be such " mortal wars between them."

And then to incline them to allow the marriage, he proceeded, " that if God should grant whatsoever the Scots " would wish, what could they wish sooner, than that which " now by fortune chanced, that these two kingdoms might " be united under one ruler? And that two successions " could not concur and fall into one by any other means " than by marriage, whereby one blood, one lineage, one " parentage, is made of two, and an indefectible right given " of both to one, without the destruction and abolishing of " other: which, he said, he would have them to think to " come of God's own disposition and providence. And that " the rather, because the two sons of the former King, being in divers places, both died within four and twenty " hours: leaving but one maiden child and princess. " What could any Christian man, that thought the world " governed by God's providence, think otherwise, but that " it was God's pleasure it should be so, that these two " realms should join in marriage, and thereby make a godly " and perpetual unity. He protested, as his proclamations " at the last wars declared also, that it was the King his " master's mind, by his [the Protector's] advice and counsel, " not to conquer, but to have in amity; not to win by force, " but to conciliate by love; not to spoil and kill, but to " save and keep; not to dissever and divorce, but to join " in marriage, from high to low, both the realms; to make " of both one isle and realm, in love, amity, concord, and " charity."

He urged further, " that it could not be denied but they " had the great seal of Scotland granted by the Parliament

Anno 1547. "of Scotland, for the marriage, with assurances and pledges "until the performance, and that in the time of the late "King Henry VIII. And in the time of the same, the "Scotch Governor that now was, [*viz.* the Earl of Arran,] "was a great doer therein: though after, by the Cardinal of "St. Andrew's and others, with certain vain fears and hopes, "and greediness of dignity, perverted, and revolted from "his first agreement: whereby he had put all the realm to "the loss of such holds and fortresses as were lately taken
19 "from them, and to the loss of a foughten field." He said further, "they [the English] offered the Scots, notwithstanding their victory, to leave the name of their nation, "[England,] and to take the indifferent old name [common "to both nations] of Britain again; because nothing shall "be left of the English part unoffered. That they intended "not to disinherit their [the Scotchmen's] Queen, but to "make her offspring heirs and inheritors to England. What "meeter marriage, added he, could be for her, than to "match with the King of England? That they sought not "to take from the Scots their laws nor customs, but to redress their oppressions. That if their Queen were married out of the realm, [*viz.* to the French, who indeed got "her away,] the English title remained; and they would be "subjects to a foreign Prince, of another country and another language, and have the English their enemies, even "at their elbow, and their succours far from them. And "if any foreign prince or power should be their aider, and "send any army, how would they oppress them, fill their "houses, waste their grounds, spend and consume their "victuals, and hold them in subjection, and regard them "but as slaves, and take their Queen to bestow as they listed; and at last leave their realm to be a prey to the "English, and a true conquest?"

And lastly, an invitation was made to those of their nation, "that favoured peace, and that profitable marriage, to "enter and come into England, and to aid the English in "this most godly purpose, and to be witness of their doings; "to whom they would keep promises heretofore declared,

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" and see further recompenced. And, which never yet before was granted to Scotland, in any league betwixt England and Scotland, the King, considering the multitudes " of them which were come to his Majesty's devotion, had, " by the Protector's advice and counsel, granted, that " from henceforth all merchants and other Scotchmen, that " would enter their names with one of the Lieutenants or " Wardens of the Marches, or any of the King's officers " having authority, and there profess to take part with " England, might lawfully, and without any trouble or " vexation, enter into any port or haven of England, and " use their traffic of merchandise, either by land or by sea, " and buy, sell, and bring in the commodities of Scotland; " and take and carry forth the commodities of England, as " freely as Englishmen, and with no other customs or payments than were due by Englishmen." This excellent epistle is preserved in Grafton's Chronicle, and taken thence by Holingshed into his, only leaving out a few words in the conclusion, shewing the date, *viz.* " At London the 5th " of February, in the second year of the reign of the most " noble Prince and our Sovereign Lord Edward VI. by the " grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, King, " Defender of the Faith, and in yearth under Christ the " supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland." The omission of which in the transcriber occasioned Holingshed's mistake in placing this letter under the year 1549. It appears by Bale that this letter was wrote in Latin as well as English; that it might be, I suppose, the more universally read, and the justice of the quarrel, on the side of England, might appear to other countries. The same author would make this letter to be of the Protector's own composing. For he saith, his incomparable wisdom and solid learning might be understood by his learned writings; whereof this he sets down for one, and another letter to the nobility of Scotland he mentions for another, (though I am apt to think in this Bale was mistaken, and that both this and that was but one and the same,) besides some other discourses of his.

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Anno 1547. The Earl of Shrewsbury accompanies the Protector.

The Duke carried a brave army with him, and was attended with a great many of the nobility. And in August, as he passed by York, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, that generous and loyal Peer, and of ancient nobility, and at that time President, if I mistake not, of the North, offered to go forward with him and his army, and to do the King service with his person in that present journey into Scotland. The Duke then told him, that he was loath to put him to more trouble and disquiet than needs must, out of respect to his quality, and that he would reserve him till greater need should require. But being now at Newcastle, Aug. 28, he sent for the said Earl, praying his company, considering sithence, as his letter to him imported, of what moment it would be to have such a nobleman as his Lordship with them, as well to have the charge of some one of the wards of footmen, as to foresee for experience the order of things, which might, God willing, be worthy of memory. That he should therefore put himself in order with his servants, not passing what number he brought of them with him, and to be with him at Barwick by Sept. 6. And the Earl did accordingly accompany the Lord Protector. I do not set down the managery of the battle, because our histories shew us that at large.

King Edward's behaviour upon the victory.

But when the good news of this victory over the Scots came to Court, both by an express messenger, and by letters from the Lord Protector, it is not to be passed without remark, how becomingly the young King took it. For on the 18th of September, being then at his house of Oatlands, he wrote an answer to his uncle with his own hand, importing, "that he had understood the good success it "pleased God to grant, by his courage and wise foresight. "And in the first place (most piously attributing the mercy "to God) he acknowledged himself most bounden to yield "him most hearty thanks, and to seek his true honour by "all the means he might. And secondly, he thanked his "uncle, and prayed him, in his name, to thank most heartily "the Earl of Warwick, and all the other noblemen, gentle-"men, and the rest that served in that journey; and bade "them be well assured, that, God granting him life, he "would shew himself not unmindful of their service, and "would be ready to consider the same as any occasion "should serve."

The Duke's glory;

As the above-mentioned letters and writings shewed the Duke's parts and abilities, so his conduct of the army against Scotland, and his success there, shewed his fortune, and added to his glory. But his greatness exposed him to the envy of the nobility: under which the good man could not long support himself, but fell twice, and the latter time fatally, to the ineffable grief of godly men, and the sore regret of the commons, to whom he was very dear.

And fall.

An ill character of the Duke.

Life of K. Edward, p. 15.

Sir John Hayward, (a writer of King Edward's life,) who was apt to give ill characters, especially of Protestant Churchmen, and others that were chief favourers of the Reformation, saith of this Duke, that "he was a man little "esteemed for wisdom, or personage, or courage in arms." Yet let the same author relate some few other historical matters concerning the same nobleman, and his reader will 21 scarcely give him credit in this: for in the same place he saith of him, "that he was in favour with King Henry, "[and he would not receive fools nor cowards into his fa-"vour,] and by him was much employed, [which that King "would not have done, had he been so weak a person.] "That he was always observed to be both faithful and for-"tunate, as well in giving advice, as in managing a charge." And then concerning his successes he writes, "that he was "Warden of the marches against Scotland; and that three "years successively he made great inroads into that king-"dom, and got great victories there: and that in the "marches of Calais, upon the approach of 7000 English, "he raised an army of 21,000 French encamped before "Bulloyn, wan their ordnance, carriage, treasury, tents, with "the loss only of one man: and in his return wan the castle "of Outing, within shot of Arde: and the next year invaded "and spoiled Picardy." And this moreover the said author writes of the Duke, "that notwithstanding his constant suc-"cesses, yet did he never hereby rise either into haughti-

But unjustly.

Anno 1547. "ness in himself, or contempt of others; but remained "courteous and affable, choosing a course least subject to "envy, between stiff stubbornness and filthy flattery." These accounts of the Duke are hardly consistent with that mean character he had before given him, and which elsewhere he fasteneth on him, charging him with a *dull capacity*, and calling him *fearful and suspicious, and of feeble spirit.*

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His truer character.

For my part I think he deserves a better commendation to posterity. He was a man heartily favouring the Gospel and the professors of it, and by his influence the reformation of religion in England did so well proceed in the beginning. Nor did he want true courage and resolution, until he saw how the greatest part of the Court, for by-ends, had entered into combination against him, and had acquired such strength and interest, as should he have opposed, might have endangered a civil war, the introducing of Popery, and the good King's life, as well as his own; and therefore, in that emergency, reckoned it the best course to submit himself. His frailties which procured him enemies, more truly were hastiness and passion, snapping up the Counsellors, and taking up too sharply those who had business with him, nay, his very best friends, and affecting too much to have his own will stand: which Sir William Paget, Secretary of State, his most faithful but plaindealing friend, once laid before him; as we may see hereafter in this story.

Paget's new-year's-gift to the Duke.

The said Paget, for a new-year's-gift to this nobleman soon after his high advancements, sent him a short scroll, consisting of seasonable advices for his great place and station, enclosed in a letter. Which letter and scroll were as follow:

Paget to the Lord Protector. Cotton Lib. Titus, F. 3.

"Because the determination to renew gifts of the new "year was sudden, I could not prepare such a new-year's-"gift for your Grace as the fashion of the world required "me to present to a personage of your estate: and yet con-"sidering the favour of your Grace to be special toward "me, and my love is reciproque toward you, methought it

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"best to send your Grace, though no rich gift, yet a token "of my heart, which wisheth both this and all other years "hereafter happy and lucky unto you. My token is this "schedule here enclosed, wherein, as in a glass, if your Grace "will daily look, and by it make you ready, you shall so "well apparel yourself, as each man shall delight to behold "you. I pray your Grace to accept this token in good "part; which very hearty love, and great carefulness of "your Grace's welldoing, hath moved me to send unto your "Grace. To whom I wish as well as to my own soul.

"Your, &c.

"*Westminster, Jan. 2.* "W. P."

The Schedule.

"Deliberate maturely in all things. Execute quickly the "determinations. Do justice without respect. Make assured and staid men ministers under you. Maintain the "ministers in their offices. Punish the disobedient according "to their deserts. In the King's causes give commission in "the King's name. Reward the King's worthy servants liberally and quickly. Give your own to your own, and "the King's to the King's, frankly. Despatch suitors shortly. "Be affable to the good, and severe to the evil. Follow "advice in Council. Take fee or reward of the King only. "Keep your ministers about you uncorrupt. Thus God will "prosper you, the King favour you, and all men love you. D.

"W. P."

A notable instance of the King's piety at his coronation. Bal. de Viris Illustrib.

At the King's coronation, which was Shrove-Sunday, Feb. 20, (Sir John Hayward writes the 19. amiss,) an author that wrote about those times relates that he heard it from credible hands, that when three swords were brought, signs of his being King of three kingdoms, he said, there was one yet wanting. And when the nobles about him asked him what that was, he answered, *the Bible.* "That "book," added he, "is the sword of the Spirit, and to be "preferred before these swords. That ought in all right "to govern us, who use them for the people's safety by

"God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power. From that "we are what we are this day. From that we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. He "that rules without it, is not to be called God's minister, "or a King. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From "that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, "and whatsoever we have of divine strength." And when the pious young King had said this, and some other like words, he commanded the Bible, with the greatest reverence, to be brought and carried before him.

Knights of the Bath. Ex Offic. Armor. i. 7.

The ceremonies and solemnities of the King's coronation may be read elsewhere. There were then nominated and made forty Knights of the Bath: who being created with so great royalty, were commanded to pay the duties of money to the Heralds, double to the same payable by other Knights. And because they are omitted by other historians, it may be fit to remember them here, for the honour of their posterity.

23 The Duke of Suffolk.
The Earl of Hertford.
The Lord Talbot.
The Lord Charles Brandon.
The Lord Scrope's son and heir.
Sir Francis Russel.
Sir Anthony Brown.
Sir John Gates.
Sir Alexander Umpton of Oxfordshire.
Sir Valentine Knightly.
Sir G. Vernon of the Peak.
Sir Holcroft. [Thomas, perhaps, that was Knight Marshal.]
The Earl of Oxford.
The Earl of Ormond.
The Lord Herbert.
The Lord Cromwel.
The Lord Winsore's son and heir.
Sir Richard Devereux.
Sir Henry Seimour.
Sir Thomas Housselyn.
Sir Edmund Molineux.
Sir William Balthrope. [Babthorp perhaps.]
Sir Tho. Nevyl of Hold.
Sir Henry Tirrel.
Sir Wymond Carew.
The Lord Matravers.
The Lord Strange.
The Lord Lisle.

The Lord Hastings.	Sir James Hales.
Sir Anth. Cook of Essex.	Sir Thomas Brycknal.
Sir George Norton.	Sir Amgel Marian.
Sir Robert Lytton.	Sir John Cuts of Essex.
Sir John Porte of Derbyshire.	Sir William Scarington.
Sir Chr. Barker, Garter.	Sir William Snathe.

The Knights of the Carpet dubbed by the King on Shrove-Tuesday in the morning, and at other times during the *utas* of the abovesaid noble solemnization were,

Sir John Radcliff.	Sir John Mason.
Sir Thomas Gray.	Sir John Wyndham.
Sir Anthony Angier.	Sir John Vaughan, &c.

Fifty-five in all.

E. F.

CHAP. IV.

Papists' behaviour towards the King. Lent sermons.

The Papists jealous of the King.

THE papistical sort were always jealous of this Prince, even before he came to the crown, as liking neither his instructors nor his way of education. And as the Gospellers had their eyes upon him always, and placed great hope in him, so the Papists looked asquint at him. And no small fears there were among good men, lest that sort should have taken him off from good principles, by some means or other, or from continuance in life, to proceed in them. One writer in the latter end of King Henry hath these words: "Many things I conclude concerning Prince Edward, "whom, I doubt not, but the Lord hath sent for the singular comfort of England. Not that I temerariously de-"fine any thing to come concerning him; considering it "only in the Lord's power. But I desire the same Lord "to preserve his bringing up from the contagious drinks "of those false physicians. And this is to be prayed for "of all men."

John Bale.

Undervalue his orders because he was young

The King was but young, which supplied the Papists with pretences to slight and disobey his orders, especially

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about religious matters. And indeed they cried out afterwards of his proceedings, as being done in his minority, and done by others, the chief men about him. They would ordinarily say, "Tush, this gear will not tarry: it is but my "Lord Protector's and my Lord of Canterbury's doing. "The King is a child, and he knows not of it." But old father Latimer upon this hath these words: "Have we not "a noble King? Was there ever King so noble, so godly, "brought up with such noble counsellors, so excellent and "well learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this, (and I "speak it even as I think,) his Majesty hath more godly "wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at "this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could "name, had at any time of their life."

Some scruple the name of King.

Nay, some there were, set up probably by the Papists, that made scruple of the lawfulness of the very name of *King;* because it is spoken in 1 Sam. viii. as a thing displeasing to God, when the people of Israel would have a King, and that it was a rejecting God, *that* he *should not reign over them.* Which gave occasion to the above-recited preacher thus to speak: "There is a great error risen nowadays among many of us, which are vain and newfangled "men, climbing beyond the limits of our capacity and wit, "in wrenching this text of Scripture. They wrench these "words awry after their own fancies, and make much "doubt as touching a King, and his godly name. But it "makes no matter by what names the rulers be called, if "so be they walk ordinately with God, and direct their "steps with him. For both patriarchs, judges, and kings, "had and have their authority of God, and therefore "godly."

First sermon before the King.

Bishop of St. David's preaches before the King this Lent.

Lent being come, care was taken to put up good preachers in the King's chapel to preach before the King. And one of these was Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, who this February preached at Court; urging in his sermon a redress of several abuses in religion, and laying some platform for a reformation. The Bishop of Winchester was then at Court, and was mightily disturbed at it, calling it *his tat-*

Winchester offended at his doctrine. Foxii MSS.

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tling; and noting several points in that sermon, sent them to the Lord Protector; urging to him, in a letter from his place in Southwark, the great danger of making any alterations; and that the Bishop of St. David's, and such as he, laboured to disorder the realm, it being a time rather to repair what needed reparation; "that he laid a platform "for confusion and disturbances in State; and that the "Council, who had so much other business to do, should "not have such inward disorders added to them. That if "his brother St. David's did, like a champion, with his "sword in his hand, make enter for the rest, the door of "licence opened, there would be more by folly thrust in "with him than his Grace would wish. And that if the "Bishop of St. David's, and such other, had their heads "cumbered with any new platforms, he would wish they "were commanded, between this and the King's full age, "to draw the platform diligently, to hew the stones, dig "the sand, and chop the chalk, while the time was un"seasonable for building. And when the King came to full "age, to present their labours to him, and in the mean "time not to disturb the state of the realm."

St. David's vindicates it.

By these subtile counsels did Winchester study to wean the Protector from entering upon a reformation of the corruptions of the Church, or at least to delay it. And to divert his mind from it, in the same letter, he threw in before him another plausible business; namely, to forward a match 25 between the young King and the daughter of the King of the Romans, if the Emperor would offer her, as he had once before done; saying, that by this alliance the Protector's estimation would increase, and the King's surety not a little augmented: and this he shewed might be a good check for France. But all the effect this letter of Bishop Gardiner had upon the Lord Protector was, that he gave to the Bishop of St. David's these notes and animadversions upon his sermon, to consider the same, and vindicate himself and his discourse, as well as he could. Which he did, and called it his *purgation.* The Protector having received it, conveyed it unto Winchester, that he might see his own

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cavilling answered. And he again, like a champion for the Popish cause, discussed this *purgation*, and sent it to the Protector. It was writ with such a freedom, that he asked the Protector to bear with him.

Dr. Ridley also preaches before the King.

Soon after, Dr. Ridley preached at Court on a Wednesday. His sermon also ran upon the same subject. Winton was then also present. The business of his sermon was to confute the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government, and usurped power, and in pardons. He discoursed also touching the abuses of images in churches, and ceremonies, and especially holy water, for the driving away devils. This learned man used much modesty in his discourse; having such expressions as these, that "he was "always desirous to set forth the mere truth and unity," and would often add, when he laid down any thing, that "it was as far as he had read;" or, "if any man could "shew him further, he would hear him." Winton, who was very fond both of images and holy water, and could not hear them spoken against, wrote him a large letter in behalf of both these. The copy whereof he also sent to the Protector. The letter is extant in Fox's Monuments. But as the Bishop of St. David's, so Ridley also answered Winton; but the answers are lost.

Winchester offended again.

Pag. 1226.

Dr. Glazier preaches at Paul's Cross in Lent. Stow.

This Lent, in the month of April, Dr. Hugh Glazier preached at St. Paul's Cross, and affirmed there, that "Lent was not ordained of God to be fasted, neither the "eating of flesh to be forborne: but that the same was a po"litic ordinance of man, and might therefore be broken "of men at their pleasure." This Glazier was formerly a friar: Archbishop Cranmer made him his Commissary for Calais and the parts thereabouts.

The Complin said in English.

The Complin, being a part of the Evening Prayer, was sang in English in the King's chapel, before any act of Parliament enjoined it.

CHAP. V.

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State books, and others, now published. The Bishop of Colen's Consultation. Erasmus's Paraphrase in English. The Homilies. Popish books set forth. Images defaced. Bishop Gardiner busy. Religion stands as it did. King Henry's debts. King Edward's letter, and the Lady Mary's, to Queen Katharine.

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An old book for the supremacy translated into English and printed.

THE book *De Vera Differentia inter Regiam Potestatem, et Ecclesiasticam,* (called *The King's Book,* either because King Henry was the author, or rather the authorizer of it,) about this time was reprinted by Henry Lord Stafford, with a preface dedicatory by him made, and set before it. It was first printed in Latin in the year 1533, when King Henry thought of shaking off the foreign power of Rome: and whereas before it was in Latin, that it might be communicated unto all princes, what the extent of regal power was; so now it was put into English, by the aforesaid Lord, to prepare the people the better to bear what the King was now doing in the reformation of the Church, and to make the subjects the willinger to let go the Pope and his religion.

Bp. of Colen's Consultation, printed in English.

And Octob. 30 came forth, translated into English, the book of the reformation of the Church of Colen; whereof Herman, the good Archbishop and Elector, was the great instrument. This book shewed itself in this kingdom at this juncture, undoubtedly, by the means of Archbishop Cranmer, and probably of the Protector, as a silent invitation to the people of the land to a reformation, and as a motive to incline them to be willing to forsake the old superstition, when they should see the beauty of a reformed Church so lively laid before them in this book. And perhaps it was intended to serve as some pattern to the heads and governors of this Church, whereby to direct their pains they were now ere long to take about the emendation of religious worship. This book took so well, that it was printed again the next year, together with the mention of the place where it was printed, namely, London, and the persons who printed it, namely, John Day and William

BOOK I. Anno 1547. Seres, dwelling then in Sepulchre's parish, at the sign of the Resurrection, a little above Holborn conduit: both which were omitted in the first edition. The book was thus entitled: *A simple and religious Consultation of us, Herman, by the grace of God Archbishop of Colen, and Prince Elector, &c. by what means a Christian reformation, and founded in God's word, of doctrine, administration of the divine sacraments, of ceremonies, of the whole cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical ministries, may be begun among men committed to our charge, until the Lord grant a better, to be appointed either by a free and Christian council, general or national, or else by the States of the empire of the nation of Germany, gathered together in the* 27 *Holy Ghost.* It is an excellent book, and was compiled, if I mistake not, by the pains and learning of Melancthon and Bucer, and reviewed, examined, and allowed by the Elector himself. It treated distinctly of all these heads following:

That some lessons might be recited out of the holy Scripture, before a sermon, and declared unto the people.

That all sermons might be made to the magnifying of the Lord Christ.

Of the Trinity.

Of the creation and governance of all things.

Of the cause of sin and death.

Of original sin, and man's weakness before regeneration.

Of the Old Testament.

Of the difference of the Old and New Testament.

Of preaching peculiar to the New Testament.

Of the preaching of repentance.

Of the true and proper use of God's law.

A short exposition of the Ten Commandments.

Of remission of sins, and justification.

Of good works.

Of the true and natural signification of the word *faith.*

Of the cross and tribulations of the Church of God.

Of the unity and concord of the Church.

Of Christian prayer.

Anno 1547.

A short exposition of the Lord's Prayer.
Of abuse in prayer.
Of the true and false use of images.
Of Christian fast.
Of holy offerings.
A premonition and commandment against the error of the Anabaptists.
Of the administration of religion.
Of sacraments generally.
Of baptism.
The form of a catechism before baptism.
The exorcism.
Of the administration of baptism.
How baptism must be administered at times and places prescribed.
Of confirmation.
Of the Lord's Supper.
At what time the Lord's Supper ought to be celebrated.
Of the communion of strangers and sick folk.
How sick persons must be visited, and how we must celebrate the communion with them.
Of communion in private houses for men in health.
Of turning from sin, and true repentance.
Of excommunication.
Of making of Pastors.
Of the blessing of marriages.
Of burying on holy and feastful days.
Of fasting-days and Lent.
Of the difference of meats.
Of certain other rites and ceremonies of the Church.
Of ecclesiastical rites upon working-days.
Of peculiar days of procession.
Of Litany.
Of common alms.
Of schools for children.
Of schools of Divinity.
Of disputation.

Anno 1547.

By what means a Christian reformation of holy ministry and cure of souls may be begun and practised in parishes.

Of reforming of canonical colleges.

Of the reformation of monasteries both of men and women.

Of free and not monastical colleges of virgins.

Of the order of cel-brethren and lay-brethren.

28 And to open the eyes of the people to see the irreligion of the mass, and to prepare them to desire the abolishing of the same, this same year 1547. came forth another book translated into English out of French, written by Anthony Marcort of Geneva, entitled, *A Declaration of the Mass: the Fruit thereof, the Cause and the Means; i. e.* [the interim] *wherefore and how it ought to be maintained.* It was printed at Wittenberg by Hans Luft. In this book are shewn certain *damnable abuses* that be in the mass, contrary to the holy Scripture; and *sundry fruits of the mass, viz.* 1. Multitude of prebends. 2. Multitude of priests. 3. Multitude of temples and chapels. 4. Multitude of altars. 5. Divers oblations and offerings. 6. Worldly riches and pride. 7. Idleness and truantisse of the shaven. 8. Multitude of harlots. 9. Feigned hours and prayers. 10. Detestable hypocrisy. 11. Devouring of widows, orphans, and the poor. 12. Renouncing and destroying of the death and passion of Christ.

Declaration of the Mass; printed in English.

And the Disclosing of the Canon of the Mass.

And about the same season another book, translated in our tongue, appeared abroad, of the same subject, entitled, *The Disclosing of the Canon of the Popish Mass. With a sermon annexed unto it of the famous Clerk of worthy memory, Dr. Martin Luther.* In the preface to the reader, he is bid "to lift up his eyes and behold the abomination "of idolatry so shamefully used in those days, and not only "used, but with force and main fortified and upholden "with fire and fagot, crudelity and strength; and so sore "upholden, that the eternal word of God is clearly banished." And it is called, "the most shameful mass and "gazing-stock, the wicked mass, the upspring of Satan, the "invention of the Devil, the fair fruit of the Romish raven-"ing Antichrist, and the laderhouse of all his shaven pos-"terity." This book, for the concealing the printer, is said to be *imprinted, Have at all Papists, by me Hans Hitprick.* But to come to some other books that now were published by the present authority, and for public use.

The English Paraphrase of Erasmus.

The *Paraphrase of Erasmus* upon the four Gospels and the Acts, was now printed in English, (for the other parts of the New Testament were not yet finished,) having been translated by the procurement and charge of that pious good Lady, Katharine Par, Queen Dowager; for the helping of the ignorant multitude towards more knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and of their duty towards God and their neighbours. In this work she chiefly employed Nicolas Udal, (who called himself her servant,) an excellent grammarian and instructor of youth, as well as a learned divine; afterward a Prebendary of Windsor: a person he was that devoted himself wholly, during his life, to writing or translating matters that might be of public profit and use. This, as he declared in one of his epistles dedicatory, he fully minded and intended. Divers select persons were made use of in this translation, that it might the more speedily and correctly be done for the common benefit.

The translators; Udal.

Udal translated the paraphrase upon St. Luke: and that which he did besides was, the digesting and placing the texts throughout all the Gospels and the Acts, (except the Gospel of St. Mark done by another,) to the intent the reader might perceive, where and how the process and circumstance of the paraphrase answered to the text, and how it was joined with it. He was rewarded with a prebend of Windsor anno 1551, and the next year with the parsonage of Colborn in the Isle of Wight.

29

Leland's copy of verses in commendation of Udal.

This Udal, Leland the antiquarian honoured with a copy of verses upon a book that he set forth, anno 1544, called *Flores Terentii*, appropriated to the use of learners of the Latin tongue, his scholars; consisting of phrases taken out of Terence, explained and illustrated by him in English: printed by Berthelet. Before it are these verses

Anno 1547.

of Leland, in commendation of the book and author: which I will take leave here to set down.

Candidus exactam monstrare Terentius artem
Eloquii novit, Roma diserta, tui.
Illius ex horto flores selegit amœnos
Udallus cupidæ sedulus instar apis.
Quodque labor pueris studiosis gratior esset,
Transtulit in patrios verba Latina sonos.
Insuper et scholion facundæ munera linguæ
Addidit, æterna vivere digna cedro.
Vos igitur, Juvenes, Udallum ornate, Britanni,
Sic fluat è vestro comicus ore lepos.

Key.

Thomas Key, Registrary of Oxford, translated the paraphrase upon St. Mark, by the motion of Dr. Owen, the King's Physician. He was rewarded afterwards, in the year 1551, with the mastership of University college, Oxon, by letters recommendatory from the King.

The Lady Mary.

The Lady Mary, upon the suggestion of Queen Katharin, employed herself in the translation of the paraphrase upon St. John. But being cast into sickness, partly by overmuch study in this work, after she had made some progress therein, she left the doing of the rest to Dr. Malet her chaplain. But certain it is, she took a great deal of pains in it, and went through a good part of it: and perhaps this she did, the better to please the King her father, (for this translation was taken in hand in his time,) who was of opinion, that the knowledge of the Scripture should be communicated to the people. The said Queen Katharine, in September, in a letter elegantly penned in Latin, had desired the Lady Mary to get her said translation with all care and diligence revised, and then with speed to send it to her, calling it "her most fair and useful work:" that so she (the Queen) might with the rest commit it to the press. Desiring withal to know of her, whether it should be published in her name, or concealed under some unknown author. Yet she added, "that in her opinion she would seem "to do a wrong to her own work, if she should refuse to

Queen Katharine's letter to her, in commendation of her pains.

"commend it to posterity under the advantage of her own "name: in which her accurate translation she had gone "through so much pains for the public good, and would "have undertaken more, had her health permitted. She "saw not, she said, why she should reject the praise which "all deservedly would give her. Yet she left all to her "own prudence; as being ready to approve of that most "which she thought best to be done." To which I add,

G. H. John Old.

John Old, who also seems to have been a teacher of youth, as well as a teacher of the Gospel, preferred to the vicarage of Cobington in Warwickshire by the Duchess of Somerset, at the suit of Hugh Latymer, translated the paraphrase upon all the canonical epistles, and dedicated them to the said Duchess, anno 1549. Besides these, he translated also seven of St. Paul's Epistles thus paraphrased, namely, to the Ephesians, the Philippians, both to the Thessalonians, both to Timothy, and to Philemon. 30 Which he did at the solicitation of Edward Whitchurch, an eminent printer of church books in this time. Who came to him and told him, that none were yet appointed to translate those Epistles, and that it was necessary the whole volume should be finished and printed off by such a time (which drew on) according to the King's injunctions: which enjoined every priest, under such a degree in the Schools, to read them. Before the Epistle to the Ephesians the translator hath a prologue to the reader. This man being a Doctor of Divinity got a prebend in the church of Hereford; but not before the year 1552.

Cox.

Leonard Cox, a schoolmaster also, and preacher, was the translator of the paraphrased Epistle to Titus. Which he dedicated to John Hales, a learned and good man, Clerk of the Hanaper.

Allen.

The exposition of the Revelations was none of Erasmus's, (neither did he make any paraphrase upon that mysterious book,) but was the work of Leo Jude, writ originally in the German language, and translated into English by Edmund Allen, a learned Minister of the Gospel, and in nomination for a bishopric in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth.

Anno 1547.

Who they were that turned the paraphrase upon St. Matthew and the Acts, and who those on the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Colossians, I cannot trace, the translators choosing rather to lie concealed. But I am apt to think Queen Katharin herself might do one at least, and perhaps that upon St. Matthew.

This work in hand under King Henry.

The putting of this paraphrase into English was undertaken before King Henry's death. For in 1545 Udal had finished his translation upon Luke, and dedicated it to Queen Katharin. Which makes me suppose these paraphrases were countenanced by that King, and had been set forth by his order, if he had lived.

The paraphrase printed twice.

The whole paraphrase upon the New Testament was printed at least twice under King Edward. The first edition was, as was said, about 1547, which was only of the Gospels and the Acts. The rest of the New Testament was not so ready for the press, and came not forth till about 1549. The second impression was in the year 1552. Both printed by Edward Whitchurch. The paraphrase upon the Gospels was ushered in with three epistles; all composed by Udal: one to the King, another to Queen Katharin, and the third to the reader. The paraphrase upon the Epistles, containing the second volume, was dedicated also to the King by Miles Coverdale.

The good contents of the paraphrase.

Of Erasmus, in this paraphrase, thus speaketh the aforesaid Udal: he "bringeth in and briefly compriseth the "pith of the minds and meanings of all the good Doctors "of the Church, that ever writ, in justification of faith, in "honouring God only, in repentance and purity of a "Christian man's life, in detesting of imagery, and corrupt "honouring of saints, in opening and defacing the tyranny, "the blasphemy, the hypocrisy, the ambition and usurpa- "tion of the see of Rome; in noting the abuses of all the "abominable sects and rabbles of counterfeit religions and "idle cloisters; in bewraying the juggling sleights and fine "practices of Popery, in choice of meats, in esteeming the
31 "difference of days, in manifesting of vain ceremonies, in "the colour and pretence of holiness, crept into Christ's

Anno 1547.

"Church; in reprehending of pilgrimages with all the circumstances of idolatry and superstition; in describing of a prince's office; in teaching obedience of the people towards their rulers and governors; in declaring of a pastor's duty; in shewing the part of an evangelical preacher, and what and how his doctrine ought to be out of the Scriptures." But notwithstanding all this good in these paraphrases, yet would the Bishop of Winton fain have suppressed them, and wrote earnestly to the Protector against them; nibbling against some passages in them.

The homilies disliked by some.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had taken care to prepare certain pious homilies, to be made and published, with command to be read by such priests as could not preach; that so the poor people might have some means of instruction. But it is strange to consider, how any thing, be it never so beneficial and innocent, oftentimes give offence. For a great many, both of the laity as well as the Clergy, could not digest these homilies. And therefore sometimes when they were read in the church, if the parishioners liked them not, there would be such talking and babbling in the church, that nothing could be heard. And if the parish were better affected, and the priest not so, then he would "so hawk it, and chop it," (I use the words of old Latimer,) "that it were as good for them to be without "it, for any word that could be understood." But some priests would indeed read them very well. This ill practice the bishops winked at, and suffered in their dioceses. Which was so much known and disliked, that the aforesaid reverend Father complained to the King of it, and was a suitor to him, that he would give the bishops charge, ere they went home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flocks, and to see the King's injunctions better kept. This book of homilies was twice printed by Grafton, anno 1547. The latter impression had this advantage, that in some places the English was mended, and the style corrected and much refined, otherwise the same. Doubtless the first impression was found not sufficient to furnish all

Latimer concerning these homilies.

In his second sermon before him.

N. Battely.

Anno 1547.

the churches and chapels of the kingdom, and for the use of private persons also: and so the book was soon after revised and printed again. Before the book was a preface by the King, with the advice of the Duke of Somerset and the Privy Council, enjoining these homilies to be read in all churches every Sunday, and the King's injunctions once a quarter.

Bucer's judgment concerning the homilies.

No sooner were these homilies composed and sent abroad, but the news thereof (and the book itself, as it seemed, already translated into Latin) came to Strasburgh, among the Protestants there; where it caused great rejoicing. And Bucer, one of the chief ministers there, wrote a gratulatory epistle hereupon to the Church of England, in November 1547, which was printed the year after. Therein that learned and moderate man shewed "how these pious ser-"mons were come among them, wherein the people were "so godly and effectually exhorted to the reading of the "holy Scriptures; and faith was so well explained, where-"by we become Christians; and justification, whereby we "are saved; and the other chief heads of Christian reli-"gion so soundly handled. And therefore, as he added, "these foundations being rightly laid, there could nothing "be wanting in our churches requisite towards the build-
32 "ing hereupon sound doctrine and discipline." Meaning this as a gentle admonition to excite the governors of the Church to a further reformation. "He commended much "the homily of *faith*; the nature and force of which was so "clearly and soberly discussed; and wherein it was so well "distinguished from faith which was dead. He much ap-"proved of the manner of treating concerning the misery "and death we are all lapsed into by the sin of our first pa-"rent, and how we are rescued from this perdition only by "the grace of God, and by the merit and resurrection of "his Son; and how hereby we are justified in the sight of "God, and adopted into the number of his children and "heirs: and then shewing, what ought to be the study and "work of those that are justified and regenerate. So that, "he said, by this full and dexterous restitution of Christ's

Anno 1547.

"doctrine, his kingdom was so fully explained to the people, "that there could no relics of the old leaven remain long "in any parts of our ceremonies or discipline. Then he "took occasion to stir up the ecclesiastical rulers to go on "with the reformation of the sacraments: that they might "be administered according as Christ commended and de-"livered them to us: that all might partake of Christ's "grace and saving communication; as conferring very much "to the undoubted restoring of faith and godliness." In this epistle he also praised the English nation, in that God had often given it kings that were great lovers and promoters of good letters and arts, from King Sigebert, that founded Cambridge, and many other schools throughout the land; and particularly had brought forth King Henry VIII. that most prudent and valiant Prince. And that at this day, no kingdom had more truly learned and godly peers and bishops, that exceeded both for their learning and piety.

The Archbishop's catechism.

To these Church books I add a catechism, set forth not only by the Archbishop's authority, but in his own name. It bore this title: *A short Instruction into the Christian Religion; for the syngular commoditie and profite of children and young people. Set forth by the most reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbyshoppe of Canterbury.* This book is but a translation out of Latin, made by a Lutheran author; but there be additions in the English, as accommodated to the English Church, which were not in the Latin, but put in, as it seems, by the Archbishop: particularly the whole second sermon (as it is called) on the first Commandment (more truly the second) about *images*.

Bishop Ridley's character of the author. Fox, p. 1298.

This catechism, towards the latter end of King Edward's reign, was printed again, and had the approbation of a convocation. Of this catechism I have this commendation to add, which Ridley, Bishop of London, gave it in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, before Bourn Secretary of State, Fecknam Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Pope, Sir Roger Cholmely late Lord Chief Justice, and others, that then were with the said Ridley in the Tower. Who, when they had in a conference put it to him, that he was the author of that catechism, though going under the name of Archbishop Cranmer, he told them, "that book was made by a "great learned man, and one that was able to do the like "again. And that, as for himself, he assured them (and "bade them not be deceived in him) that he was never "able to do or write any such thing: and that the writer "passed him, no less than the learned master his young "scholar." Meaning, no doubt, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

33 Now did the Papists also send abroad their books, to uphold their falling superstitions, and to check, as much as in them lay, the good effects of other books. Richard Smith, D. D. Reader of the King's Divinity Lecture in Oxon, published *A Defence of the Sacrament of the Mass*, printed by John Hartford, 1546. 8vo. Though, but the next year, on the 15th of May, he made a retractation at Paul's Cross; and soon after published *A Declaration of his Retractation*, printed by Reinold Wolf, 8vo.

A book set forth by Dr. Smith.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, put out also his *Declaration of such Articles as Geo. Joy had gone about to confute*, printed by Ro. Toy, 1546, 4to. And his *Declaration of the Devil's Sophistry, wherein he robbeth the unlearned people of the true belief in the Sacrament of the Altar*, printed by Ro. Toy, 1546. 8vo.

Two more by Bishop Gardiner.

But in reply to the former, Geo. Joy sent forth his *Refutation of the Bishop of Winchester's dark Declaration of his false Articles, once before confuted*, 8vo.

Joy's Refutation.

Lastly, Philip Gerard wrote an *Invective* against those that stopped the free passage of the Bible in English: which was printed by Richard Grafton, 8vo.

Gerard's Invective.

And while the Protestants laboured to put the King forward to rectify abuses, and to promote a reformation in the Church, the Papists that were about him laboured hard the other way; representing the superstitions and abuses of religion to him as fair as possible. As for images, they told him, "that whereas they had been used to be censed, and "to have candles offered unto them, none were so foolish to "do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself, but it

The Papists strive to stop the King.

Latimer's sermon of the plow.

Anno 1547.

"was done to God and his honour before the image. And "in case they had abused, they whispered the King in his "ear, and told him, that this abuse was but a small matter; "and the same, with all other abuses in the Church, might "easily be reformed. But it should not be taken in hand "at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniences. "That the people would not bear sudden alterations. An "insurrection might be made after a sudden mutation, "which might be to the great harm and loss of the realm." These were just Winchester's arguments, which he used nowadays to brandish, and, I suppose, Latimer glanceth at him: "that therefore all things should be well, but not "done presently, for fear of further business." And indeed these pretences were the occasion that the reformation went not forward so fast; and they stopped the word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same: "there "were so many put-offs, so many put-byes, so many re"spects and considerations of worldly wisdom," saith that plain speaking preacher. These men he afterwards took occasion to mention in a sermon before the King, calling them *blaunchers:* and exhorted the King to beware of them.

Images defaced at Portsmouth.

The people, in the beginning of the King's reign, were very forward in pulling down and defacing images, even without permission. This was done in Portsmouth; where divers crucifixes and saints were plucked down and destroyed. In one church here the image of St. John the Evangelist, standing in the chancel by the high altar, was taken away, and a table of alabaster broken, and in it an image of Christ crucified contemptuously used; one eye bored out, and the side pierced. The report of this was 34 brought to Gardiner the Bishop of the diocese, being then at Wolvesay, some great favourers of images relating it tragically to him. And he, being a great patron of images himself, was much disturbed at it, and writ to Mr. Vaughan, Captain of Portsmouth, and the Mayor, the King's chief officer there, to know the truth of it, and to consult with them for the reformation of it, out of pretence of discharg-

Anno 1547.

Gardiner writes thither about it.

ing his duty. He desired to know of Vaughan, who were the doers, and what the circumstances of it were. And if it were not too far gone with the multitude, he would send one thither to preach, to stop any further doings of that sort. He said, "that such as were affected with this principle of breaking down images, were hogs, and worse than "hogs, and were ever so taken in England, being called "*Lollards*. And that the maintenance of this opinion, of "destroying images, was utterly disliked in Germany: and "such men were counted the dregs cast out by Luther, "after all his brewings of Christ's religion. And he [Bishop Gardiner] himself had seen images standing in all "their churches." He used also this terrible argument for images, *viz.* "that the destruction of images contained an "enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world "with it; and especially the nobility: who by images "set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all men, their "lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state "and actions."

And to the Protector.

In his zeal also he wrote another letter to the Lord Protector and Council, for redressing this mighty insolence. To which the Protector thought fit to make a large reply: wherein he told the Bishop, "that neither the facts nor "words were so heinous as was brought to his ears. And "that those facts that were punishable were already re"dressed. He reminded the Bishop of the times of King "Henry, when the Bible was laid aside for a time, upon "pretence that some had abused the reading thereof, when "as the images were still left to them who had abused "them. And more gentleness was used towards those "books of images than to the true and unfeigned books "of God's word; both being abused, the one to idolatry, "and the other to contention. And therefore it seemed "meet to him, that what had been abused before might "now be abused again, the advantage of some priests, the "simplicity of laymen, and the great inclination of man's "nature to idolatry, giving cause thereto."

The Protector's answer.

Anno 1547.

Nor was the writing of these letters all the Bishop of Winchester did, but he went himself in person to Portsmouth, to inquire after this matter. And because the soldiers seemed to be the persons that had been guilty of this rudeness, upon Captain Vaughan's desire the Bishop made an exhortation to them as they stood there with their weapons marshalled: and so departed in amity with the captains and soldiers in the town, the captain telling him plainly, that he was nothing offended with any thing he said in his sermon.

He goes to Portsmouth himself about this matter.

I have two or three passages more to relate concerning this Bishop; to shew how bigoted he was to the Pope and his superstitions, and how exceedingly nettled at the steps that were now taking in amending corrupt religion. The Protector had not long before told him, that he would suffer no innovation. Whereupon the Bishop took the opportunity now about June, to put him in mind of it from Winchester, and advised him "to leave the realm to the 35
"King at eighteen years old, as the King his father left it "to him. The act would be honourable and good. And "that it were pity to trouble it with any innovation; which "would be a charge to his Grace more than needed, being "already burdened heavily. That the matter of the com"monwealth under the King was chiefly his, and as it were "his alone; and that every man had his eye directed to him "both here and abroad, and he should shadow other men's "doings, if they were done. Which was one incommodity "of high government."

His admonition to the Protector.

Bishop Tonstal, who was looked upon as one of the learnedest and gravest men, and of the most experience, went along, at first, with the King and the Archbishop in their proceedings. Whereat the said Bishop of Winton made this reflection: "That it was much to be noted, that "my Lord of Canterbury, being the high Bishop of the "realm, and highly in favour with his late Sovereign Lord, "[King Henry,] and my Lord of Durham, a man of re"nowned fame in learning and gravity, both put by that "King in trust for their counsel, in the order of the realm;

His censure of Cranmer and Tonstal.

Anno 1547.

"should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture, "set forth by the King's Majesty's book, [*the Erudition of* "*a Christen Man*,] and give their advice to bring in such "matters of alteration in religion as they had done."

Offended with two books of Bale.

There were now two books published by John Bale, whereat Winchester was highly enraged, calling them *pernicious*, *seditious*, and *slanderous*. Bale's pen indeed was sharp and foul enough sometimes, when he had such foul subjects to deal with, as the cruelties and uncleannesses of many of the popish priests, and prelates, and cloisterers. But of these books our Bishop writes from Winchester a long letter of complaint to the Protector. One of these books was, *An Elucidation of the Martyrdom of Anne Ascue;* wherein this Bishop had the chief hand. His exceptions he took to this book were, that Bale had made Anne Ascue to die a martyr. "Whereas she was, saith he, a *sacramentary*, "and so by the law worthy the death she suffered. And "that he had falsely set forth her examination, misreporting "it: and that hereby his dead master, King Henry, was "slandered, religion assaulted, and the realm troubled." Such a zealous advocate was Bishop Gardiner for his beloved mistress, *Popery*, now by him apprehended to be in great danger.

Religion stands yet without alteration.

From the beginning of King Edward's reign, hitherto, the old way of worship, and the rites and ceremonies, continued as they had done in the former reign, without or but small variation. And whatever inclination the King and the Protector, the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other of the King's Council, had towards a change of divers superstitions, yet they thought fit to tarry for a Parliament and a Convocation, for the more orderly and effectual doing of it. For they apprehended danger, and some resistance and uproar among the people, if they should presently attempt it of themselves. So the King proceeded no farther in a reformation, as yet, than a royal visitation, and in framing of some injunctions in order thereunto. But, notwithstanding, many there were that now whispered, and secretly spread abroad in markets, fairs, alehouses, and other

A royal visitation.

A proclamation against flying reports.

places, reports of innovations and changes in religion and ceremonies of the Church; and that they were done by the King, the Protector, and others of the Privy Council. Therefore for the stopping of these false rumours, May 24, 36
a proclamation was issued out against these reporters; assuring the King's subjects, that such pretended innovations were never begun nor attempted by the King and his Council. And besides these rumours concerning religion, they also spread bruits of other things and facts, sounding to the dishonour and slander of the King's Majesty, the Protector, and others of the Council, and to the disquieting and disturbing of his subjects. Therefore, for the preventing of these reports, and discovering the talebearers, all justices and other of the King's chief officers in the realm were, by the said proclamation, commanded to search for them, and imprison them, according to former good acts and statutes of the King's noble progenitors, made to reform and punish, as lewd and vagrant persons, telling and reporting false news and tales. And all persons that heard these reports were by the same proclamation commanded to repair to the Court, and declare the reporter, or to some justice of the peace: who was accordingly to commit the reporter to prison, until he had brought forth the author of the said tales, or who told the same to him; and to make further search from person to person; and so to get out the first author or beginner of the said tales or news.

Care taken for payment of King Henry's debts.

Commendable care was taken, in the beginning of the King's reign, to perform that part of the King's father's last will, wherein he gave charge for his debts to be paid. And many things there were that had been taken of the subjects by that King's officers, for the service of him and his realm.

By proclamation.

A proclamation therefore was issued out, May 29, for the payment of the King's father's debts: wherein the King willed all his loving subjects, to whom in this case it appertained, to declare in writing to some certain of his officers, before the feast of St. John Baptist, what remained due unto them, and wherefore; and he, the said officer, to send the said declarations to the Lord Great Master, before the end of Trinity term: to the intent, that upon the knowledge of the certainty of the said debts, the Lord Protector, and other executors of the late King's Majesty, might take order for the full contentation of every debt. Which they intended to do accordingly.

Corn, when allowed to be exported.

By proclamation.

Another proclamation came forth in this month of May, *viz.* May 16, whereby leave and licence was granted to embark, ship, and carry over the seas, into all outward parts, being in league with the King, all manner of wheat, and all other kinds of grain, so long as a quarter of wheat should not exceed the price of six shillings and eight pence; the quarter of barley, malt, and rye, five shillings: or unto such time as his Highness, by another proclamation under his Great Seal, should determine the contrary. This liberty of exportation of corn lasted till December 7, when another proclamation, directed to the customers, comptrollers, searchers, and other officers and ministers within the port of London, and all other ports, prohibited it: that whereas wheat and malt and other grain exceeded the prices abovesaid, the King's subjects were forbid to transport it from henceforth, without his special licence under his Great Seal, upon pain to incur all such statutes and proclamations as were provided in that behalf; and to be further punished by imprisonment of body, and otherwise, to the terrible example of all others. But this proclamation did not extend to the prohibiting grain to be carried over to Calais and Bologn, and other the King's pieces beyond sea.

37

Q. Katharin writes to K. Edward.

In this month of May Queen Katharin Par, an ingenious and learned lady, being then at St. James's, out of her affection to the young King, her son-in-law, then, as it seems, at Westminster, writ him a letter, (and that, I suppose, in Latin,) wherein she professed her true love towards the late deceased King, and her kindness towards him; and lastly, added proper passages taken out of the holy Scriptures. And then she earnestly desired some lines from him in answer. Whereupon the King wrote her this elegant Latin letter:

which fell into the hands of Archbishop Parker, (a great collector of curious MSS.) on the top of which he writ these words:

Epistola scripta manu propria serenissimi Regis Edwardi ad Dominam Katharinam Reginam, relictam Henrici Octavi.

His answer to her. E Biblioth. C. C. C. C. vol. intit. Epist.Viror. Illustr.

Cum non procul abs te abessem, et quotidie me te visurum sperarem, mihi optimum videbatur non omnino ad te literas dare. Literæ enim sunt cujusdam et memoriæ et benevolentiæ longe absentium signa. Sed ego petitione tua, tandem accensus non potui non ad te literas mittere: primum ut tibi gratum faciam; deinde vero, ut tuis literis respondeam benevolentia plenis, quas è Sancto Jacobo ad me misisti. In quibus primum ponis ante oculos tuum amorem erga patrem meum, nobilissimæ memoriæ Regem; deinde, benevolentiam erga me; ac postremò, pietatem, scientiam atque doctrinam in sacris literis. Perge igitur in tuo bono incepto, et prosequere patrem amore diuturno, et mihi tanta signa benevolentiæ, quæ semper hactenus in te sensi. Et ne desinas amare et legere sacras literas, sed semper in eis legendis persevera.

In primo enim indicas officium bonæ conjugis et subjectæ. In secundo ostendis laudem amicitiæ tuæ. Et in tertio tuam pietatem ergo Deum.

Quare cum ames patrem, non possum non te vehementer laudare; cum me ames, non te iterum diligere: et cum verbum Dei ames, te colam et mirabor ex animo. Quare siquid sit quo possum tibi gratum facto vel verbo facere, libenter præstabo. Vale, tricesimo Maii.

Which in English is to this tenor:

A letter written by King Edward the Sixth's own hand, to the Lady Katharine, Queen Dowager to King Henry the Eighth.

"Since I was not far from you, and in hopes every day "to see you, I thought it best to write no letter at all to "you. For letters are tokens of remembrance and kind-

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"ness between such as are at a great distance. But being "at length moved by your request, I could not forbear to "send you a letter: first, to do somewhat that may be ac"ceptable to you; and then, to answer your letter, full of "kindness, which you sent me from St. James's. In which, "first, you set before mine eyes your love toward my fa"ther the King, of most noble memory: then, your good"will towards me: and lastly, your godliness, your know"ledge and learning in the Scriptures. Go on therefore in "your good enterprise, and continue to love my father, "and to shew so great tokens of kindness to me, which I
38 "have hitherto ever perceived in you. And cease not to "love and read the Scriptures: but hold out always in "reading them. For in the first you shew the duty of a "good wife and a good subject; in the second, the praise "of your friendship; and in the third, your piety towards "God.

"Wherefore, since you love my father, I cannot but "much commend you: since you love me, I cannot but "love you again: and since you love God's word, I will "love and admire you from my heart. Wherefore if there "be any thing wherein I may do you a kindness, either "in deed or word, I shall do it willingly. Farewell, the "30th of May."

The Lady Mary writes to Q.Katharin.

Queen Katharin's benign and gracious disposition had reconciled her the respect and love of her late royal husband's children: and as the King, her son-in-law, had wrote her a letter in May, so in August she received one from her daughter-in-law, the Lady Mary: who made the Marquis of Northampton, the Queen's brother, the bearer, from Beaulieu, the Queen being then with child by the Lord Admiral, her husband. Which letter ran to this tenor:

"Madam,

Cot. Libr. Otho, C.10.

"Although I have troubled your Highness with sundry "letters, yet that notwithstanding, seeing my Lord Mar"quis, who hath taken pains to come unto me at this pre-

" sent, intendeth to see your Grace shortly, I could not be " satisfied without writing to the same: and especially, be- " cause I purpose to-morrow, with the help of God, to be- " gin my journey towards Norfolk, where I shall be farther " from your Grace. Which journey I have intended since " Whitsuntide, but lack of health hath stayed me all this " while. Which, although it be as yet unstable, neverthe- " less I am enforced to remove for a time, hoping, with " God's grace, to return again about Mighelmas. At which " time, or shortly after, I trust to hear good success of your " Grace's great belly. And in the mean while shall desire " much to hear of your health, which I pray Almighty " God to continue and increase to his pleasure, as much as " your own heart can desire. And thus, with my most " humble commendations to your Highness, I take my leave " of the same, desiring your Grace to take the pains to " make my commendation to my Lord Admiral. From " Beaulyeu, this 9th of August.

" Your Highness humble and assured
" loving dowghter,
" Marye."

CHAP. VI.

39

Dr. Smith recants. Some account of him and his writings. Bell metal not to be transported.

Smith and Perin recant.

IN the month of May, Dr. Richard Smith, public Professor of Divinity in Oxon, made a recantation of his popish errors at St. Paul's Cross. And in June one Perrin, a Black Friar, recanted in the parish church of St. Andrew Undershaft, London; that whereas he had before, *viz.* on St. George's day, preached, that it was good to worship the pictures of Christ and saints, now he said he had been deceived, and was sorry that he had taught such doctrine. But in Queen Mary's reign they both appeared in the pulpits open defenders again of these and the like renounced doctrines.

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Dr. Smith twice recants at Oxon. And why.

The story of this Dr. Smith, his recantation, fickleness, flight, and the books he wrote against P. Martyr, take this particular account of. A few days after he had pronounced his recantation, or (as he rather chose to call it) his *retractation*, at St. Paul's Cross, he repaired to Oxford, and there, soon after, came up in public, and recanted, as he had done at London. But, it seems, it was done by him by halves: for instead of declaring at length, plainly and fully, the tenor of what he had said at St. Paul's, he insisted much in shewing his auditory, that what he then said was not so much a *recantation* as a *retractation*. And then took occasion to fall foul upon some that believed not the *real*, that is, the corporeal presence. He wrote also letters to his friends, denying he had made a recantation. This occasioned many persons to talk, that Smith still retained his errors, and trod in his old steps: and therefore that the recantation he had published, either was not his, or that he was forced to it, and did it unwillingly. Therefore Smith came up again publicly in Oxford, not in August, (as was mistaken in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer,) but the 9. of the calends of August, that is, July 24, and then read his whole recantation, *verbatim*, which he had made before at St. Paul's: having first made a large preface, shewing the reasons of his coming up there again. Therein he acknowledged, "that the distinction he had lately made, " to the offence of many, between recantation and retractation, was frivolous, both words signifying the very same " thing; and that the true reason he had affected the word " was to palliate and excuse his own recantation. That it " troubled him, that by that obscurity he should deceive " any. And whereas, after his recantation, he had writ " and scattered his letters, wherein he laboured to excuse himself to his friends, and dissembled his doings, " seeming more studious to preserve his name and credit, " than openly to avouch the true doctrine; he now declared, that all he had afterwards writ in letters, or delivered in his lectures, he renounced and revoked as false

His preface to his second recantation.

" and erroneous." And then he proceeds to read the whole recantation, as he had made it before in London.

40 Which began thus: " Men and brethren, the holy Prophet David left it written, *Every man is a liar*, &c." The sum of this recantation may be read in the Appendix to Cranmer's Memorials. The whole of it in Peter Martyr's works. In the conclusion of this his recantation, as he had prefaced something before it, so he subjoined something. And this it was, " that whereas some had been " offended with an assertion of his about *justification*, which " was, that four things were required therein, God's promise, Christ's merits, the worthiness of the person, and " of the works: taking what he said of the works of a man " already justified, as spoken by him of a man in order to " his justifying. But to satisfy all, this he now said, and " this he affirmed, that this doctrine, that we are justified " by faith in Christ alone, is not new, nor lately found out, " but very ancient, taught by the most ancient doctors, " Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, and others. That they se" cluded all the merits of men, however specious, and " ascribed to Christ alone the glory and merit of our justi" fication, and to his sacred blood and passion: by which " alone we are sanctified, delivered, justified. And that " this doctrine was delivered by them for this end, that all " glorying might be taken away, and that men should ac" knowledge their own weakness and infirmity. Yet, that " it is not lawful for a Christian to despise good works, or " that the Christian life should be slothful and destitute of " the fear of God, of hope, repentance, amendment, cha" rity, prayer, fasts, almsdeeds, and other good works; but " truly to acknowledge, that when we have done all, we are " unprofitable servants, not worthy to have thanks given us " for our works; but to confess that we are saved by the " mere mercy of God, for the merits of his beloved Son." And this was the sum of Smith's recantation at Oxford.

Smith declares himself about justification.

Pa. 1642. Ed. Basil. 1581.

But notwithstanding all this that he had done to secure to himself his place of Professor, not long after, he was removed, and P. Martyr was sent down by the King's au-

He is removed from his Professor's place.

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thority, and took the chair. At which Smith conceived a secret indignation, and returned to all the popish doctrines that he had revoked. But yet for a while frequented Martyr's lectures, and took notes, as though he had been one of his diligent and glad auditors. But all this was but dissimulation: for it was not long after, that he made a great hubbub in the University, and publicly challenged that grave and learned man to a disputation, as hath been related in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. But before the day appointed for it came, he was fled, first to Scotland, as it seems, and soon after to Lovain: where he soon printed his book for the *Celibacy of Priests*, and *Monastic Vows*, against P. Martyr; though it were at first designed to go forth against Martin Luther. Which book Martyr answered learnedly, in a just treatise extant among his works. At the end of which treatise he set down Smith's recantation, and a narration of his fickleness divers years past, when he read in the behalf of *justification by faith alone*, one day, Bishop Latimer being his auditor, and against it the very next. And two submissive letters writ by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland.

Pa. 199. Flies to Lovain.

At Lovain he could not tarry long, but departed thence to Paris, where he professed divinity. And here, toward the latter end of the year 1550 he printed a second time his book of the *Celibacy of Priests*, against Martyr, having gall and bitterness in the very title, which ran thus: *Defensio sacri Episcoporum et Sacerdotum cœlibatus contra impias et indoctas Petri Martyris Vermilii nugas et calumnias, quæ ille Oxonii in Anglia duobus retro annis in sacerdotalium nuptiarum assertionem temere effutivit*, &c. That is, *A Defence of the holy single life of Bishops and Priests, against the impious and unlearned trifles and slanders of P. Martyr Vermilius, which two years ago he rashly uttered at Oxford in England, upon the assertion of Priests' marriages. By Rich. Smith, an Englishman, formerly for a great while professing Divinity at Oxford, and now at Paris. Also a short book by the same author, concerning Monastic Vows, against the same Martyr, and*

And to Paris, where he printed his book against Martyr.

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others of this sort. Both now the second time coming forth more correct and exact. And in this second edition also was pretended, by the title-page, to be a refutation of Ponet, who had writ upon this argument: though there be nothing in the book against him, unless now and then in the margin these and such like words, *Huc adverte oculos, Ponete, et errorem agnosce tuum.* This book he dedicated to David Haliburton, the head of a college in Scotland, (who, I suppose, had entertained him in some of his flights,) calling him his best friend, and to whom he was very much obliged. In this epistle he is ready to die in the quarrel of the Papal religion, which he styled *Christ's faith.* And in his recantation, not long before, he professed himself ready to die for the contrary doctrines. Which was a sign he meant to die for neither.

Collegii Methurenensis Præposito.

Observations out of his epistle dedicatory.

In the said epistle he cried aloud of the troubles of England, as caused by the religion; "that the nation was "every where afflicted with so great miseries, shaken with "so many differences of sects, tossed with so many waves "of divers opinions, as scarcely any country ever before "was. How many and various popular tumults have heresies, said he, brought forth in our land! What miserable conspiracies have the sects raised; the end of which "hath been bloody!" [He means the rebellion in the west, and other countries; which yet was raised and carried on by no other sect than Papists: but he, being to be read in a foreign country, would charge most falsely these tumults upon the sects and heresies, by which he meant the Gospellers.] And then he added, "Are not these evils open "tokens of God's anger? Doth it not appear hence, that "the newsprung religion is displeasing to God?" In this epistle he ventured his credit to say, "that there were more "by twenty times, nay, by a hundred times, in England, that "did abhor these sects, and wished for nothing more, than "that all the heresies were totally overthrown, and that the "old religion of Christ, and the ancient rites of worshipping God, might be restored." He added, with as much forehead, and with as little care of truth, "that, of the more

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"learned and pious sort in England, none hitherto joined "with the sects; but all such constantly, and with fervent "mind and strong resolution, opposed them." Lying notoriously, if in the number of these pious and learned men he reckoned himself and Chedsey, and divers others, that recanted and complied in this reign, though some of them fell off again soon after.

He calumniates Hoper's preaching.

And mentioning with extraordinary honour the Bishops of Winton and London, Wigorn and Chichester, and some others who had undergone punishments from the state, he 42 closeth up all with a most malicious lying story of that reverend man Mr. Hoper, *viz.* "That after he began to "preach in London, about one or two years ago, [towards "the beginning of King Edward,] he was so admired by "the people, that they held him for a prophet, nay, they "looked upon him as some deity. But that now he was, by "the impulse of his own spirit, sunk into the depth of error "and ignorance, that he was not content to thunder in his "pulpit against all the doctrines of the ancient and apostolical Church, and to teach his disciples the highest con-"tempt of all the sacraments, to esteem the holy Eucharist "no more than a wheaten loaf, and the holy wine but "what was pressed from the grape; but he must affirm, "that by one act of fornication, one designation of adultery, "marriage was so dissolved, that he who once had to do "carnally with another man's wife became thereby the "husband of that woman; as though, said he, one unclean "act alone was the cause of marriage." But as he went on with his story, "to preach these things was not enough for "him, unless he added other things more estranged from "truth. For which he was called, saith he, before the ma-"gistrates, and being brought to the bar was found guilty, "and had sentence pronounced upon him. But when *cru-"cem commeruit, he deserved hanging*," as he charitably said, "he was only silenced; being so gently dealt with, "because his judges were of the sectaries, as he was." And then our author presently roars out against the injustice of the judges, and how partial they were. So apt was this man and his party to run away with any silly stories, if they were but black enough to represent Protestant ministers as very black men. When as the true reason why Mr. Hoper was enjoined silence was nothing else but because he had preached against the *habits*. But Smith will tell you another story of him, that he was guilty of a complication of gross heresies. For so he writes somewhere in the margin of his book: *Legat hæc Hoperus*, &c. "Let "Hoper read this, who at this time is called into question, "and accused of divers horrid heresies. For they report "that he defends the heresies of the Arians, Anabaptists, "and Libertines." And all this is the entertainment he gave to Mr. Haliburton in his epistle to him.

Pag. 60. b.

Observations out of his epistle to the reader.

In his epistle to the reader he speaks boastingly of three books he published about four years before, that in 1546 or 47, *viz.* 1. His *Defence of the Eucharist* against the Œcolampadians. 2. *Of the Sacrifice of the Mass.* And 3. *Of the Traditions of the Church.* But he doth not speak a word how he had himself openly recanted the two latter the same year 1547, both at London and Oxon. No, that he thought fit to conceal; only bragged, that now in four years no man had answered them; only in pulpits many had ignorantly inveighed against them. But what needed they to be answered, when he himself had done it, by disclaiming and confuting the two latter of them so publicly: and probably he would so have done the first had he been required. But Œcolampadius's doctrine was not countenanced in King Edward's days.

He tells his reader, moreover, what he had printed, so what more he had ready for the press, namely, another discourse against P. Martyr, and such as he; and another of the *Holy Eucharist*, and another of *Purgatory*, and another of the *Images of Christ and the Saints*, and another of *Pulling down Churches*, and another of *Taking away* 43 *Altars and Wax-candles*; besides theological topics; with other things which he promised in a short time to set forth, if his present published work was not ungrateful to his reader. But whether these pieces ever came abroad, I can-

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not tell; and I suppose they did not, notwithstanding this manner of begging the sale of this book, by promising more to follow.

The book itself.

As for the book itself, it consists but of three chapters. The first to prove the celibacy by Scripture, the second by Fathers, and the third to confute the arguments brought by the adversaries. The whole book is levelled against P. Martyr; but that he might take in certain others, who had writ for or approved the marriage of priests, as Cranmer, Cox, Ponet, Hoper, he had a very novel way of confuting them, namely, by little short flings at them, ever and anon, in the margin, after this manner; *Licet aliud impiè doceat Thomas Cantuariensis. Lege hoc, Coxe, et resipisce. Huc adverte oculos, Ponete, et errorem agnosce tuum. Lege, Hopere; vide Hopere, ut scias quam fœde lapsus sis in enarrando mandatum Dei septimum:* and many such like. But especially he is plentiful in these marginal mementos to P. Martyr: as, *Quid ad hæc mussites, Petre? Damnatur ergo Petrus. Quid ad hæc vel hisces, Petre? Connives ad hæc, Petre? Redde Altissimo vota tua, O Martyr*, &c.

Reflections in it upon the Archbishop of Canterbury.

I shall take no farther notice of this book, except that towards the conclusion there be base and unmannerly reflections upon the good Archbishop of Canterbury, relating to his wife and his book: where, speaking of an article in the Council of Nice, pretended to forbid marriage to priests, he thus accosts him; *Cur non lectitas hæc Synodi hujus sacrosanctæ verba, Thoma Cantuariensis Præsul*, &c. "Thomas Bishop of Canterbury, why do you not read "these words of the sacred Council, that you may the "sooner and readier acknowledge how you are detained in "an evident error, while you think a wife is lawful for "you, whom you have so long abused for the fulfilling of "your lust? Do not drive our countrymen from reading "this [my] book, as lately you have forbid that my *Confutation* should be read by any, which I lately wrote in "English, against that ungodly book published concerning "the *Eucharist*. Which plainly sheweth, that you distrust

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" your own cause, and fear lest your blindness and wicked " ignorance, and theirs by whose labour that book was " patched up, be by any discovered. But what you did, " hath more hurt than helped your purpose. For what " wise man will think your doctrine true, and well defended " and fortified with solid reasons, when he should see you " so earnestly and diligently labouring, and so anxiously " providing, that what is writ against it be not read? Was " the Gospel of Christ propagated by such arts as ye now " are not ashamed to use? For with you neither learning " nor any reasons, however solid and enforcing, have any " weight; with you all the sacred councils lie contemned; " the judgments of the ancients, however pious and learned, " are thrown by, and the authority of Christ's Church is of " no value. Is it not hence, that daily so many abominable " sects arise up among you? Whence, I beseech you, are so " many Arians, Anabaptists, Libertines; whose heresies, " the report goes, John Hoper, our countryman, defends, " who so long hath been esteemed among you little less " than a prophet? Doth it not proceed from the contempt " of the Church and the Fathers? Take heed that God 44 " give you not up to a reprobate mind; and so by little " and little ye fall into most cursed heresies, and make way " for Antichrist."

Smith's letters and fair promises to the Arch-

Thus did this man, without fear or wit, let fly at the most reverend Prelate, partly to recommend himself the more at Paris, where he now was, and partly to revenge himself upon the Archbishop, who, it seems, had not, at his desire and promise of submission, procured him a pardon from the King, and a safe admission into England out of Scotland, whither he had fled. For not long before this, for certain misdemeanours he seemed to have been committed to the Archbishop's custody at Lambeth. Where he was by the gentle Archbishop used with all courtesy, and received from him many benefits, and particularly satisfaction in the controverted points. But Smith takes his opportunity, and on a sudden secretly made his escape, fled beyond

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sea, and at length comes into Scotland. Thence, after some time, weary of that country, or that country of him, he addressed to the Archbishop his letters from St. Andrew's, one writ in January, and two more in February; "acknowledging his sudden and rash departure from him, and "praying that his Grace would forgive the wrongs he had "done him, repenting his evil deeds, and that he would "obtain for him the King's pardon in writing, for the "transgression of his laws in all points, that he might return home again in safety. And promising, that then he "would make a just satisfaction for what he had wrote "against priests' marriage, by writing a book in Latin for "it, and that he would willingly embrace all other doctrines lately established. But otherwise, if he continued "there where he was, a quarter of a year longer, he pretended he must be obliged to write against the Archbishop's book of the Sacrament, and to compose a discourse "against all King Edward's proceedings: which, he said, "he could not with a good conscience do. And then vaingloriously added, that he desired to return home, not so "much that he wanted any good livelihood where he was, "as because it would be dishonourable to the King and "realm, if he should tarry there." But I do not find his return into England, nor a pardon procured for him. Whereupon, I suppose, he was as good as his word, and wrote against the Archbishop's book, and inserted those rude and spiteful lines against him in the book above mentioned.

See them in P. Mart. De Vot. Monast. p. 1654.

Urges justification by faith, before Bishop Latimer.

In fine, to take our leave of this man, to shew how giddy and unstable he was all along, and of what a profligate conscience, whom the Papists esteem one of their best champions in those days, I will relate a passage of him, which P. Martyr received from one who was present at the matter. When this public reader of Divinity, about the year 1537, or 1538, had understood that Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, was the next day to pass through Oxford towards London, and was like to be present at his lecture, he laid aside his ordinary reading, and for that day read out of the fifth chapter to the Romans. And then urged most earnestly the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without works, without merits, and termed the faith that justified, *solissima et unissima.* The Bishop, who was then one of his auditors, after he had done, thanked him, and told him, he perceived he had been mistaken in him, and promised that he would, as occasion offered, recommend him favourably to the King. But when the same day Dr. Cotes, and two abbots named King and Masse, and some other of Bernard college, had argued with him, and charged him sharply 45 for reading such a lecture; the next day he, in the same place where he had read before, revoked all he had said, and asserted quite the contrary doctrine; and acknowledged that what he had read the day before was done out of fear, being astonished at the presence of so great a man, and so unusual a multitude of auditors, and praying, that they would attribute it to his youth; at that time plucking off his cap, whereby every one saw his gray hairs, which caused laughter.

And revokes it the next day.

Bell-metal not to be exported; nor butter, cheese, &c.

England had been largely replenished with bell-metal since the dissolution of the monasteries; and vast quantities of it were shipped off for gain. Nor was the land yet emptied of it. For now it was thought fit to restrain the carriage of it abroad; especially having so near an enemy of France, that might make use of it for great guns against ourselves. Therefore July 27. a proclamation was issued out, forbidding the exportation of that and other provisions, lest the enemy might be supplied, and our own country and army want. It ran, "To our customers, comptrollers, &c. and other our officers within the port of London, and in all creeks and places to the said port belonging, for certain causes and considerations, us, and our dearest uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor of our person, and of our realms and dominions and subjects Protector, and other of our Privy Council, specially moving; we strictly charge and command you, that ye permit, nor suffer to be carried or conveyed out of the

The proclamation.

BOOK I.

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"said port, or any other creeks, any manner of bell-metal, "butter, cheese, tallow, or candles; unto such time as by "our letters patents sealed, ye shall especially have our "farther commandment for the same; the towns of Calais "and Boloign, and the marches of the same, always ex-"cepted, &c. And that upon pain of 200*l.* to be levied of "your lands, goods, and chattels. Dated at Westminster." But this proclamation would not effect the thing intended, though it were founded upon a statute made in the thirty-third of Henry VIII. the inconvenience of having this metal transported being then apprehended. Which therefore occasioned another act of Parliament in the second of this King, anno 1548, that no person should carry or ship off beyond sea any brass, copper, latten, bell-metal, pan-metal, gun-metal, &c. whether it were clear or mixed, tin and lead only excepted, upon certain forfeitures there set down.

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CHAP. VII.

A royal visitation. Injunctions and articles of inquiry. The Bishop of Winchester's behaviour towards it. Consultation of entering into league with the Protestants. Pensions. The Lady Mary chargeth the Protector about religion. A plague.

The King's visitation.

NOW a royal visitation was on foot throughout England, wherein this autumn was spent, to look into and regulate the affairs of the Church and of religion. Of which the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer and other historians speak. I shall add some matters relating to it, omitted by them. The actual order for this visitation was issued out September 1, and during the time the Commissioners for the same were employed abroad, the King caused a Parliament to be summoned, November 4. They carried along with them the King's Injunctions printed, which are ordinarily to be seen. But these were also accompanied with a book of articles, printed at the same time, called, "Articles to be

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" inquired of in the King's Majesty's visitation." These articles were twice printed in the same year by Grafton. They are omitted in Bishop Sparrow's Collections. My late reverend friend, deceased, had one of these books of Injunctions and Articles, and which he verily believed did once belong to Archbishop Cranmer; wherein are certain corrections, as he supposed, of the said Archbishop's own hand: as *High Mass* changed thus, *The celebration of the holy Communion: Mass and Service* changed into *God's service. Injunction* 21, expunged: the latter part of *Injunction* 29. Also *Injunctions* 35 and 36 marked to be expunged. And at the end of the form of bidding the common prayers is added a prayer for the success of the Duke of Somerset's expedition to Scotland, in order to the effecting of the King's match with the young Queen of Scotland; which prayer is writ by the same hand, and is as followeth: " Ye shall also make your harty and effectual " prayer to Almighty God for the peace of all Christian " regions, and especially, that the most joyful and per- " petual peace and unity of this reyalme and Scotland may " shortly be profited and brought to pass, by the most " godly and happy mariage of the Kings Majesty and the " young Queen of Scotland: and that it wold please Al- " mighty God to ayd with strength, wisdom, and power, " and with his holy defence, all those which favour and set " forward the same, and vanquish and confound all those " which labour and study to the lett and interruption of " so godly a quiet and unity, wherof these two realms " should take such a benefyt and profitt: for these and all " other, &c."

Articles of Inquiry. N. Battely. The Injunctions.

A prayer enjoined for peace with Scotland.

And besides the King's Injunctions, the Commissioners gave forth particular injunctions of their own to each Bishop. Those given to Thomas Bishop of Westminster, as I find them in the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, were to this import:

The Commissioners' Injunctions.

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Injunctions given in the King's Majesty's visitation by us, Sir Antony Cook, Knight; Sir Jhon Godsalve, Knight; Jhon Gosnolde, Esq.; Christopher Newinsone, Dr. of Law; and Jhon Madew, Dr. of Divinity, Commissioners specially appointed by the King's Majesty, to visit the churches of Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely; to the right reverend Father in God, Thomas, Bishop of Westminster.

Injunctions for the Bishop of Westminster, Acts and Mon. first edit.

Imprimis, In consideration that above and before all things, such ways and means are to be sought for, whereby the people may learn to know their duties to God, their sovereign Lord, and to one another; you shall cause every Sunday divine service to be done and ended in every parish church within the city of Westminster, before nine of the clock the same day, to the intent that the priests and the laity of the city may resort to the sermon to be made in their cathedral church; except they have a sermon made and preached in their own parish churches.

Item, That whereas by the ignorance of the Clergy not only God's glory is greatly obscured, but also the same Clergy much disdained and evil spoken of by some of the laity, you shall cause that every Parson, Vicar, Chantry Priest, and other stipendiary within the city of Westminster, be present at every lecture of divinity, to be made within the college of St. Stephen; except they, or any of them, have some reasonable let, to be allowed and admitted by your Chancellor, Commissary, or other officer for that purpose, or the reader of the said lecture.

Also you, your Chancellor, Commissary, or other exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical under you, shall proceed in all kinds of causes, *summarie et de plano, sine figura et strepitu judicii:* and shall give sentence in every cause within four assignations after the term, *ad audiendum sententiam finalem.*

All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the King's Majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

Given at Westminster the 3d day of September, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth, of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, the supreme Head.

Antony Coke. Jhon Godsalve. Jhon Gosnold.
Christopher Newinson. Jhon Madew.

But the Articles of Inquiry in this visitation being generally omitted in our historians, I have thought them worthy to be here inserted and preserved.

Articles to be inquired of in the King's Majesty's visitation. 48

For Bishops, Archdeacons, and ecclesiastical Officers.

Printed by Grafton, 1547.

First, Whether the Bishop, Archdeacons, and others, having jurisdiction ecclesiastical, have caused only to be sung or said the English procession in their cathedral church, and other churches of their diocese.

Item, Whether the Bishop, Chancellor, or Commissary, Archdeacon, or Official, be propense and light in excommunicating of men for a little lucre.

Item, Whether they, or any of them, for one man's trespass, have taken away from the people, and the whole parishioners, their divine service: as for violating and suspending the churchyards, and such like.

Item, Whether they do take excessive sums of money for consecrating again, either of the churchyards, or of any other ornaments, for the use of altars or of bells; where is no need of consecration: but is superstitious and lucrative.

Item, Whether they, or any of them, take any great exactions for institutions, inductions, assignations of pensions, or for any other matter ecclesiastical.

Item, Whether they do lightly call any persons before them, *ex officio*, and put them to their purgation, without urgent suspicion, or infamy proved.

Item, Whether the Bishop have not preached, without dissimulation, against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; and set forth the King's Majesty's jurisdiction to be the only supreme power in all his realms and dominions.

Item, Whether the Bishop have personally preached in any of the churches, or any where within his diocese: and how often in the year.

Item, Whether he and his officers have diligently executed, for their part, our late King's injunctions and his letters missives, for a due order in the religion of Christ: and caused the same injunctions and letters to be diligently put in execution through his diocese.

Item, Whether he had learned and discreet officers under him; that do, without any respect of persons, punish such crimes as appertaineth to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Item, Whether he or any of his officers do take any money, or other gifts, to hide and cloak adultery or any other notorious vice, that ought by them to be punished.

Item, If any commutation of penance have been made, to any pecuniary sum. To what purpose the same hath been converted. And what good deeds have been done with the same. And specify the same indeed.

Item, Whether the Bishop hath such chaplains about him, as have been able to preach the word of God; and do the same purely and sincerely. And how oft in the year. And how many they be. What be their names.

49 *For Parsons, Vicars, and Curates.*

Item, Whether Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, and every of them, have justly and truly, without dissimulation, preached against the usurped power and pretenced authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

Item, Whether they have preached and declared, that the King's Majesty's power and authority and preeminence is, within this realm, and the dominions of the same, the most supreme and highest under God.

Item, Whether any person hath by writing, ciphering, printing, preaching or teaching, deed or act, obstinately holden and stand with, to extol, set forth, maintain or defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the Bishop of Rome, or of his see; heretofore claimed or usurped: or by any pretence, obstinately or maliciously invented any thing for the extolling of the same, or any part thereof.

Item, Whether they have declared to their parishioners the articles concerning the abrogation of certain superfluous holydays; and done their endeavour to persuade their said parishioners to keep and observe the same articles inviolably. And whether any of those abrogated days hath sithence the said abrogation been kept as holydays, contrary to the said articles. And by whose occasion they were so kept.

Item, Whether there do remain, not taken down in their churches, chapels, or elsewhere, any misused images, with pilgrimages, cloths, stones, shoes, offerings, kissings, candlesticks, trindals of wax, and such other like. And whether there do remain, not delayed and destroyed, any shrines, coverings of shrines, or any other monuments of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy.

Item, Whether they have not diligently taught, upon the Sundays and holydays, their parishioners, and especially the youth, their *Pater noster*, the Articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. And whether they have expounded and declared the understanding of the same.

Item, Whether they have diligently, duly, and reverendly ministered the sacraments in their cures.

Item, Whether such beneficed men as be lawfully absent from their dioceses, do leave their cure to a rude and unlearned person; and not to an honest, well learned man, and expert Curate.

Item, Whether they have provided and laid, in some convenient places in the church, where they have cure, a Bible of the largest volume in English.

Item, Whether Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Chauntry Priests, and other stipendiaries, be common haunters and resorters to taverns and alehouses; giving themselves to excessive drinking and rioting, and playing at unlawful games; and apply not themselves chiefly to the study of Scripture, teaching of youth, or some other honest and godly exercise.

Item, Whether they be resident upon their benefices, and

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50 *Item*, Whether they that have yearly to dispend in spiritual promotions an 100*l.* do not find competently one scholar in either University, or at some grammar-school. And for as many hundred pounds as every one of them may dispend, so many scholars be found likewise. And what be their names. And they so found.

Item, Whether they keep their chancels, rectories, vicarages, and all other houses appertaining to them, in due reparations.

Item, Whether they have, every Lent, required their parishioners in their confession to recite their *Pater noster*, the Articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments in English.

Item, Whether they have counselled or moved their parishioners, rather to pray in a tongue not known, than in English. Or to put their trust in any prescribed number of prayers; as in saying over a number of beads, or other like.

Item, Whether they have preached, or caused to be preached, purely and sincerely, the word of God, and the faith of Christ, in every of their cures, every quarter of the year once at the least: exhorting their parishioners to the works commanded by Scripture; and not to works devised by men's fantasies.

Item, Whether in their sermons they have exhorted the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, to bring them up in some virtuous study or occupation.

Item, Whether they have exhorted the people to obedience to the King's Majesty and his officers; and to charity and love one to another.

Item, Whether they have moved the people to read and hear the Scripture in English; and have not discouraged them from reading and hearing of the same. Such as be not prohibited so to do.

Item, Whether they have declared to their parishioners,

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that they ought to know and understand the *Pater noster*, the Articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments in English, before they should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, Whether they have taught the people the true use of images. Which is only to put them in remembrance of the godly and virtuous lives of them that they do represent. And that if the people use the images for any other purpose, they commit idolatry; to the great danger of their souls.

Item, Whether they have declared, and to their wits and powers have persuaded the people, that the manner and kind of fasting in Lent, and other days in the year, is but a mere positive law. And that therefore all persons, having just cause of sickness or necessity, or being licensed by the King's Majesty, may temperately eat all kinds of meat, without grudge or scruple of conscience.

Item, Whether your Parsons, Vicars, and Curates have shewed and declared unto you the true use of ceremonies; that is to say, that they be no workers or works of salvation; but only outward signs and tokens, to put us in remembrance of things of higher perfection.

Item, Whether they have permitted any man to preach in their cures, not being lawfully licensed thereunto: or have refused or repelled such to preach as have been so licensed.

Item, Whether they which have spoken and declared any thing for the setting forth of pilgrimages, feigned relics, images, or any such superstition, have not openly recanted the same.

Item, Whether they have one book or register safely 51 kept; wherein they write the day of every wedding, christening, and burying.

Item, Whether the King's Injunctions were quarterly read, or not.

Item, Whether they have declared to their parishioners, whether St. Mark's day, in the evens of the abrogated holydays, should not be fasted.

BOOK I.

Item, Whether the knolling at the Aves be used.

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Item, Whether they have the Procession book in English. And in their processions use none other litany but that which is set forth in the same book. And whether they omit the same English litany at any time in their processions. And whether they have had the same litany as oft as they were commanded.

Item, Whether they have put out of their church books this word *papa*; and the name and service of Thomas Becket: and prayers having *rubricies*, containing pardons or indulgences; and all other superstitious legends and prayers.

Item, Whether they bid the beads, according to the order prescribed by our late sovereign Lord King Henry VIII.

Item, Whether they, or any of them, have been admitted to their benefices by simony, or by any other unlawful means.

Item, Whether in their masses they use not the collects made for the King; and make not special mention of his Majesty's name in the same.

Item, Whether they, or any of them, do keep mo benefices, and other ecclesiastical promotions, than they ought to do; not having sufficient licences and dispensations thereunto. And how many they keep. And their names.

Articles for the lay people.

Whether they know any person that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English; so that it be meekly, humbly, and reverendly done, and without disturbance of the people: and by them that have authority thereto.

Item, Whether you know any persons, spiritual or temporal, which do let the word of God to be preached; or that the King's Injunctions should not be duly executed.

Item, Whether any person hath obstinately and maliciously, without any just and reasonable cause, broken the laudable customs of the Church, commanded to be observed; or superstitiously abused the same. As in casting holy water upon their beads, or other places. And bearing about them holy bread; or making crosses of wood upon

Palm-sunday; or blessing with the holy candle, thinking thereby to put away sins, drive away devils, dreams, and fantasies; or putting trust or confidence of salvation in the same ceremonies. Whereas they be ordained only to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ.

Item, Whether any person, spiritual or temporal, keep the church holyday, and the dedication day, at any time, than is appointed by the ordinance made in that behalf by the King's Majesty.

Item, Whether matin mass and even song be kept in due hours in the church.

Item, Whether any be brawlers, slanderers, chiders, scolders, and sowers of discord between one person and another.

Item, Whether any be common swearers and blasphemers of the name of the Lord.

Item, Whether any use lewd, unchaste, unhonest, and filthy communication, songs, or ballads.

Item, Whether any do use to common, jangle, or talk in the church, at the time of divine service, preaching, reading, or declaring of the word of God.

Item, Whether any do obstinately keep and defend any erroneous opinion, contrary to the word of God, and faith of Christ.

Item, Whether any commit adultery, fornication, or incest; or be common bawds, or receivers of such naughty persons.

Item, Whether you know any that use charms, sorcery, and inchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any other wicked craft, invented by the Devil.

Item, Whether you know any to be married within the degrees prohibited by the law of God; or that be separated and divorced without any just cause, approved by the law of God. And whether any such have married again.

Item, Whether the church, pulpit, and other necessary things, appertaining to the same, be sufficiently repaired.

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Item, Whether you know any to have made privy contracts of matrimony, not calling two or more thereunto.

Item, Whether any have married solempnely without banns asking.

Item, Whether you know any that have taken upon them the execution of any man's testament, or be admitted to the administration of the goods of the dead, which do not duly distribute the same goods, according to the trust committed unto them: and especially such goods as were given, and bequeathed, and appointed to be distributed among the poor people, repairing of highways, finding of poor scholars, or marriage of poor maids. To what uses and intents all such gifts and bequests of cattle, money, or other things, as in time past were made, for the finding of tapers, candles, or lamps, be now employed. And whether to be embecilled and withholden. And by whom.

Item, Whether there be any persons commonly infamed of adultery, fornication, common swearing, blaspheming the name of God, drunkenness, simony, or other notorious crimes, whom the Bishop, Archdeacon, or other the Ordinaries, for favour, have not corrected accordingly: although they have been sundry times presented, and detected in visitation, or otherwise lawfully accused.

Item, Whether there be any other Primers used by them that do not understand Latin, than the English Primer, set forth by the King's Majesty. And whether they that understand Latin do use any other than the Latin Primer, set forth by like authority.

Item, Whether there be any other Grammar taught in any school within the realm, than that which is set forth by the King's Majesty.

Item, Whether they know any alienation of lands, tenements, jewels, or goods, pertaining to the Church.

53 *For Chantry Priests.*

Whether they be resident upon their chantries.

Item, Whether they be aiding and assisting the Parson or Vicar of the church that they be of, in the ministration of the sacraments and divine service accordingly.

Item, Whether they keep and perform all such doles and distributions to the poor, and other deeds of charity, as they are bound by their foundations to do.

Item, Whether they be of ill name, fame, or unhonest conversation; fighters, swearers, drunkards, or incontinent livers.

Item, What benefices, and how many they have, besides their chauntries. And by what title they do keep the same.

How this visitation was resented.

This visitation, if we be desirous to know how it was taken, was generally very acceptable to most of the lay-people, and grievous only to the Clergy: who could not endure to be unsettled from their old ways and courses in the observances of religion. One, who went with the visitors for their preacher, and was a visitor himself, and well observed matters and persons in the parts where he came, perceived how the simple vulgar sort were glad; and conformably willing to hear the pure word of God, and obediently to receive the King's Injunctions, training them to the same. And so they were like to continue, in case their ordinary Curates and Ministers had not been triflers and hinderers thereof, and not been seduced and taught by seditious ear-whisperers. Nor were even the Priests, all of them, these triflers and hinderers, or sinister resisters. For sundry Ministers and Curates, which he knew, were honest, and diligently well-willing towards the truth, in divers shires, where he waited upon the King's visitors, especially in Lincolnshire and other shires of that diocese. And he reckoned, that the honest sort thereabouts would more and more increase by the industrious ministry and uniform concurrence in wholesome doctrine of the Bishop [Holbech,] and Dean of Lincoln [Dr. Taylor.] And the rather, by the helping forwardness of that devout woman of God, the Duchess of Suffolk.

John Old. Prologue before his translation of the paraphrase to the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The dispositions of some priests.

But there was another sort of priests now taken notice of, who, for the safety of their pelf and promotions, employed

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their studies and forecasting policies to please all parties. These were they by whose occasion the people halted between two opinions, not knowing what was best for them to follow, whether God or Baal. " These were," as the before-mentioned person spake, " the messengers of Laodicea; " whose works were neither cold nor hot, but betwixt both, " smelling neither too much of the Gospel nor too little of " Popery. But yet they affected to be called favourers of " the truth, and would fain have God's corn come up; but " yet they dared to sow none any longer than the world, " as they said, *made fair weather.*"

Bishop of Winton refuses to submit to the orders of the visitors.

But of the clerical sort, that most spited this visitation, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, made the greatest figure. He wrote a letter to Sir John Godsalve, one of the visitors, signifying his resolution not to comply with their orders; pretending that he could not do it upon the account of 54 honesty and truth: " which were more dear to him, he said, " than all the possessions of the realm: and in which he " took such pleasure and comfort, that he would never " leave them for any respects. And that if he might play " the last part of his life well, to depart from the bishopric " without offending God's law, or the King's laws, he should " think the tragedy of his life well spent." The letter is in the MS. library of Bene't college, and is transcribed in the Bishop of Sarum's History.

P. ii. Coll. p. 112.

Orders certain proxies to receive the visitors.

But notwithstanding this his declared aversion to the visitation, (which he also laboured by divers letters to the Protector to obstruct,) whether he slipped away from it voluntarily, or was sent for up by the Council, he comes to London, and there he intended to stay. But that he might give as little offence as might be, he left his officers as his proxies, in his absence, with command to shew all submission to the commissioners in his [the Bishop's] name. So before the visitation in his diocese (which was there about October) he went up from his house at Walton; and hearing the visitation should be kept soon after, willed John Seton, one of his chaplains, to do his duty in receiving of them, and obediently to do all such things as by them should be commanded. And he left order with John Cook, his Register, whom he had appointed to appear by proxy in his absence, by virtue thereof to go and receive the visitors at Chichester, without the diocese of Winton. Which he did, and conducted and waited on them into the said diocese, and appeared for the Bishop in the chapter-house of the cathedral church; and there exhibiting the said proxy, gave an oath, *in animam Episcopi*, of obedience to the King's Majesty, as supreme Head of the Church of England, and to renounce the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction. The Bishop also required this his proxy, and commanded his Chancellor, and other his officers, to attend on the King's said visitors, and to see them with all reverence received and obeyed, and their commandments executed accordingly. Which things were truly performed. And at Alton, when the Bishop was going up to the Council, a priest of the diocese repaired to him, to consult what he should do at the visitation then at hand: whom the Bishop willed to obey all such things as should be commanded by the said visitors. And likewise at Kingston he gave the like charge to the Curate there. All this the Bishop, upon his departure, gave in charge in his diocese for obedience and submission, how little soever he liked the visitation. But as for himself, having been before the Council about these proceedings of the King, which he shewed no good liking to, he was committed to the Fleet.

A poem now set forth entitled, A Poor Help.

Indeed Bishop Gardiner was the chief champion that now appeared for the Roman Catholic cause; who did exceedingly bestir himself against making any alterations in religion, both by his letters and influence with the Protector and others of the Court, and by certain books which he wrote, and by this present opposition that he made to the proceedings of the King in this visitation. This temper of Gardiner the Gospellers well enough knew, and he wanted not for their good will expressed towards him, in pamphlets, and especially ballads and rhymes which they made against him: of which he complained to the Protector. Among the

Anno 1547. rest, there was published a very unlucky one, lampoon-wise, put forth somewhat before this year, not without sharpness of wit and fancy, pretending to take the part of the Papists 55 against the Preachers, that now began to preach the Gospel plainly, and to declaim against the papal superstitions. It was entitled, *A Pore Help: the Buckler and Defence of Holy Mother Kyrke.* It began, "Will none in all this land "step forth and take in hand, these fellows to withstand," &c. Setting upon those, and seemingly very angry with them, that spake against the old rites of the Church, and specially the Sacrament of the Altar, and that said, "that "Christ could not all day be kept within a box, nor yet set "in the stocks, nor hidden like a fox, nor be prisoner under "locks, nor be clothed with powdered ermin, nor breed "stinking vermin, &c." The poet pretended also to stand up stiffly for the said Bishop, who had lately, it seems, published something in rhyme against the Gospellers, whose name he veiled under the denomination of, *An able Clerk of late, and worthy in estate.* And described him thus: "He hath been a pardoner, and also a Gardiner; he hath "been a vitailer, a lordly hospitaller, a noble teacher, "and soso a preacher. The Germain his man was hanged, "what then?" Germain Gardiner was his secretary, and executed for high treason under King Henry. A glance is also given in this ballad upon one Miles Hogherd, an hosier, who had wrote a silly book in rhyme against the Protestants. But I refer the reader to the Repository, if he I. be disposed to read this ballad.

Hoper writeth against Winchester.

A more serious book was writ against him by John Hoper, and printed in 4to. this year at Zurich, in English, entitled, *An Answer unto my Lord of Winchester's book, entitled, "A Detection of the Devil's Sophistry," wherewith he* robbeth the unlearned people of the true belief in the most B. Sacrament of the Altar. He dedicated his book to his adversary, the said Bishop, beginning his epistle thus, "Your "book, my Lord, entitled, *A Detection*, &c. was delivered "to me in Zurich, the 30th of April last: the which I have "with leisure and diligence perused, marked your inten-

"tion, and how ye fence a wrong opinion with many fair "words, and divers reasons, &c." It was dated, Tiguri, Sept. 9, 1547.

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Consultation about joining with the German Protestants.

In August there was a consultation about the expediency of entering into league with the German Protestants: which I make no doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other favourers of the Gospel, did press, there having been some agents sent thence hither but the last year. This occasioned Sir William Paget, Secretary of State, a wise man, and well exercised in the matters of the English state, to draw up his thoughts, prepared for the Council, to be deliberated upon by them, and for resolution to be taken in these affairs. Wherein was shewed the ill condition of England at the first coming of King Edward to the crown, and the uncertain state his father left his kingdoms in. It was as follows, as I found it in a volume of the Cotton Library:

Paget's consultation. Titus, b. ii. p. 91.

"The cause of this consultation proceedeth of a care "for the honour and surety of the King's Majesty and his "realms, by the continuance and preservation of his policy "and of his victory.

"This care cometh upon this, that we see apparently the "French King immeasurably desirous to redubb his great "dishonour sustained at the King's hands in the last wars, "by the loss of Boloign: and the Bishop of Rome, with "all his members, ardently inflamed to recover again his "usurped power and tyranny over this realm: and the 56 "Emperor, with all his power, ready to serve the Bishop's "turn; partly moved by a corrupt conscience, and partly "by ambition to reign alone, besides old grudges and displeasures.

"For the defence of these two things, which stand us so "much in hand, it is necessary to make us strong both at "home and abroad. At home, by an establishment of an "unanimity among ourselves, and by gathering of riches, "as much as may be conveniently, and with doing some "things with little charge above use. And abroad, by "knitting unto us the most sincere and surest friends we "can get, to join with us to the effect that we desire.

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"For the working of that which is to be done at home, "we have commodity enough, and shall have time sufficient, "if it be followed out of hand.

"As for friendship abroad, if that either the French "King might be induced to leave Bologn upon some honourable condition, or the Emperor to leave the Bishop "of Rome, by reformation of his conscience, to be moved "thereto both by God's word, and by a certain and great "honour and gain, that should thereby grow unto him; "the one of these were best to serve or turn against the "other: but we see either of them so affected in his opinion, "and by daily experience know so little faith to be given to "any of their promises, when the breach of the same may "serve to their purpose, as we have cause to be at the point "of despair, to find any friendship in either of them longer "than they may not choose.

"The friendship of the Venetian might somewhat serve "our turn: for they be very rich and strong, both by sea "and by land, and have commodity enough to annoy either "the French King or the Emperor, if any of them would "disturb us: and if the fear of the Turk, by means of the "French King, let them not, they are to be thought easy "to be moved to enter league with us. For they fear exceedingly the Emperor's desire of a monarchy. And yet "being well inclined, as it is said, to join in league with us, "would do no harm to our purpose, if the matter might "be mightily advanced.

"After the Venetians, there resteth only the league of "the Protestants: wherein, beside the Almains, we recount "Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These men being now "presently in the war, and we in peace, if we should join "with them, it shall not only somewhat impair our means "to wax rich, but also of our dissembling friends, the Emperor and the French King, make peradventure our open "enemies, and bearing them both, with the Bishop of "Rome, at once in our necks, if not now presently, "yet when they have, all three joined together, subdued "the Protestants. For it may be thought, that if we do

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"join with the Protestants, the French King shall find "some ready way at the Emperor's hand, although not effectual in the end, yet for the time, by practice of marriage, or otherwise, pleasant enough to feed the French "King withal. And this confederation may follow upon "the Emperor's only displeasure against us, though he be "in no extremity, in case we join immediately with the "Protestants.

"On the other side, if we join not with the Protestants, "thence it may be thought, that whether the Emperor "have the gain or the loss, that the French King will 57 "join with the Protestants: fearing (if the Emperor have "the gain) the loss of Savoy and Piedmont, and shall well "see the Emperor's gain bought with so great a loss, as "there shall remain little to defend him, being somewhat "now refreshed; the Turk coming in on the other side, "peradventure with all that he can make; and by these "means overtreading the Emperor, and so leaving us little "help at his hands, and none at the Protestants; but rather an enmity, because we forsook being allied, entered "into a certain practice with them, he shall make himself "a strong enemy for us. If the Emperor have the overthrow, then is it like we will the rather join with the Protestants, and staying the Turk, and having little cause to "doubt the Bishop of Rome, and no cause to fear us, permitting to us peaceably, for the time, Bulloign, &c. he "will convert his whole power, with all the power of Almain, and no small help of Italy, first upon the state of "Milain, (work surely for the Emperor,) and consequently "turn upon us.

"So as, join we or join we not with the Protestants, we "see what is to be looked for at the French King's hands. "Win the Emperor or lose he, and join we or join we "not with the Protestants, we see what is to be feared of "the Emperor, if he win: the worst is, upon the two occasions, to have them both at once winned together to be "our enemies: or the one overcoming, the other to be our "enemy with the power of both, having first overcome the

BOOK I. Anno 1547. "other. The best way is both to keep them from agreeing, and from being any of them any greater. If the "Emperor overcome not the Almains, he is not like to be "greater.

"To bring both these to pass, the best way is to agree "the Emperor and the Almains, by all the means possible. "And this done should be a great stay to and being "done by us, should be a great surety to ourselves.

"If this cannot be brought to pass, then remain we shall "in our former fear and doubt; that for both these quereles, for the Pope and Boloign, or for the one of them, "we shall have both these Princes at the last, or the "power of them both at once upon us. And as it shall be "necessary, out of all question, for the greatest part of our "strength, to work undelayedly our strength at home; so "it is to be considered, whether it be better to have them "both at the end upon us, without any friend at all, or "both upon us, with such friends as we may make now "with little charge.

"For the following of the best way, the first part is generally to open your intent with moderation to the Emperor's ambassador, and by him to learn, as soon as may "be, the Emperor's disposition to give ear to the same. "Which also may be done by our common ambassador "with the Emperor, or to both, if it be thought good. If "the Emperor mislike not the matter, then shall it be well "done, upon knowledge thereof, to send an express man, "not unagreeable to any of both the parts, with such "means of reconciliation as may best be devised, to move "them to the same, with the preservation of their honour.

"In the consultation, whether it were better to join with "the Protestants, and to have of them such a friend, as we "may, rather than none at all, it is to be considered, 58 "with what power they may, at their worst, serve you "withal, and what at their best, both by land and by sea; "and how far forth also we may be entered already with "them.

"William Paget."

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Order for the payment of pensions; By a proclamation.

In September appeared another point of the honesty of the King's policy, in taking care of the payment of his father's debts: unless some will rather look upon it as a device to come to the knowledge of what pensioners were alive, and what dead. The 18th of the said month the King issued a proclamation to be published in every county about the payment of pensions, annuities, and corrodies, granted by his father, or by some abbots or priors: that whereas before, they were used to be paid by the Receivers of the Court of Augmentations, the pensioners were henceforth to receive them yearly at the hand of the Treasurer of the said Court, or of his deputies. And this order to take effect at Michaelmas next. And it was appointed, for the ease of the pensionaries and others, of what house or houses soever they were, to receive their pensions within the shire where they dwelt, at the hand of the said Treasurer or his deputies. It was also commanded, that all having these pensions, annuities, and corrodies, should appear on such a day and place, before the said Treasurer's deputies, who were sent down to take notice of their patents and grants, which they were to bring with them, and to exhibit: to the intent the said Treasurer might be the better ascertained of their states, and of the sums of money he was to appoint to his said deputies; for the contentation of their said pensions. And they were to repair to the place where the King's next audit should be kept within the shire, for the receipt of their pensions. And if any appeared not in person, to send a certificate in writing, under the hands of two Justices of peace, or one Justice and one gentleman, declaring the same to be living, and in lawful state to receive his or their pensions.

Respects from the Court to the Lady Mary.

To the Lady Mary, the King's eldest sister, who was now at Beaulieu, all respects from the Court were shewn. She had lately desired two knights' rooms in Windsor; the one to take place presently, the other the next audience. Which was granted her by the Lord Protector. And in October she sent a letter to Paget, the Comptroller, that one George Brigus, whose wife brought the letter to him, BOOK I. Anno 1547.

might be now placed, and have his fee accordingly. Towards Christmas, the King invited her most courteously to keep her holydays with him, together with his other sister, the Lady Elizabeth. Yet if she were indisposed in her health, as she had lately been, or if it were any otherwise inconvenient for her to come now, the King very obligingly left it to her liberty, and invited her at any other time, when she pleased herself, to resort to him. This invitation of his by writing was signed by divers Lords of the Council; as may be seen by this transcript of it ensuing:

The King to the Lady Mary, inviting her to Court. Otho, C.10.

"Right dear and right entirely beloved sister, we greet "you well. And whereas our right dear and right en-"tirely beloved sister, the Lady Elizabeth, having made "suit to visit us, hath sithence her coming desired to re-"main with us during all this Christmas holydays, like as "we cannot but take this her request in thankful part, so 59 "would we be glad, and should think us very well accom-"panied, if we might have you also with us the same time. "But because the time is now very short, and we be not "well assured in what state of health you be, we pray you "no otherwise to take this journey upon you, but with such "consideration of your health as is meet. And therefore, "if for want of the same you may not conveniently repair "hither before these holydays, we pray you to do that shall "best stand with your quiet and health. And at any other "time, when both the time and your health shall better "suffer, we will be right glad so see you.

"R. Ryche, Canc. W. Saint John. J. Russel.
"Arundel. T. Wentworth.
"A. Wyngfeld. Rich. Southwel."

She censures the proceedings.

Yet she took upon her to censure the King's proceedings, and carried herself with some haughtiness of stomach toward the Counsellors for the present management of affairs. Indeed the stiff Papists, such as Bishop Gardiner, were very much offended to see the reformation proceed, as it did, under this good King: and they gave out, that herein the

King's Ministers, that forwarded these proceedings, brake the late King Henry's will, and were not faithful to their trust. And they set on the Lady Mary (who was of her own nature forward enough to it) to charge these things home to the Counsellors. And to this purpose she wrote somewhat sharply to the Protector: charging him and the other executors of King Henry's last testament, that they did not faithfully fulfil it by their present doings and proceedings. She told him, that the most part of the realm, through a naughty liberty and presumption, were now brought into such a division, as if they, who were the executors of the King's last will, went not about to bring them to that stay, that the King their late master left them in, they would forsake all obedience, unless they had their own will and fantasy. And then it would follow that the King should not be well served, and that other realms would have them of this realm in obloquy and derision; and that not without just cause, as she said. She added, that there was a godly order and quietness left by the King, their late master and her father, in this realm, at the time of his death; and that the spiritualty and temporalty of the whole realm did not only, without compulsion, fully assent to his doings and proceedings, specially in matters of religion, but also in all kind of talk, whereof she herself could partly witness. The present proceedings she esteemed nothing but *fantasy* and *newfangledness*.

Writes to the Protector.

The Protector, nettled somewhat with this her letter, in answer told her, "that neither he nor any other of the "executors, as he knew of, would willingly neglect the full "execution of every jot of King Henry's will, as far as it "might stand with the King their present master's honour "and surety. And otherwise he was sure that her Grace "would not have it take place. They doubted not, but "that their doings therein, and in all other things com- "mitted to their charge, should be such as they should be "able to answer to the whole world, both in honour and "discharge of their consciences. That her words sounded "so ill, that he could not persuade himself but she was set

The Protector's answer and vindication of the King's Counsellors.

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“ That it was so far from a godly and quiet order which “ was left by the late King, and that the spiritualty and “ temporalty all agreed and assented to that King's doings “ and proceedings, that, as she might call to remembrance, “ great were the labours and travails that King had, before “ he could reform some of those stiffnecked Romanists and “ Papists, that they caused his subjects to rise and rebel “ against him. That some of them, *viz.* the Romanists' “ sect, within his realm, as well as without, conspired oftentimes his Majesty's death. Which was manifestly and “ often proved, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters. He appealed then to her, whether all the spiritualty or temporalty did fully consent to his godly orders. He put it to her, as well knowing it, if that King “ did not depart this life before he had fully finished such “ orders as he minded to have established among his people, “ if death had not prevented him. And that it was most “ true, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, “ but left all uncertain; most likely to have brought in “ parties and divisions, if God had not helped. He and “ others could witness, what regret and sorrow their late “ master had at the time of his departure, for that he “ knew religion was not established, as he purposed to have

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"done: and a great many knew, and so did he, what that "King would have done further in it, if he had lived." The letter is of that import, and openeth so much the conclusion of that Prince's reign, and his mature and last mind in religion, that it deserves to stand upon record to posterity; and I had entered it here from a Cotton volume, but find it done already by the right reverend author of the History of the Reformation, among the Collections. Page 115.

A plague.

The plague was this year in sundry places, and, among others, in the city of Westminster, where the King now was, and a great resort of the nobility and gentry, a Parliament being now sitting. Therefore, that as much care as could be, might be taken against the spreading of it, and that infected houses might be known, and so avoided, the King therefore, Nov. 18, set forth by proclamation a charge and command to all persons, inhabiting as well within the said city, as in other places adjoining to the same, in whose houses the said infection reigned, or hereafter should reign, that they forthwith set forth a cross upon their street doors, whereby the King's subjects might know that the infection was or had been in their houses: and moreover, that no manner of person, in whose houses the said infection was, or
hath been, or had resorted to any such infected person, by 61
the space of three months last past, should from thenceforth repair to the Court, or suffer any of the attendants of the said Court, or other gentlemen's servants, whose masters attended the said Court, to enter their house where the said infection of the plague had been, upon pain of his high indignation and displeasure, and farther to be punished, &c.

A proclamation about it.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1547. *A Parliament. Communion in both kinds enacted. The act for chantries. The abuse thereof. Other acts. Letters and disputations between Bishop Gardiner and Martin Bucer. They and Aless meet together in Germany.*

Anno 1547. The Communion in both kinds established.

THIS first Parliament of King Edward sat November 4, and continued sitting till December 24 following. When, among other memorable things which they did, *viz.* when they had enjoined the Sacrament to be received in both kinds, and that the Priests should give notice to the people as often as it should be celebrated, and some such things mentioned in the act; the King had certain Bishops, and other learned Divines sitting, to draw an office in English, to be used for that purpose: which being finished was called, *The Communion;* and is printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collections. This Communion Book was set abroad the beginning of March, with the King's proclamation before it, dated March 8. And the Privy Council sent their letters missive to all the Bishops, together with the said Communion Book, to be distributed to them for their use against Easter next. Which letters were dated March 13, and signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rich. Lord Chancellor, Lord St. Johns, Lord Russel, Lord Arundel, Sir Ant. Wyngfeld, Sir W. Petre, Sir Edw. North, Sir Edw. Wotton. Therein it was said, "how the King, upon that "act of Parliament, had caused divers grave and learned "prelates, and other men learned in the Scriptures, to assemble together; and that they, after long conference, "with deliberate advice, agreed upon that order to be used "in all places, in the distribution of the holy Sacrament." But the issue of this was, that there arose a marvellous schism and variety of factions, in celebrating the Communion Service: some followed the King's proceedings; others admitted them, but did patchingly use but some part of the

The Communion Book.

Fox, p. 1184.

How observed.

book. But many carelessly contemned all, and would exercise their old wonted popish mass.

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An act procured by Cranmer for the Sacrament.

The words of this law for communicating in both kinds being so properly and well expressed, and the penning thereof seeming to me to have been done by the Archbishop himself, it may not be amiss to take some particular notice of it here. The whole act was made for three intents; 1. For the checking and restraint of many, who, because the Sacrament had been so abused in former times to superstition and idolatry, began now to speak very irreverently of the sacred ordinance, giving it many rude and ridiculous names. Such, upon information, were to be punished by fine and imprisonment. 2. To bring in a due use of this Sacrament among the people, empowering them to receive the cup as well as the wafer, according to the institution of Scripture. 3. To break off that unwarrantable practice brought into the Church in the corrupt times of it, for the priest to communicate by himself. And it is to be noted of this act, that it was made before the law for the abolishing of the mass. This remarkable act, both of Cranmer's procuring and drawing up too, as I conjecture, began thus: 62

"The King, perceiving that many arrogant and ignorant "men do pervert many things, well and godly instituted; "and, namely, in the most comfortable Sacrament of the "body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, commonly "called, *the Sacrament of the Altar*, and in Scripture, "*the Supper* and *table of the Lord, the Communion and* "*partaking of the body and blood of Christ.* Which Sa"crament was instituted of no less author than our Saviour, "both God and man, when at his last supper among his "Apostles he did take the bread into his holy hands, and "did say, *Take you and eat: this is my body, which is* "*given and broken for you.* And taking up the chalice, "or cup, did give thanks and say, *This is my blood of the* "*new testament, which is shed for you and for many,* "*for the remission of sins.* That whensoever we should "do the same, we should do it *in the remembrance of him,*

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"*and to declare and set forth his death,* and most glorious "passion, *until his coming. Of which bread whosoever eat*"*eth, or of the which cup whosoever drinketh, unworthily,* "*eateth and drinketh condemnation and judgment unto* "*himself, making no difference of the Lord's body.* The "institution of which Sacrament being ordained by Christ, "as is aforesaid, and the said words spoken of it here be"fore rehearsed being of eternal, infallible, and undoubted "truth; yet the said Sacrament hath been of late marvel"lously abused by the said persons, contemning the whole "thing for certain abuses heretofore committed therein; "reviling it, and disputing ungodly of that most holy "mystery, and calling it by vile and unseemly words: for "reformation whereof, be it enacted, &c.

"And forasmuch as it is more agreeable, both to the first "institution of the said Sacrament of the most precious "body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and also "more conformable to the common use and practice both "of the Apostles and of the primitive Church, by the space "of five hundred years and more, after Christ's ascension, "that the said holy Sacrament should be ministered to all "Christian people, under both kinds of bread and wine, "than under the form of bread only;

"And also, it is more agreeable to the first institution of "Christ, and to the usage of the Apostles, and the primitive "Church, that the people, being present, should receive "the same with the priest, than that the priest should re"ceive it alone;

"Therefore be it enacted by our sovereign Lord the "King, with the consent of the Lords spiritual and tem-
63 "poral, and the Commons of this present Parliament assem"bled, and by the authority of the same, that the said "most blessed Sacrament be hereafter commonly delivered "and ministered unto the people, within this Church of "England and Ireland, and other the King's dominions, "under both the kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine, "except necessity otherwise require: and also, that the "priest which shall minister the same, shall at the least

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" one day before, exhort all persons which shall be present " likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the " same: and when the day prefixed cometh, after a godly " exhortation by the minister made, (wherein shall be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them " which worthily receive the said holy Sacrament, and danger and indignation of God threatened to them which " shall presume to receive the same unworthily; to the end, " that every man may try and examine his own conscience " before he shall receive the same,) the said minister shall " not, without a lawful cause, deny the same to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it," &c.

The act for chantries to be dissolved.

Another act in this sessions that related to religion, was that which gave the King all the colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities or guilds, which were not in the actual and real possession of the late King Henry VIII. to whom the Parliament in the thirty-seventh year of his reign had made a grant of such like colleges, free chantries, &c. not in the possession of the present King. By virtue of which act there accrued to the King all the lands, tenements, rents, and other hereditaments, which had been employed for the finding or maintenance of any anniversary or *obit*, or any light or lamp in any church or chapel. And there were two good causes assigned for this gift to the King. The one was, for the dissolving of superstition, which these colleges and chantries were found to be great occasions of. The other, for the founding of schools of learning, and providing for the poor; for so the preamble of the act gives us to understand, " that a great part of superstition and errors in Christian religion had been brought " into the minds and estimation of men, by reason of the " ignorance of their very true and perfect salvation, through " the death of Jesus Christ, and by devising and fantasying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, " to be done for them that were departed. The which doctrine and vain opinion, by nothing more was maintained " and upholden than by the abuse of trentals, chantries, " and other provisions made for the continuance of the said

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"blindness and ignorance. And secondly, that the alteration and amendment of the same, and the converting "them to good and godly uses, (as in erecting grammar-"schools for the education of youth in virtue and godli-"ness, and for augmenting of the Universities, and better "provision for the poor and needy,) could not in that pre-"sent Parliament be provided and conveniently done; nor "could not nor ought to be committed to any other per-"sons than to the King's Highness."

The abuse of this act thereby.

But this act was soon after grossly abused, as the act in the former King's reign for dissolving religious houses was. For though the public good was pretended thereby, (and intended too, I hope,) yet private men, in truth, had most of the benefit, and the King and commonwealth, the state of learning, and the condition of the poor, left as they were before, or worse. Of this, great complaints were made by 64 honest men: and some of the best and most conscientious preachers reproved it in the greatest auditories, as at Paul's Cross, and before the King himself. Thomas Lever, a Fellow, and afterwards Master of St. John's college in Cambridge, in a sermon before the King, in the year 1550, shewed, "how those that pretended, that (beside the abo-"lishing of superstition) with the lands of abbeys, colleges, "and chantries, the King should be enriched, learning "maintained, poverty relieved, and the commonwealth "eased, purposely had enriched themselves: setting abroad "encloistered Papists, to give them livings by giving them "pensions, yea, and thrusting them into benefices, to poi-"son the whole commonwealth, for the resignation of those "pensions: and so craftily conveying much from the King, "from learning, from poverty, and from all the common-"wealth, unto their own private advantage." Thus he.

Schools wronged.

And bringing in grammar-schools, which these dissolved chantries were also to serve for the founding of, he told the King plainly, "Your Majesty hath given and received, by "act of Parliament, colleges, chantries, and guilds, for "many good considerations, and especially, as appears in "the same act, for erecting of grammar-schools, to the edu-

" cation of youth in virtue and godliness, to the further " augmenting of the Universities, and better provision of " the poor and needy. But now many grammar-schools, " and much charitable provision for the poor, be taken, " sold, and made away; to the great slander of you and " your laws, to the utter discomfort of the poor, to the " grievous offence of the people, to the most miserable " drowning of youth in ignorance, and sore decay of the " Universities." And then, for instance, he mentioned a grammar-school founded in the north country among the rude people there, (who yet were most ready to spend their lives and goods in serving the King at the burning of a beacon,) having in the University of Cambridge of the same foundation, eight scholarships and two fellowships, ever replenished with the scholars of that school: which school was now sold, decayed, and lost. And more there were of the like sort so handled. But this, he said, he recited, because the sale of it was once stayed for charity sake, and yet afterwards brought to pass by bribery, as he heard say, and believed it, because it was only bribery that customably overcometh charity. " For God sake," as he concluded, " you that be in authority look upon it. For if " you wink at such matters, God will scowl upon you."

And the poors' condition made worse.

And whereas also another charitable end of the dissolution of these colleges and chantries was for the better succour of the needy, it was turned much to their damage and prejudice also. Whereof the same reverend man gave one particular instance: namely, that there were in some towns six, in some eight, and in some a dozen kine given unto a stock for the relief of the poor; and used in such wise, that the ordinary cottagers, which could make any provision for fodder, had the milk for a very small hire; and then the number of the stock reserved, all manner of vails beside, both the hire of the milk, and the prices of the young veals, and old fat wares were disposed to the relief of the poor. " These, he said, were all sold, taken, and " made away. The King bore the slander, the poor felt the " lack. But who had the profit of such things, he could

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65 "not tell. But he knew well, and all the world saw, that "the act made by the King's Majesty and his Lords and "Commons of his Parliament, for maintenance of learning "and relief of the poor, had served some as a fit instrument "to rob learning, and to spoil the poor." All this I have said by occasion of the act made this sessions of Parliament for chantries.

K. L.

Private acts.

The rest of the public acts made this first session I forbear to mention; the statute books, ready at hand to every man, will shew them. But the private acts being not so commonly known, because unprinted, and to be found only in the Clerk of the Parliament's office, were these:

An act assuring lands [which once belonged to the Church] to the Lord Rich, and others.

An act for the establishment of a deanery at Wells: the old deanery, as it seems, having been swallowed up.

An act for the restitution of the Lord Henry Stafford.

An act for the restitution of John Lumley, Esq. And another for the restitution of Griffith Ryce, Esq.

The King extolled by the Gospellers.

The King by this time had made a good step in the reformation of religion. For besides the Injunctions and the Royal Visitation, and an English Communion Book, and the Communion to be received in both kinds, the holy Bible in the vulgar tongue, the Homilies, and the excellent Paraphrase of that great scholar Erasmus, were all now by the King's command brought in, for the common use of his subjects. Which made the Gospellers most highly to extol him, and set forth his deserved praises. Thus one of them styled him, "The high and chief admiral of the great navy "of the Lord of hosts, principal captain and governor of "us all under him: the most noble ruler of his ship, even "our most comfortable Noah, whom the eternal God hath "chosen to be the bringer of us unto rest and quietness in "him...... That he had set up his sail already, and was "so well forward of his most godly journey, the gracious "wind of the Holy Ghost serving him, that it made many "a faithful subject of his, according as his calling required, "to come after a good pace...... That he was most godly

Mil. Coverdale's ep. dedic. before the Engl. Paraphrase of the Epist.

"occupied, and continued in stopping up the gaps that "Antichrist and his false doctrine had made in the vine-"yard of the Lord, and in building again the walls of his "house, which, through idolatry, superstition, evil exam-"ple, and horrible abuses, had been broken down. That his "noble acts and statutes, his proclamations and injunctions "testified the same ...... And that his godly homilies, and "notable work of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the holy "Evangelists, were worthy to be compared to the rich "jewels that Moses used to the pleasant garnishing of the "temple. And as for the sacred Bible, and volume of God's "holy book, set forth by his Majesty's appointment, to "be duly practised in all holy exercises within his churches, "as it was the fairest flower of his garden, and the most "precious pearl of God's jewel-house, so because his Ma-"jesty had graciously made them partakers thereof, they "acknowledged themselves no less bounden to his Majesty, "than the Israelites were first to their sovereign Moses, for "bringing them up out of Egypt, and for setting up the "tabernacle; and afterwards to noble King Josias, for re-"storing them again the book of the law."

Bishop Gardiner writes against Bucer.

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In the latter days of King Henry VIII. Stephen, Bishop of Winton, wrote two reproachful letters (*convitiatrices*, as Bucer calls them) against a certain book of the said Bucer, disproving the necessity of *single life* imposed upon priests and monks. Which book he wrote against one Latomus. Wherein Bucer endeavoured to prove, from the word of God, and the consent of the true apostolical Church, that the doctrine that Latomus endeavoured to defend, as the law of the Church, whereby priests were denied marriage, was not a law of the Church of God, but rather the pest of laws: whereby all true sanctity, as well of the clergy as the laity, (following the chastity of priests,) was in an horrid manner laid waste. He shewed what marriage was of itself, an holy state of life, and had that in it whereby the priestly function was not a little helped. And for that cause the Holy Ghost, among the endowments and virtues of a Bishop, set it in the first place, that he should be an husband, and a pious father of a family. Against this book Winchester wrote his two letters. His way of answering this book was not by solid answers (as Bucer complained) taken from the authority of God, and of the whole apostolical Church, but by nibbling at little words, and snatching some places that might allow of a dubious and uncertain interpretation, whereby to shew how acute and sharp he was in perverting things well spoken, and speaking evil of those that deserved it not.

Bucer answers Gardiner.

Gratulat. Buceri ad Eccles. Anglic.

It was somewhat long before Bucer published an answer to Bishop Gardiner, delaying it till the year 1547. For when he had prepared his answer, by enlarging what he wrote against Latomus, consisting of proofs out of the Scriptures, and sentences of Fathers, before he put it forth, he signified his purpose to King Henry: who returned Bucer this answer; "That he had rather he would defer "the publishing it a little longer: for that he hoped he "should with a more quiet and sedate mind discourse with "Winchester, and other learned men of his kingdom, con-"cerning this and other controversies of religion, to find "out some godly reconciliation and restoration of the "Church. Which purpose the King feared might be "somewhat obstructed, if Winchester, whose sharpness in "writing, as he told Bucer, he liked not, should be pro-"voked to write further against him." With this pious and wise answer of the King, Bucer laid aside his purpose of sending abroad the things he had writ in his own vindication.

But at length, in the year 1547, in an epistle to the Church of England, he put forth his answers to Winton's letters aforesaid, under these four heads:

I. That he did piously and truly affirm, in his former book, that many men were so called to wedlock by God, that they could not receive the truly godly single life for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

II. That although it were true, that every one could receive this order of holy single life, if he would, as Winchester contended they could, yet what was now required of all that take priesthood, or the monastic life, was against the authority of the ancient Church.

III. He justified himself, not to have spoke that which was false, as was imputed to him by Winchester.

IV. Concerning the genuine interpretation of that place, *He that standeth firm in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doth well.* And of some 67 other places, as that, *It is not good for man to be alone.* And that, *It is good for a man not to touch a woman.* And that, *Because of fornication, let every man have his own wife*, &c.

A meeting of Bishop Gardiner, and Bucer, and Ales, in Germany. Gratulat. Buceri, p. 55. edit. 1548.

It was about three years before the abovesaid Bishop wrote his letters to Bucer, that they both happened to meet together: where, in consequence of discourse, they fell into a dispute about this argument. For Bucer and Alexander Ales, the Scot, coming, whether on purpose or by chance, where Bishop Gardiner was, being then the King's ambassador in Germany, the Bishop began to discourse concerning some common principles and means, whereby every man might be convinced of the controverted points of religion. Then the Bishop denied that there were any principles and certain way, by which the true doctrines of our religion might be demonstrated, and the contrary refuted. Which Bucer asserted, and then brought this place of Scripture, 2 Tim. iii. concluding hence, that the Scripture divinely inspired was abundantly sufficient to both; as the Holy Ghost there, by St. Paul, testified. But Winchester said, every one fixed the sense he pleased upon the Scriptures; and refused to stand to the interpretation of the ancients. Bucer answered, that to those to whom the faith of Christ, and a desire of following the word of God, was not wanting, was easily shewn from the Scriptures, what was to be followed in religion, and what avoided. And concerning the sense of Scripture in doctrines necessary to our salvation, agreement might with no great pains be made among such, who, by prayer, and a study of godliness, and such like ways, inquired the true sense of Scripture, as inquiry

Anno 1547. is wont to be made into other authors for their sense. But the Bishop would not bring the matter into that narrow compass, but asserted, that every one ought to follow that which princes did decree and appoint concerning religion. Then they descended into a dispute of the power of princes in matters relating to religion. And herein this took up a good part of their discourse, that the Bishop endeavoured to maintain, that princes did well in punishing the transgression of their own laws more severely than that of God's: which Bucer had laid to the charge of princes: as likewise that it was held capital to eat flesh a Fridays, whether it were of beasts, fowl, or fish; or if a priest or a monk married a wife, while in the mean time they made a sport to commit adultery and fornication, and to kill themselves and others with their cups. This gave occasion of falling into disputation of that law whereby marriage was forbid to priests. For the retaining of which law, and the punishing the breach of it, the Bishop said, the prince had as much power over his subject, as the father had over his daughter. And the father, if he pleased, might keep his daughter unmarried. And so it was in the power of princes to command celibacy to priests. Here Bucer urged the restraint of this power, which the Holy Ghost expressed in those words, *Having no necessity, and having power over his own will.* For since none could have power over any other, unless to the edification of godliness, he said, a father had not power from God to keep his daughter unmarried, unless he considered it would be to his daughter's profit, and that he should confer something to her hereby, namely, to her serving of God more 68 readily. But a father was so far from having a power over his own will in this matter, to keep his daughter a virgin, that he had rather a necessity of giving her in marriage. Here Winchester denied, that any necessity was given the father of marrying his daughter from the daughter herself. But Bucer stuck to this principle of Scripture, that a father had not power of keeping his daughter, unless he knew it would be for her spiritual benefit; and if he feared it would fall out otherwise, he must bestow her in marriage. These things were argued more at large in the Bishop's foresaid letters.

In this disputation (because the Bishop in his letter denied that he used any contending in his discourse with Bucer) Bucer could not but take notice of the heat and passion of the Bishop, and as a sign thereof[a], "how the veins "in his hands, the like to which he never saw in any before, "did leap and tremble, as often as Bucer said any thing "that gave him offence; specially if he heard any such "thing spoken by that learned and truly pious divine Alex- "ander Ales, whom Bucer brought with him to Bishop "Gardiner at this conference."

[a] Ut venæ in manibus, quod in nullo unquam homine vidi, subsilirent, et tremerent, quoties audiret à nobis quod offendebat, &c. *Gratulat. ad Eccl. Angl.* p. 53.

CHAP. IX.

Anabaptists. Bishop Ridley vindicated. Latimer's talk with an Anabaptist. Begins to preach. Bishop Gardiner complies with the King's proceedings. Hancock the preacher. His troubles.

Bishop Gardiner set at liberty.

THIS busy Bishop, who had been imprisoned in the Fleet the last day of June, by the Council, was, the latter end of this year, by the King's general pardon, set at liberty: but the Council asked him, whether he and all his diocese would receive the injunctions and homilies lately made. He said, he would conform to all, and enjoin his diocese so to do; but he boggled at the homily of *Justification*, which was set forth to be by *faith*, and not by *works*. And concerning that, he desired some days to consider. And to satisfy and persuade him in this point, Bishop Ridley was sent to him.

Ridley misrepresented by Gardiner.

At this time he and Ridley were appointed to deal with two Anabaptists of Kent: for divers of that sect had lately fled from Germany hither; and began to infect the realm with odd and heretical opinions; and particularly spake contemptibly of the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper

Anno 1547.

So at the same time that Ridley exhorted Gardiner to receive the true doctrine of *justification*, against which he was very refractory, he prayed him to be very diligent in confounding the Anabaptists in his diocese; and that he would be steady in defence of the Sacrament against them. This some Papist did pervert to such a sense, as though Ridley had spoken of and approved a carnal presence. 69 And so Bishop Gardiner reported to some in his house, after Ridley was departed. But though Ridley were not for that gross, corporeal, popish presence in the Sacrament, yet he approved of treating that holy mystery with all devotion and honour; because there were many in those times, who, that they might run the farther from Popery, gave it little or no respect at all. Wherefore he, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, preached earnestly for giving great reverence to the Sacrament: rebuking the unreverend behaviour of many towards it: for there had been fixed upon the cathedral church doors, and other places, railing bills against the Sacrament, terming it, *Jack in a box*, *the sacrament of the halter*, *Round robin*, and such like unseemly terms. Though they meant not these contemptible expressions, I suppose, against the holy Supper of our Lord, but only against the papal mass. But upon this occasion Bishop Ridley declared what estimation and reverence ought to be given to this holy institution; what danger ensued the mishandling thereof: and affirmed, that in it there was truly and verily the body and blood of Christ effectuously by grace and spirit. This some then understood again in the gross sense of the Papists, though he so meant it not.

Depositions against him.

And the more to expose Ridley, when Bishop of London, and to take off his credit, being one of the Commissioners in the year 1550 to examine Bishop Gardiner, the said Bishop got leave for certain of the clergy to be deposed on his behalf; to shew, that Bishop Ridley declared himself once for the corporal presence, and afterwards declared against the same doctrine. And what if he had so done? Is it such a crime to forsake an error, after a man hath found it to be so? But let us see the depositions. The first witness was Maurice Griffith, Archdeacon of Rochester: who deposed, "That Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, "the first year of the King, at Paul's Cross, treated earnestly and vehemently of the Sacrament; and did set "forth the presence of Christ's body there; and called "them hogs and dogs, that did irreverendly behave them"selves touching the same." His second witness was Thomas Watson, his Chaplain; and he deposed, "That "he called them worse than dogs and hogs, that would as"sert the question, How he was there present. And noting "the dignity of the Sacrament said, that in the primitive "times three sorts of people were excluded from the Com"munion, *catechumeni*, *energumeni*, and *pœnitentes*. And "this, he said, he preached the first year of the King, in "November." And then was George Bishop of Chichester deposed, "That in the Parliament at Westminster, 1549, "the same Bishop Ridley did openly impugn the verity "of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament." But so yet, all this came to no more, but that he held a presence, but not after the gross popish way. So that these depositions could not arise to a proof, that Ridley varied in his opinions about the Sacrament.

Acts and Mon. first edit.

Ridley's vindication of what he had said at Paul's Cross.

But this slanderous report got such a vogue among the Papists, that Ridley could never after get himself clear of it. And in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Fecknam, Dean of St. Paul's, had the confidence to relate it publicly in his sermon at St. Paul's Cross, that Ridley once declared himself in that place for a *substantial* change of the bread in the Sacrament. But if we would know indeed what Ridley preached, we may have it from himself: vindicating himself in this matter to Secretary Bourn and Fecknam, in a conference with them in the Tower, shewing them how unjustly and untruly reported he had been, he said, that what he then delivered at Paul's Cross was, "that inveighing against them that esteemed the Sacra"ment no better than a piece of bread, he told his auditors "of the *pœnitentes*, *audientes*, *catechumeni*, and *energu"meni* in the primitive times, who were bid to depart when

Fox's Act. p. 1298.

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Anno 1547.

"the Sacrament was to be administered; and I," said Ridley, "bid *them* depart, as unworthy to hear the mystery; "and then said to those that were the *sancti*, that Cyprian "the martyr should tell them, how it was that Christ called "it, saying, *Panis est corpus, cibus, potus, caro,* &c. *Bread "was the body, meat, drink, flesh of Christ;* because unto "this material substance is given the property of the thing "whereof it beareth the name. And this [common] place," saith Ridley, "I then took to utter as the time would then "suffice, that the material substance of bread did remain." Fecknam heard all this talk of Ridley, as red as scarlet in his face, and said not a word. Yet notwithstanding, Fecknam would afterwards, as occasion served, mention Ridley, as serving his popish purpose. So he told Mr. Hawks the martyr, in his conference with him, that Ridley, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, had preached, "that the Devil believed better than "some among them; for he believed that Christ was able "of stones to make bread, but they would not believe that "Christ's body was in the Sacrament."

The effect of an anabaptistical error.

Among other dangerous errors vented nowadays by the Anabaptists, before spoken of, and believed by many honest meaning people, they held, that after an apostasy from the truth, there was no salvation: and that this was the sin against the Holy Ghost. This put one, about these times, into despair: for he had fallen from the truth known, and after fell to mocking and scorning it. At length, upon some melancholic thoughts, he fell into the hideous condition of desperation, reckoning verily that he had sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost. He repaired unto Latimer the great divine and casuist at this time, and told him, that "he should be damned, and that it was not possible for "him to be saved, for that he had sinned the sin against "the Holy Ghost." Latimer did think, that falling away from the truth was indeed the sin meant, of which the Scripture said, *It should never be forgiven.* But he told the man, "that it was a vehement manner of speaking in "the Scripture, but was not spoken universally, as though "God did never forgive it, but it was commonly called un-

Sermon before the King.

Anno 1547.

"forgivable, because God seldom forgiveth it. Yet that "there was no sin so great but that God may forgive it, and "doth forgive it to the repentant heart." And when no argument he could use had any force upon the man, this best quieted him, and took some place with him. But the said good Father made this observation hereupon, How seldom this sin is forgiven, in that he knew no more, but that one man that fell from the truth, and after repented, and came to grace again, though he had, as he said, known many, that knew more than he, and some whom he honoured, that after they had fallen from the truth, never, this man excepted, returned to grace and the truth again.

Robert Cook, Anabaptist.

The Anabaptists of these days were generally infected also with Pelagianism and other heresies; they were also very confident and disputatious. One of this sort was now crept into the Court, namely Robert Cooke. He was a 71 person of a very courteous fair deportment, of some learning, and particularly well skilled in music. When Parkhurst (he that afterwards was Bishop of Norwich) was preacher to Queen Katharin Par at the Court, he was keeper of the wine-cellar. Here he came acquainted with the said Parkhurst, and also with Coverdale and Dr. Turner, and other learned men in their attendances at the Court. This man, besides that he was against the baptism of infants, denied original sin, and concerning the Lord's Supper he dispersed divers odd things. The said Dr. Turner wrote a book against him, in which he confuted his opinion of original sin. He often created trouble to Parkhurst and Coverdale about these controversies, so that they were tired with him; for he was a man full of words. When Jewel, and other learned men, his friends, came sometimes to Court to visit Parkhurst, Cooke would presently begin a dispute with them, and would never make an end. This man seems to have been among the exiles under Queen Mary, and became then known to the learned Rodulph Gualter at Zuric. Who afterwards in his correspondence with the said Parkhurst, then Bishop of Norwich, inquired after him; which was in the year 1573. He was then

His opinions.

Anno 1547.

alive, and still in the Court, being one of the gentlemen of the Queen's chapel. And for his opinions, which he still retained, had some time before been like to have been discharged of his place. But he made a recantation, and so continued still in his room at the chapel.

Latimer's first sermon.

Second.

January 1, Dr. Latymer began to preach his first sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and so continued for three Sundays successively at the same place. And on March 7, being Wednesday, he preached his first sermon before the King, in a pulpit set up in the King's privy garden, for the convenience of the auditors.

Bishop Gardiner complies with the King's proceedings.

Bishop Gardiner being now set at liberty, was ordered to go down to Winchester, to instruct his diocese: which he did; himself receiving and obeying the book of service and orders for religion; and all the proclamations, statutes, and injunctions that were then set forth by the King's authority, were observed duly, and quietly kept and obeyed by the said Bishop and his ministers of the diocese; as it was deposed afterwards by Seton. His servant Basset also testified, that when the Bishop came down to Winton, (when Basset came also along with him,) he lived quietly, and did with all diligence execute all such laws, proclamations, and orders, as were set forth by the King; as the little book of the Communion set forth before Easter. Which book the Bishop caused to be sent abroad within his diocese, with such diligence and haste as he possibly could. And lastly, when he came first down into his diocese, after his delivery out of the Fleet, he preached two sermons, one at Farnham and another at Winton, wherein he exhorted his audience to be obedient to the King's Majesty as their sovereign Lord and supreme Head; alleging divers texts of Scripture for the same.

The vulgar sort to learn the Pater noster in English.

There was now great care taken, that the vulgar sort might arrive to some understanding of religion, which they were for the most part most barbarously ignorant of before. And for this purpose provision was made, that the people might learn in English the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ave, that used always to be said before in Latin; but especially the Lord's Prayer, commonly called *the Pater noster*. And therefore the better to inculcate it into the memories of the people, Latimer used to say this prayer constantly both before and after sermon, in the country where he was. And 72 when any poor people came to him to ask an alms, he would oppose them with the Lord's Prayer, and bade them say it; and cause his servants sometimes to require them to say it. Many would tell him, they could say the Latin *Pater noster*, and others, that they could say their *old Pater noster*, (as they termed the Lord's Prayer in Latin,) but not the new, meaning that in English.

Troubles of Hancock the preacher.

I will now insert a narration of the troubles of one Thomas Hancock, a preacher, who in the latter time of King Henry, and the reign of King Edward, did much good in Wiltshire and Hantshire, by his diligent preaching the Gospel, of whom somewhat was said in another book. In the beginning of King Edward's reign, for preaching against the mass at Salisbury, Dr. Steward and Dr. Oking, Chancellors to Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Capon, being present, he was required of the Mayor to find sureties to answer for his sermon the next assizes; because he pretended Hancock had spoke contemptuously of the Sacrament, contrary to a late proclamation, (which we shall hear more of by and by,) *viz.* that no nicknames should be given to the Sacrament; though he said for himself, that that which he spake against was not the Sacrament, but an idol. But seeing no way but to find sureties, or to go to gaol, six honest men were bound for his appearance. What followed upon this, I had rather you should have it from his own full relation; which was in these words:

Cranmer's Memor. p. 174.

His relation thereof. Foxii MSS.

"When I came to the assizes, Sir Michael Lyster, being "Lord Chief Justice, wylled me to have certayn to be "bound for me, that I shold not be before the Kyng in his "proceedings. I making no haste to get my securities, "my Lord Chief Justice called upon me very earnestly, "that I should get some to be bound for me. The Bishop "sitting at the bench, I requested him, that forsomuch as "my trouble was for the word of God, that he and his

"Chaplain, one Mr. Reeve, wold be bound for me. My "Lord Chief Justice rebuked me, bycause I chose my sureties out of the bench, saying, that yf he wold be my "surety, he would not take hym. So I stode styl, not "seking any to be bound for me. Wherat my Lord was "not very well pleased, and said unto me, Why seke ye "not some to be bownd for you? I aunsweryd, that I knew "not to whom to speak. There was present a woolen "draper, one Harry Dymoke, who asked my Lord, what "the band was; who awnsweryd, one hundred pounds. He "sayd again, that an hundred of them wold be bownd in "an hundred pounds for me. Another sayd, that a thousand of them wold be bownd in a thousand pounds for "me. Wherat my Lord rebuked me, saying, See what an "uproar you make among the people. I sayd unto him, "I pray you, my Lord, lay no such thing to my charge. "I stand before you, and stir not. It ys God that moveth "ther harts thus to speak: I prayse his name for yt. "Then did my Lord again enter talk with the abovenamed "Harry Dymoke, and asked hym, whether ten of them "wold be bownd in an hundred pounds, for yf one hundred persons should be bownd in an hundred pounds, "the names then wold occupy more ink and paper than
73 "the obligation. Harry Dymoke answered, that I had no "rule of my self in that place [*i. e.* the pulpit,] and that "they thought that I wold break the band. Which yf I "shold, that wold greve them to forfeit x pounds a piece. "But in that quarrel to forfeit xx pound a piece yt wold "never greve them. So was the first band discharged; "and my Lord bownd ten of them in x pound, and I my "self was bownd in xc pound.

"This don, I ryd from Salisbury unto my L. of Somerset "hys Grace, who lay at that tyme at Syon. I requested hys "Grace, that I mowght have his letter for the discharge "of them that were bownd for me. He cawsed my Lord "Treasurer hys Honor, that now is[a], (who than was Master "of the Requests,) to write to my L. Chefe Justice for the "discharge of the band. Which letter, whilst I was with

[a] Sir W. Cecyl, L.Burghley.

" my Lord at Hampton [b] to deliver, the bel rong to the " sermon. My Lord asked me, whether I mynded to " preach. I awnswered, Yea. My Lord said unto me, that " Hampton was a haven-town, and that yf I shold teach " such doctrin as I taught at Sarum, the town wold be " divided; and so shold that be a way or a gap for the " enemy to enter in. And therfore he commaunded me " that I shold not preach. I awnswered, that I wold not " take that for a forbydding, but that forsomuch as the " people resorted to the church at the rynging of the bel, " to hear the word of God, they shold not return home " agayn voyd of God's word. My Lord sayd agayn unto " me, that I shold not preach; and that there was one " in the Tower, (meaning Bishop Gardiner,) that he would " beleve before four hundred such as I was. I awnswered, " that he spake those words betwyxt him and me, but yf I " had record of them he wold not speak them. So my " Lord sent for the Maior and his brethren. Mr. Maior " asked me, whether I cold be content, that another shold " supply the room for me. I awnswered, Yea; and that I " was as willing to hear the word, as to preach my self. So " did Mr. Maior send to one Mr. Gryffeth, who did preach: " and my Lord being present, he chalenged him, that he, " being Chief Justice of the land, did suffer images in the " church, the idol hanging in a string over the altar, candlesticks, and tapers on them, upon the altar, and the " people honouring the idol contrary to the law; with much " other good doctrin. I praysed God for yt. And thus " were my friends of Sarum, that were bound for me, discharged their band.

[b] Southampton.

Sarum.

" This trouble being overcome, another followeth. For " after thys, I was called the same year (which was the first " year of King Edward) to be the Minister of God's word " at the town of Pole, in comt. Dorcet. Which town was " at that tyme wealthy. For they embraced God's word; " they were in favour with the rulers and governors of " the realm: they were the first that in that part of England were called Protestants: they did love one another,

The town of Pole, backsliders.

Anno 1547.

The affection of a loving pastor.

"and every one glad of the company of the others: and so "God powred his blessings plentifully upon them. But "now, I have sorow to set my pen to write yt, they are become poor, they have no love to God's word; they lack "the favour and friendship of the godly rulers and governors to defend them. They fell from their profession; "they hate one another; one cannot abyde the company of "another; but they are divided amongst themselves. *But, "O Lord God, heavenly Father, which workest all things* 74 "*for the best unto thine elect and chosen, and art a God "of mercy and long-suffering, suffer not that town of Pole, "if it be thy good will, to come to desolation; but, merciful "God, who hast the harts of all men in thine hands, and "dost turn them whom thou wilt turn, give them harts to "repent, and powr thy blessings upon them, that they may "embrace thy word, that they may be not only hearers, but "obedient followers and doers of the same; and that they "may love one another. And so pour upon them thy blessings, that they may come, not to a worse, but to a better "state, for thy dear Son Christ Jesus sake, our only mediator and advocate.*

His sermon at Pool.

"I being the Minister of God's word in Poole, preaching "the word upon some Sunday in the month of July, inveyed against idolatry and covetousness, taking my place "out of the sixth of the first of Timothy, *Deus immortalis "est, et lucem habitat inaccessibilem, quem nemo hominum "videt, sed nec videre potest.* The brightness of the Godhead is such, that yt passeth the brightness of the sun, of "angels, and all creatures; so that yt cannot be seen with "our bodily eyes; *for no man hath seen God at any time "and liveth:* the Priest at that time being at mass. Yf "that be so, that no man hath seen God, nor can see God "with these bodily eyes, then that which the Priest lifteth "over his head is not God; for you do see yt with your "bodily eyes. Yf yt be not God, you may not honour yt "as God, nether for God. Wherat old Thomas Whight, "a gret rych merchant, and a ring-leader of the Papists, "rose out of his seat, and went out of the church, saying,

" *Come from hym, good people, he came from the Devil,* " *and teacheth unto you devilish doctrin.* John Nothrel, " *alias* John Spicer, following hym, saying, *It shall be God,* " *when thou shalt bé but a knave.*

What happened to him there on All Saints day.

" The same year in the day of All Saints, as they call " yt, after that I came from expounding some place of the " Scripture at evening prayer, the abovenamed Thomas " Whight, John Nothrel, and William Haviland came to " the Priest, commanding hym that he shold say *dirige* " for all sowls, I commanding hym the contrary; they sayd " they wold make me to say *dirige.* I awnswered, not " whyle they lived. Than did all three with one mouth cal " me *knave*, and my wiff *strompet:* some of them threatning me, that they wold make me draw my gutts after " me. The Mayor being an honest good man, Morgan " Reed by name, thrust me into the quire, and pulled the " quire dore fast to me, commanding them to keep the " King's peace. But they spared not to call the Mayor " knave. The Mayor had much work to stop this hurly " burly, untyl he had got the chefe of them out of the " church. So was I driven again to be a sutor to my Lord " of Somerset his Grace. Who willed me to resort to Mr. " Cecyl, then Master of Requests, but now Lord Treasurer " of England. Of whom I had also another letter for my " quyetnes in preaching of God's word in the town of Pool. " From that tyme I contynued in Pool untyl the death of " good King Edward."

CHAP. X.

75

Lands, advowsons, and rectories settled upon certain churches and bishoprics, deans and chapters. Cheke and Latymer gratified. Treaties with foreign princes. The King's gifts. The strangers' church at Canterbury. Orders to the Archbishop for taking away images.

Grants of the King.

IN the first year of the King he took care for the settlement of revenues upon divers churches and colleges; from which either his father had taken their lands, and had not made them recompense by others equivalent, (which he yet by his last will required to be done,) or he himself to satisfy his courtiers: that so he might maintain religion and learning, by maintaining the estate of the church. Here follow then the manors and lands granted by the King, with the considerations why, as I took them from his Book of Sales:

To the Dean and Chapter of Worcester.

May 22. To the Dean and Chapter of Wigorn, in consideration of the lordships and rectories of Grimley and Halowe, and the manor of Hymwyke and Woodhal, in the county of Wigorn, and others, and in performance of King Henry's will, was granted the rectory of Kemsey in the county of Wigorn, with the appurtenances, lately parcel of the possessions of Rafe Sadleyr, Kt. and granted to the said King Henry; and divers other manors, rectories, lands and tenements in the counties of Wigorn, Glocester, Lancaster, Hereford, and Bedford. The yearly value whereof was 180*l.* 1*s.* 8*ob.* certain rents reserved.

And to the Bishop thereof.

June 3. To Nicolas Bishop of Wigorn, for the fulfilling King Henry's last will, were granted the advowsons and rectories of the churches of Grimley and Halowe, late parcel of the possessions of the cathedral church of Wigorn, value 14*l.* 1*s.* 11*ob.*

The same June 3, to the same Nicolas, in consideration of the exchange of the lordships of Stoke Episcopi and Hernbury in the salt marsh in the county of Glocester, and other possessions in Glocester, Middlesex, and London, and for the fulfilling of King Henry's will, were granted the manors of Grimley and Halowe, parcel of the possessions of the cathedral church of Wigorn, and divers other lands and tenements in Surrey and London. The yearly value 135*l.* 6*s.* 9*ob.*

To the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

Aug. 20. To Richard Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, in consideration of the manors of Longdon, Bewdesert, Rugeley, Heywood, Barkeswich, and Cannok, and divers other lands and tenements in Staffordshire, and for fulfilling King Henry's will, were granted the advowson of the rectory of Wolstaunton in the county of Stafford, and the rectory of Belgrave in the county of Leicester, and of the rectories of Pightesly, Buckby, and Towceter in Northamptonshire; and divers other advowsons and prebends in the county aforesaid, and within the bishopric of Bangor. The yearly value whereof was 183*l.* 8*s.* 1*obq.* with considerable rent reserved. 76

To the Dean and Chapter of Winton.

Aug. 21. To the Dean and Chapter of the Holy Trinity, Winton, in consideration of the exchange of the manors of Overton, Alton, Stockton, and Patney, and of the rectories of the two former, in Wilts, were granted the advowson of the rectory of Gresford, within the bishopric of St. Asaph, and of the rectory of Crockhorn in the county of Somerset, and the advowson of the rectory of Laugherne in the county of Cardigan, and the rectories and churches of the same.

Aug. 30. To the Provost and College of St. Mary, at Eaton, for 25*l.* 6*s.* 3*ob.* and in performance of King Henry's last will, and in consideration of the exchange of the manors of Milborn Beck, Lutton, and Ponyngton in the county of Dorset, and divers other lands and tenements, were granted the revenues of Great Compton in the county of Warwick, lately parcel of the possessions of Thomas Crumwel, Kt. late Earl of Essex, attainted of high treason, and of Bloxham in the county of Oxon, late parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of Godstow in the same county, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Oxford, Bedford, Lincoln, and Warwick.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Aug. 31. To Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, in consideration of King Henry's promises, and in performance of his last will, and for the exchange of the manor and park of Mayfeld, &c. were granted the rectories of Whalley, Blackborn, and Rochdale, &c. as is more at large related elsewhere.

Memorials of Cranmer

To the Bishop of Lincoln.

Sept. 2. To Henry Bishop of Lincoln, in consideration of the exchange of the manor of Dorchester, Cropredy, Wardington, Cotes, Newthorp, Cethorp, and Burton, in the county of Oxon, and divers other manors, lands, and tenements, in the counties of Rutland, Leicester, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Nottingham, and Lincoln; were granted him the capital mansion and outward gate of the college of Thornton in the county of Lincoln, and divers other manors, lands, and tenements in the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Sussex, Nottingham, Carmarden, with considerable rent reserved.

To the Bishop of Oxon.

About this time, to Robert Bishop of Oxon, for the fulfilling King Henry's last will, were granted the rectories of Welsford, Sibbertoft, and Overton, with the appurtenances in the counties of Northampton and Leicester, and the manors of Medley, Hokenorton, and Watlington, in the county of Oxon, and divers other lands and tenements in Oxon, Bucks, London, and Berks, to the yearly value of 391*l.* 1*s.* 5*ob.* Rent reserved, 37*l.* 14*s.* 9*ob.* To commence from the feast of the Annunciation, an. 38. Hen. VIII.

To the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

Sept. 27. To the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London, in consideration of the manor of Roumwel in Essex, and of the manor of Drayton in Middlesex, and divers other lands, tenements, and rents, and in full execution of King Henry's last will, was granted the advowson of the rectory of Charing in Kent, and the chapel of Egerton in the same county, and the manor of Mockyng in Essex, lately parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of Berkyng in the said county, and divers other lands and tenements in Kent and Essex. Rent reserved, 12*l.* 1*s.* 3*ob.*

To the Dean and Chapter of Windsor.

77 Octob. 7. To the Dean and Canons of the King's free chapel of St. George within the castle of Windsor, as well for the fulfilling King Henry's last will, as for exchange of the manor and rectory of Iver, and of the manor of Damary court, and divers other lands and tenements, to the said King Henry given and made over, and divers others surrendered by the said Dean and Chapter, were granted the rectories and churches of Bradnynch, Northam, Iplepen, Assington, and South Molton, in the county of Devon, and divers other manors, rectories, lands, and tenements in Devon, London, Wilts, Glocester, Kent, Surrey, Cornwall, Middlesex, Oxon, Bucks, South Wales, Brecon, Carmarthen. Rent reserved, 4*l.* 2*s.* 8*ob.* and 18*l.* 7*s.* 9*ob.*

To the Dean and Chapter of Thornton.

The same date. To the Dean and Chapter of the collegiate church of Thornton in Lincolnshire, in consideration of the manor of Carleton in the moor land, in the county of Lincoln, and divers other lands and tenements in the same county, were granted the advowson of the rectory of Flamsted in the county of Hertford, and the advowson of the rectory of Holme in Spalding, in the county of York.

The church of Norwich new founded.

Nov. 5. For the erection or founding of the deanery and chapter of Norwich, was granted the scite of the late cathedral church of Norwich, with all its ancient privileges, and all the jewels and implements of the said church.

To the Dean and Chapter of Norwich.

Nov. 9. To the Dean and Chapter of the church of the Holy Trinity in Norwich were granted in perpetual alms the manors of Hindoleston, Newton, Catton, Pookethorp, Eaton, Taverham, Aldeby, Ambringale, Worsted, Dyllaham, and divers other manors, lands, and tenements, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Kent. And the time of the issues was from the time of the dissolution of the cathedral church of Norwich. Rent reserved was 89*l.* 11*s.* 5*ob.*

How this church came to be founded by K. Edward.

For it may be here marked, that this church of Norwich continued a monastery of prior and monks to the second day of May, ann. Reg. Henrici VIII. xxx°. At which time the said King Henry translated them from a prior and convent into a dean and chapter, as by his letters patents appear. By virtue of which letters patents they continued a dean and chapter, and held all the lands to the late prior and convent belonging, till the 3d of June, anno 1 Reg. Edw. VI. At which day and time the said dean and chapter, for certain causes them moving, did surrender into the hands of the said King Edward all their said church, and all and singular their lands and rights whatsoever. Whereupon the said King, in the month of November aforesaid, did anew erect and found the said church, by the name of *Ecclesiæ Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Norwici ex fundatione Reg. Edward VI.* and did endow it with all and singular the lands, &c. aforesaid; reserving to himself the rent above mentioned. Which Queen Elizabeth by letters patents remitted, saving 50*l.* by year. The reason the Dean and Chapter thus surrendered their church seemed to have been, because they doubted of the title of their settlement by King Henry; the Bishop of the diocese, who was the founder of the priory in succession, not having given his consent to the translation of the said priory into a dean and chapter. Which flaw afterwards caused great trouble to this church under queen Elizabeth.

The Lord Admiral gratifies Cheke.

78 At Christmas I find the King's uncle, Sir Thomas Seimour, Lord Admiral, the Queen Katharin Par being at Enfield, gratified Mr. Cheke, the King's careful instructor, with a gratuity of twenty pounds, giving him also twenty more for the King, to dispose among his servants that good time. Though Cheke, knowing probably the ambitious and designing nature of the Admiral, was very loath to take his gift, but he pressed it upon him.

The King gives 20*l.* to Latimer.

The Lent following, Latimer preached before the King, and his Majesty, being minded to bestow some royal gift upon the preacher, sent to his said uncle for money, and for his direction what he should give him. Whereupon he sent the King forty pounds, with advice to bestow half thereof upon Latimer, and the other half as gratuities among his servants.

Treaty concluded with France;

That which was done abroad this year was the securing of a good understanding with the King's neighbours. Thus a treaty was entered between King Edward and King Francis of France, for taking away all occasions of strife and contention about the limits of the new conquests of Boloign and Boloignois. Which treaty was agreed, sealed, and delivered by the commissioners on both sides. And immediately after, that King died. And Henry II. his son, succeeded; who soon violated that treaty; as shall be seen hereafter.

And the Emperor.

There was also a treaty of peace, sealed Jan. ult. between King Edward and Charles V. Emperor of Rome: to whose care and friendship King Henry his father, on his deathbed, recommended his son, the said King Edward.

The King's gift this first year.

In this first year of the King, the courtiers got away from him a great number of fair lordships and manors, on pretence either of services, or for making good King Henry

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his father's last will, or by way of purchase for disproportionable sums of money, made in consideration of former services, and in compliment of the deceased King's will. These lands thus given and granted were for the most part such as had belonged to monasteries and religious foundations, or bishoprics. In this manner were these persons following gratified; Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Rich, Marquis of Northampton, Earl of Southampton, Lord St. John, Lord Russel, Lord Clynton and Say, the Lord Seimour, Gertrude Lady Courtney, Sir William Paget, Sir William Herbert, Sir Thomas Pope, Sir John Bridges, Sir Rafe Sadleir, Sir Thomas Cawarden, Sir John Gates, Sir Richard Lee, Sir Rafe Fane, Sir Richard Mannours, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Philip Hoby, Knights; Thomas Denton, John Harrington, Richard Cotton, Edward Waldgrave, Tho. Paston, Henry Thompson, Ger. Harmond, Richard Cecyl, Esquires, and others. It would be too long to set down what lands and estates were passed over to each of them particularly. Which otherwise might be done.

Book of Sales.

The beginning of the strangers' church at Canterbury.

I find divers outlandish learned and godly men this year at Canterbury: among the rest there was John Utenhovius, a person of honourable rank and quality, afterwards elder and assistant to John a Lasco's church in London. Here was also Valerandus Pollanus, and one Franciscus; and the year after, Bucer was here. Now, I conjecture, were the beginnings of the foreigners' church planted in Canterbury, by the countenance and influence of Arch- 79 bishop Cranmer. There was a loving correspondence held between the said Utenhovius here, and P. Martyr now at Lambeth. In one of his letters wrote to him this year, he had desired Martyr to let him know the state of religion, how it stood at that time in the land; about which, in the winter of the year 1547, there being then a Parliament and a Convocation, both were mainly employed. Martyr wrote him an answer, by a letter dated Jan. 15, and superscribed *Nobili Viro D. Utenhovio;* "That as yet he knew nothing

E Biblioth. Eccl. Belg. Lond.

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"determined, but that all the most knowing men bid us be "of good heart, and give hopes that the matter will suc-"ceed very well. God grant, added he, that it may so "happen speedily and quietly. *Reverendissimus noster et "strenuè et maxima cum laude bonorum, pugnat;*" that is, "Our most reverend friend and father the Archbishop "contends for it strenuously, and with the greatest praise "of good men." And whereas Utenhovius had writ to Martyr, that they had at Canterbury *conciones intra parietes, et conventus pios; i. e.* "sermons and godly meet-"ings within their own walls;" Martyr makes only this remark thereupon, that he doubted not, the Devil envied these beginnings.

In the year after this, *viz.* 1548, P. Martyr wrote another letter, dated Sept. 21, from Oxford to Utenhovius at Canterbury, with the Archbishop there, removed thither for the plague that then was in or about London. In this letter there was not much besides a friendly correspondence, and the signification that he had wrote a letter to Dr. Ponet, the Archbishop's chaplain, about the business Utenhovius had desired him. With this letter Martyr told him he had sent three French crowns in gold borrowed of him: (which, I suppose, he did upon his first coming to Canterbury after his arrival in England.) And concluded, wishing him, and all the holy brethren with him, health and welfare in the Lord.

The Council to the Archbishop, for taking away images.

Images in churches had been so grossly abused, and such idolatry and superstition committed by the means of them, that it was in the King's Injunctions commanded to the visitors to remove them every where, wheresoever they had been abused by pilgrimages, censings, and offerings. Which was yet not so fully done, but that still they remained in many places, there being great strife and contention about them. For the old priests were loath to part with these their figures painted and dressed: and many were desirous to retain all, how grossly soever they had been abused. In some places where they were taken down, they were set up again, after the visitors were gone away. The great pretence of those that were so tender of these images was, that some of them had not been abused, and that such and such had not been offered unto nor censed. And such stir was made about them, that tumults were likely to arise. And it was observed, where images were left, there was most contest, and most peace where they were all sheer pulled down, as they were in some places. Therefore in the month of February the Council wrote to the Archbishop, "that the lively images of Christ might not contend "for dead images, which were things not necessary, and "without which the Church of Christ continued most "godly many years." Therefore they signified to him, that it was the King's pleasure, with the consent and advice of his Council, that all images should be removed out of churches and chapels in his diocese; and that he should 80 signify the same to be done, unto all the Bishops within his province. This was dated from Somerset place, and signed by the Lord Protector, the Lord Russel, the Lord Arundel, Sir Thomas Seimour, Sir Anthony Wyngfeld, and Sir William Paget. And accordingly the Archbishop (who no question moved for it) sent a copy of this letter, with his own command thereupon, speedily issued out, to Edmund Bishop of London. I do not here transcribe the Council's letter, as it is in Cranmer's register, because it is done already in Bishop Burnet's History.

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CHAP. XI.

Sundry wholesome orders of the King for religion. For the Communion. For Lent. Innovation forbid. The Book of Common Prayer drawn up: enacted. The Psalms in metre. The good progress of the Reformation. The revenues of the Church struck at.

Anno 1548.

WE shall now shew some farther cares of the young King and his uncle, the Protector, for the good estate of religion, and for keeping the heady people of both persuasions from running into exorbitances.

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Unseemly talk and dispute of the Sacrament forbid.

There were not a few, who, towards the declining of this year, did, more openly and commonly than before, speak of the holy Sacrament with much contempt. Which, to speak the truth, the former idolatrous and superstitious doctrines thereof had given great occasion to: so that men condemned in their hearts and speech the whole thing, and reasoned unreverently of that high mystery: and in their sermons, or readings, or communication, called it by vile and unseemly terms. They made rhymes, and plays, and jests of it. And this occasioned chiefly by the misuse of it: as it is expressed in the act of Parliament of the first of Edward VI. cap. 1. Therefore was that act of Parliament made, being the very first act of this King. And to back this act, especially when these contemptuous dealings with the Sacrament continued still, and ceased not, the King sent forth a severe proclamation, December 27, against these irreverent talkers of the Sacrament. Which I believe Archbishop Cranmer and Dr. Ridley between them were the composers of. This proclamation mentions the foresaid act, calling it *a good and godly act*, and that it most prudently declared, by the words and terms of Scripture, what is to be believed and spoken of the said Sacrament. With which words and phrases of Scripture the King required all his subjects to acquiesce. And to put a stop to those frequent and common disputes and wranglings concerning the manner, nature, or ways, the possibility or im-
81 possibility of those matters, and those superfluous questions and inquiries that many made; as, "Whether the "body and blood of Christ was there really or figuratively, "locally or circumscriptly, and having quantity and great"ness, or but substantial and by substance only, or else but "in a figure and manner of speaking? Whether his blessed "body be there, head, legs, arms, toes, nails, or in any "other shape or manner, naked or clothed? Whether he be "broken or chewed, or he be always whole? Whether the "bread be there, as we see, or how it departeth? Whether "the flesh be there alone and the blood, or part, or each "in other, or in the one both, in the other but only blood;

"and what blood? that only which did flow out of his side, "or that which remained?" Being not contented reverently to accept and believe the said Sacrament, according to the saying of St. Paul, *The bread is the communion*, or partaking, *of the body of Christ, and the wine*, likewise, *the partaking of the blood of Christ:* and that the body and blood of Christ is there. Which is our comfort, thanksgiving, and love-token of Christ's love towards us.

Therefore the King, by this proclamation, did strictly forbid any such contemptuous talking of this mystery, or openly to argue, preach, or affirm any more terms of the Sacrament than be expressed in the holy Scriptures, and mentioned in the foresaid act; until the King, with the advice of his Council and Clergy of the realm, should set forth an open doctrine thereof, and what terms and words may justly be spoken thereby. But that in the mean time his subjects should take the holy bread to be Christ's body, and the cup, the cup of his blood, according to the purport of the holy Scripture. And yet the King declared, that he allowed the ignorant to learn quietly and privately, and to demand of such as knew more, farther instruction in the said blessed Sacrament: so it were done not in contention, nor in open audience, nor with a company gathered together. Nor did he prohibit any man hereby quietly, devoutly, and reverently to teach and instruct the weak and unlearned, according to the better talent by God given to him.

And finally, the Justices were to apprehend and take all such as did contentiously and tumultuously, with companies or routs, dispute, argue, or reason, maintain or define the questions before mentioned. This is the sum of this notable proclamation. *Vide* the Repository. M.

The King commands the keeping of Lent.

This sort of men, that thus disrespectfully carried themselves towards the Sacrament, had as little opinion of Lent, and the keeping of it, supposing it to be a papal encroachment upon the liberty of Christians, to whom all meats were lawful. But the King, as he required the strict observation of this ancient ecclesiastical custom, and other

Anno 1548. fasting times, by a proclamation dated Jan. 16, so therein, to satisfy all persons, was shewed the lawfulness and conveniency thereof to be observed in his realm. It is well drawn up, and by the pen, I suppose, of the Archbishop, or some of his divines. In the preface it is expressed, "how the King had the only cure and charge of his "realms, not only as a king, but as a Christian king, and "was supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland. That he had a desire and will to lead his people in "such rites, ways, and customs, as might be acceptable to "God, and the farther increase of good living. That his "subjects now had a more perfect and clear light of the "Gospel, through the infinite clemency and mercy of God,
82 "by the means of his Majesty and his most noble father: "and should therefore in all good works increase, and be "more forward, as in fasting, prayer, and almsdeeds, in "love, charity, and obedience, and such like good works "commanded in Scripture: but that alate, more than before, a great part of his subjects did break and contemn that abstinence, which of long time had been used "in this realm upon Fridays and Saturdays, and the "time of Lent and other accustomed times. That the "King therefore was constrained to see a convenient order "therein. He minded not that his subjects should think "there were any difference in days or meats, or that the "one should be to God more holy and pure than the other. "For all days and meats were of equal purity: and in and "by them we should live to the glory of God. That for all "times and meats we should give glory to him: of which "none can defile us at any time, or make us unclean, being "Christian men. To whom all things be holy and pure: "so that they be not used in disobedience and vice. But "notwithstanding the King allowed and approved these "days and times before accustomed, to be still kept in the "Church of England, that men should on these days abstain from their pleasure and meats wherein they had "more delight, to subdue the body unto the soul and "spirit. And also for worldly and civil policy, to spare

flesh and use fish, for the benefit of the commonwealth; where many be fishers, and use the trade of living. And that the nourishment of the land might be increased by saving flesh; and especially at spring time, when Lent doth commonly fall, and when the most common plenteous breeding of flesh is. And that divers of the King's subjects had good livings and riches in uttering and selling such meat as the sea and waters did minister to us. And that therefore the realm had more plenty of ships and boats for the following that trade of living. Besides, that men of their own minds did not give themselves so oft as they should do to fasting and abstinence. And upon these considerations, the King commanded all persons, of whatsoever state and degree, to observe and keep from henceforth such fasting-days, and the time of Lent, as had been heretofore used in the realm. But the King, as the King his father had done, did upon weighty considerations give licence to his subjects to eat white meats in the time of Lent, that is, butter, eggs, cheese, &c." The Parliament that sat the next year converted this order for observation of the fasting-days into a law, which contains the very words of this proclamation. Which is inserted in the Repository. N.

Large licences dispensing with Lent.

But notwithstanding these orders for the keeping of Lent, I cannot but take notice what extravagant licences were granted sometimes by the King's patents for dispensing with the observation of it. As in the year 1551, Jan. 10, a licence was granted to the Lord Admiral Clinton to eat flesh, *cum quibuscunque cum eo ad suam mensam convescentibus, omnibus diebus jejunalibus quibuscunque:* "and all others that should eat at his table with him, on all fasting days whatsoever." Another licence under the King's seal, dated Feb. 24, 1551, was granted to John Samford of the city of Gloucester, draper, that he with two of his guests at his table might eat flesh and white meats, during all the Lent, and all other fasting-days in the year; and this licence was during his life. And the next Lent, *viz.* in the year 1552, a patent was granted to 83

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Gregory Railton, one of the Clerks of the Signet, to eat flesh with four in his company during his life. Another licence for the Lord Treasurer, the Marquis of Winchester, and Elizabeth his wife, and to their family and friends, coming to the said Lord Marquis's house, not exceeding the number of twelve guests, during his and his wives natural lives in the times of Lent and other fasting days; to eat flesh or white meats, notwithstanding the statute of abstinence from flesh; as the licence ran, dated March the 19th. And another, dated March 11, was granted to John a Lasco, superintendent of the church of strangers within the city of London, and to every one else whom he should invite to his table for society sake; that to him and every of them, during his life, in Lent and other fasting times, it might be lawful to eat flesh and white meats freely, and without punishment, at their own will, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Innovation and preaching without licence forbid.

Now several preachers and laymen, lovers of the Gospel, and labourers after a reformation of the old superstitions, had of themselves begun changes in their parish churches; laying aside the old rites and orders, and had brought in new ones, according to their own judgments and opinions, conformable, I suppose, to the practice of the foreign reformed churches; but different from and beyond the injunctions lately sent abroad from the King. He therefore issued out a proclamation, dated Feb. 6, therein charging these men with pride and arrogancy, and commanding that no person should omit or change or innovate any orders or ceremonies commonly used in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left off in his father King Henry's reign; or than such as the present King, by his visitors and injunctions, had already, or hereafter should command to be omitted. And this he was moved to enjoin upon this consideration, as the said proclamation imports, that nothing tended so much to the disquieting of the realm as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies in religion and the worship of God: declaring, how he had studied all ways and means to direct the Church and cure committed to his charge, in one most true doctrine and usage. And by virtue of the same proclamation none were to preach without licence from the King, or his visitors, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of the diocese, (except it were a Bishop, a Parson, a Vicar, a Curate, a Dean, or a Provost in their own cure,) upon pain of imprisonment and other punishments. This proclamation also will be found in the Repository. O.

Forbid again. And the King promises a reformation.

Likewise, March 8. following, when the Communion Book was published, the King in his proclamation before it, to satisfy those that thirsted so much for a reformation, "advised them to stay and quiet themselves with the "King's directions, as men content to follow authority, "and not enterprising to run afore: and so by that rash"ness become the greatest hinderers of such things, as they, "more arrogantly than godly, would seem by their own "private authority most hotly to set forward. And by "these means he might be encouraged from time to time "further to travail for the reformation, and setting forth "such godly orders, as might be to God's glory, and the "edifying of his subjects, and advancement of true reli"gion. Nor would he have his subjects so much to mislike "his judgment, nor mistrust his zeal, as though he could 84 "not discern what were to be done, or would not do all "things in due time."

Notwithstanding, various forms are used.

But notwithstanding these proclamations, and that he had divers other times before and since endeavoured to stop the use of other forms and rites in the worship of God, yet these his commands and endeavours would not prevail, but even in cathedral, as well as other parish churches, various different ways of service were used, as well in the morning and evening prayers, as in the office of the Communion, and in the administration of the other sacraments. At length the King bore with this, which he could not well remedy; calling it, "the frailty and weakness of his sub"jects:" and he abstained from punishing those that offended in that behalf. Because his Highness took, (as is

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An. 2. Ed. VI. cap. 1.

expressed in his act of Uniformity,) that they did it of a good zeal. But for the preventing the evil that might ensue of these varieties, he appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain other Bishops and learned men, to consider the premises, and with respect to the Scriptures and to the usages of the primitive Church, to draw out a convenient order, rite, and fashion of common prayer and administration of the Sacraments. Which was accordingly done by them at Windsor, and prepared to be confirmed and enacted by the Parliament that sat Nov. 24, 1548. when the use of it was by law enjoined, and to commence at Whitsuntide following, which was in the year 1549. And by that act all those who had of their own wills used other forms or innovations were pardoned.

The Papists regret the Common Prayer.

Yet it passed not without some struggling and opposition made against it by the old Papalins. How illy they digested it may be seen by this passage: while in the days of Queen Mary, George Marsh of the north (afterwards martyred for the Gospel) was in examination before the Earl of Darby and divers others, and having said, that, as he had ministered under King Edward, so, if the laws would have suffered him to minister after that sort, (that is, by the Book of Common Prayer,) he would minister again; presently one who was the Parson of Grampnal in Lancashire threw in this word, "This last Communion was the most devilish "thing that ever was devised."

Fox, p. 1499.

Four Lords protested against it.

To the establishment of this book but four Lords protested. Of which I have this passage to relate. When the said Marsh had told the Earl of Darby, that he hoped he would not condemn him for that reformation, which he was one of the makers and establishers of under King Edward, saying, "that his trust was of that his Lordship, "being one of the honourable Council of the late King "Edward, and agreeing to his actions concerning faith to"wards God and religion, would not so soon after consent "to put poor men to death for embracing the same;" he answered, "That he, with the Lord Winsor and the

"Lord Dacres, and one more, did not consent to those actions, and that the *nay* of them four would be to be seen as long as the Parliament house stood."

The Communion Book.

This act, being the greatest stroke struck against Popery, and for throwing out the mass, may deserve some particular observation. It was called, *An act for the uniformity of service and administration of the sacraments throughout the realm.* The book confirmed by this act was the second office in English that came forth in this reign, the Communion Book being the first. Which was composed in pursuance of an act in the year 1547, enjoining 85 the receiving of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and that the people should receive with the priest, as most agreeable to the first institution of the Lord's Supper, and more conformable to the practice of the Church for the first five hundred years. For the drawing up of the exhortations, and other prayers to be used on that occasion, the King appointed certain Bishops and other learned Divines with the Archbishop of Canterbury. And this being finished in English was called the *Communion Book.* Which was printed by Grafton, and published 1547, as was shewn before.

The Book of Common Prayer.

The same Bishops and Divines, as it seems, were soon after appointed by the King to draw up a general public office in English, in the room of the Latin mass-book. Who accordingly met in May 1548, and in the latter end of the year it was confirmed by Parliament, as above was said; being entitled, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.* From the act which was made for the use of it, I gather divers matters historical concerning it.

First, That before this book came forth, there was no uniform service in this Church, but a great variety of forms of prayer and communion; some of older date, and some more lately followed. For example, there was a form according to the use of Sarum, which some churches followed; and another form according to the use of York, Anno 1548. York, which other churches followed; and another according to the use of Bangor, and another of Lincoln, followed by other churches. And those that liked not any of these popish forms and Latin prayers, used other English forms, according as their own fancies led them.

Secondly, That those who used these latter forms, (the old ones yet remaining in force,) the King and the Protector forbad; calling them *innovations* and new *rites*, and divers times assayed to stay the using of them, but could not. Wherefore afterwards they thought fit to connive at them for a while.

Thirdly, For the preventing of this different serving of God, (for by it great divisions and contentions happened,) the King resolved to have one form of prayer composed to be only used, and none other, throughout his realm. And that this might be drawn up after the best manner, he, the Protector, and divers of his Council, nominated and culled out certain Bishops and other learned men, to be employed in this business; men of that eminency in learning and piety, that they were called in the act, "the most "learned and discreet Bishops and Divines." Whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury is mentioned, but none else. But the rest of them (if we may give credit to Fuller's Church History, and what is commonly taken up and reported in our histories) were, Day, Bishop of Chichester; Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Skyp, of Hereford; Holbeach, of Lincoln; Ridley, of Rochester; Thirleby, of Westminster; May, Dean of St. Paul's; Taylor, Dean of Lincoln; Haines, Dean of Exeter; Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester, and Prebendary of Sarum; Redman, Master of Trinity college, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Westminster; and Cox, Almoner to the King, and Dean of Westminster and Christ Church, Oxon. Though I conjecture the main of the work went through some few of these
86 men's hands. For three of those Bishops, Thirleby, Skyp, and Day, protested against the bill for this liturgy, when it passed their house. And I believe Robertson and Redman liked it as little.

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Fourthly, The rules they went by in this work was, the having an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the holy Scriptures, and also to the usage of the primitive Church.

Fifthly, The book being finished, they delivered it to the King, which is said to be "to the great comfort and "quietness of his mind."

Sixthly, As for the work itself, as it is said to be done by one uniform agreement, so also "by the aid of the Holy "Ghost:" such was the high and venerable esteem then had of it.

Lastly, The Parliament, both Lords and Commons, the representatives of the whole kingdom, had such a value for the whole composure, "that they gave unto the King most "hearty and lowly thanks for it, and for his most godly "travail in collecting and gathering together the said "Archbishop, Bishops, and learned men, and for the godly "prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book; "and considered the honour of God and the great quietness, which by the grace of God would ensue upon it: "and finally, concluded the book such, that it would give "occasion to every honest man most willingly to embrace it."

Singing of the Psalms authorized.

Let me moreover take notice of a *proviso* in this act concerning singing of Psalms in public, used then customarily, and probably some good while before this, by the gospellers, according as the reformed in other countries used to do; yet without any authority. This practice was now authorized by virtue of the said *proviso*, which ran in this tenor; "Provided also, That it shall be lawful for all "men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other "places, to use openly any psalm or prayer taken out of "the Bible, at any due time; not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the said "book." From hence it is, that the title-page of our present books, the hymns and psalms in metre, carry these words, "Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches "of all the people together, before and after morning and

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"evening prayer, and also before and after sermons; and "moreover in private houses, for their godly solace and "comfort." Which may serve to explain to us what the ordinary times of their singing together these psalms were; namely, before they began the morning service, and after it was done. Likewise, when there was a sermon, before it began, and after it was finished. As for the psalms or hymns thus allowed, they seem to be those that are yet set before and after our present singing psalms, done by Dr. Cox, W. Whittingham, Robert Wisdom, eminent divines in those times, and others; and some of David's psalms, done by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others. It is certain that Sternhold composed several at first for his own solace. For he set and sung them to his organ. Which music King Edward VI. sometime hearing, (for he was a gentleman of the privy chamber,) was much delighted with them. Which occasioned his publication and dedication of them to the said King. After, when the whole book of Psalms (with some other hymns) were completely finished in verse, (done, as it 87 seems, by Hopkins and certain other exiles in Queen Mary's reign,) this clause in the aforesaid act gave them their authority for their public use in the Church hitherto.

The first editions of the book.

This Book of Common Prayer was printed first in the month of June. And a second edition thereof came forth, March 8. following, with very little difference; only that in the first edition the Litany was put between the Communion Service and the Office for Baptism: in the second, it was set at the end of the book.

The Papists asperse this reformation.

And thus by the help and concurrence of the three estates, religion became happily planted in this island, reformed from abuses and corruptions of long time introduced into it. But the Papists were very angry to see their old superstitious ceremonies thus laid aside; and those that came after laboured all they could to asperse and enervate it, by calling the religion a *parliamentary religion*, (so Dr. Hill,) and the Church of England thus reformed, a *parliament Church*, (so Dr. Bristow.) As though it were forged and framed in Parliament by secular men; and that ecclesiastics, whose chief business it had been, had not been consulted herein. But in truth and reality it was not so. For the consideration and preparation of this Book of Common Prayer, together with other matters in religion, was committed first of all to divers learned divines, as was shewn before. And what they had concluded upon was offered the Convocation. And after all this, the Parliament approved it, and gave it its ratification. The which is more fully shewed and declared by the pen of a very knowing and learned man, *viz.*

But falsely. Dr. Geo. Abbot ag. Hil. p. 104.

"The religion which was then and is now established in "England, is drawn out of the fountains of the word of "God, and from the purest orders of the primitive Church. "Which for the ordinary exercise thereof, when it had "been collected into the Book of Common Prayer, by the "pains and labour of many learned men, and of mature "judgment, it was afterwards confirmed by the Upper and "Lower House. Yet not so, but that the more material "points were disputed and debated in the Convocation "House by men of both parties: and might further have "been discussed, so long as any popish divine had ought "reasonably to say . . . . . And then it being intended to add "to ecclesiastical decision the corroboration of secular go"vernment, according to the ancient custom of this king"dom, (as appeareth by record from the time of King Ed"ward the Third,) the Parliament, which is the most ho"nourable court of Christendom, did ratify the same. "That so all, of all orders and degrees, might be bound to "serve the Lord of heaven; not after their own fancies, "but as himself had prescribed. And that this order hath "been the custom of good princes, to call their nobles and "their people to join with them for the establishing of "God's service, every man may know, who will but look "into the stories of the Bible. Joshua, Josh. xxiii. 22. Da"vid, 1 Chron. xxviii. 1. Asa, 2 Chron. xv. 9."

The revenues of the Church injured.

So that the Reformation went well forward: and by the latter end of this year religion and divine worship became pretty well purged from error and superstition; whereat all

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good men took great satisfaction. But notwithstanding, this great evil accompanied this great good, that many self-ended men took this occasion to labour the diminishing the revenues of the Church, and the taking away a great part of the lands and livings of the Bishops, the Deans, and the 88 Prebendaries; suggesting that the wealth and dignities of the former Prelates made them such hinderers of the Gospel, and obstructers of the word of God; and that the prebends might be far better bestowed upon other secular men and politic uses. One of these well-willers to the Clergy's revenues Sir Philip Hobby seems to have been. Who, being this year Ambassador with the Emperor, had this lucky occasion offered to vent his mind plainly to the Protector in this matter. For hearing how some of the German protestants laid the blame of their wars and miseries upon their popish Bishops, who were princes, and men of great and high estate, and had their dependences chiefly upon the Pope, and so did the more vigorously oppose the Reformation there; and observing what great enemies therefore they were to the flourishing state of the Bishops, thinking it irreconcileable with the Gospel; the said Ambassador made this relation of it to the Protector, with the addition of his own judgment and wishes: which I choose to set down in his own words, in his letter written Jan. 19. "Of our "proceedings in England, in matters of religion, are sundry "discourses here made. The Protestants have good hopes, "and pray earnestly therefore, that the King's Majesty "being warned by the late ruin of Germany, happening "by the Bishops' princely and lordly estates, will take order for the redress thereof in his dominions; and appoint "unto the good Bishops an honest and competent living, "sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the "rest of their worldly possessions and dignities; and thereby avoid the vainglory that letteth them truly and sincerely to do their duty, and preach the Gospel and word of "Christ. They on the other side doubt not, but my Lords "the Bishops, being a great number, stout and well-learned "men, will well enough weigh against their adversaries, and

Hobbie's letter to that purpose. Galba. B. 12.

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"maintain still their estate, which coming to pass, they "have good hope in time these princely pillars shall well "enough quiet this fury, and bring all things again to the "old order. Thus these men, having their sole expecta-"tion converted to the success hereof, cease not to talk "their minds diversly." Thus Hoby.

And to shew his mind for taking away at one clap all the prebends in England, he took his occasion from some news he had to impart. "Yesterday," as he related in the same letter, "was mustered here [*i. e.* at Brussels] five bands of "horsemen, being in number about 1500, which shall go "towards Spires, to meet the Prince of Spain. Among "whom, by all men's reports that saw them, there were so "many toward and handsome gentlemen, so well horsed "and armed, and in all points so well in order, as hath few "times in so small a company been seen. Which when I "heard, remembering what great service such a number of "chosen men were able to do, specially in our country, "wherein is so much lack of good horsemen, it caused me "to declare under your Grace's correction what I thought, "earnestly to wish with all my heart, that standing so with "the King's Majesty's pleasure, and your prudence, all "the prebends within England were converted to the like "use, for the defence of our country, and maintenance of "honest poor gentlemen. Wherein, if I wish amiss, or "shall seem unto your Grace over-presumptuous in the de-"claration thereof, I shall most humbly beseech your good-"ness to pardon my boldness, and interpret my true 89 "meaning to the best part." What harm the suggesting of such counsels as these did, sufficiently appeared in this reign.

The artillery corporation.

But perhaps Hoby's partiality towards martial men, who was a warlike man himself, may make some excuse for his judgment. King Henry VIII. towards the latter end of his flourishing reign, moved by his zeal to see his subjects profit in virtuous qualities, whereby they might the better do him service, established an order for the maintenance of artillery; appointing a certain corporation, unto which for

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this respect he gave certain privileges by a patent. This, how much it served for the framing of men meet for service, both for the harquebuss and great ordnance, was easily perceived, in that a number of this corporation in a small time became perfect masters in this military skill. But this corporation decayed, and became now much neglected. A great reason whereof was, because it was not confirmed by this King: now about the month of January, one Anthony, an artillery man, it seems, and his company, took upon them to solicit this business; and Sir Philip Hoby, who was Master of the Ordnance, though now, as was said above, ambassador abroad, wrote to the Lord Protector, earnestly putting him in remembrance of this suit, and to take such order in it as might be expedient. And being informed how unfurnished of necessary munition his office was, he remembered the Protector also of making timely provision there, lest negligence might be imputed to those, as he wrote, that ought to solicit the same. And he prayed him also to consider and take some order for the payments of the debts of the same office of the Ordnance, being about 7000*l.* which caused the officers to lose their credit, and be unable upon their word to make any further provisions before this were cleared.

The office of the Ordnance.

A licence to carry over corn.

The plenty of this present season made corn so cheap, that it was thought necessary to have it transported. For allowance and encouragement whereof the King's proclamation went forth, dated from Leighs, March 30, to this tenor: "That where the King's most royal Majesty by his proclamation, bearing date at Westminster the 7th of December last, had straitly charged and commanded his subjects, that after the publishing of the same they should "not transport, or carry over the seas into any other parts, "any manner of grain, &c. And forasmuch as (thanks be "unto Almighty God) there was at that present great "plenty and abundance of wheat and other corn within the "realm, whereby the farmers and others, which used tilling "and manuring of their lands, might not sell their wheat "and other grain, but at very low prices, to their utter un-

Nobleman's seat in Essex.

" doing, unless that some remedy might be provided in that " behalf; the King's most excellent Majesty, with the ad- " vice, &c. granted, and by that present proclamation gave " free liberty and licence to all and singular his loving sub- " jects to embark, ship, and carry over the seas, all manner " of wheat and other kinds of grain, oats only excepted, so " long as a quarter of wheat should be under the price of " six shillings and eight pence the quarter; barley, malt, " and rye five shillings the quarter; pease and beans four " shillings the quarter, at the time of embarking, &c."

CHAP. XII.

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Slanders raised of the King. No preaching without licence. Rebels in Cornwall. Pardoned. Commission upon inclosures. Order to the Earl of Sussex to raise men. Exportation of leather forbid. Stipendiaries and Chantry Priests.

Slanders of the King's proceedings.

THE King's *proceedings*, (as his steps in the reforming and ordering of this Church were called,) however pious his intent was thereby, namely, that one good uniformity might be had throughout all his realms; yet gave displeasure to many preachers and priests of the popish sort, who took occasion in confession, and otherwise, to move the King's subjects to disobedience and stubbornness against his orders. And other light persons sowed abroad false rumours against him: telling out that they heard say, that the King should take and set upon them new and strange exactions: as, on every one that married, half a crown; likewise the same duty upon every christening and burial; and such other lying surmises. And hereby many were seduced and brought into such disorder of late, and in some parts in a manner to insurrection and rebellion, as we shall hear by and by.

Preaching forbid without licence.

Much harm also was now done in disaffecting the people by seditious and contentious preaching. To prevent the

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further hurt thereof, the King by a proclamation, April 24, charged and commanded that no man hereafter should be permitted to preach, (however they might read the Homilies,) except he were licensed by the King, the Lord Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, under their seals. And the same licence to be shewed to the Parson or Curate, and two honest men of the parish beside, before his preaching, upon pain of imprisonment, both of the Preacher and of the Curate that suffered him to preach without licence. And a charge was given to all Justices to look to this diligently. So that now no Bishop (except the Archbishop of Canterbury) might license any to preach in his own diocese, nay, nor might preach himself without licence: so I have seen licences to preach granted to the Bishop of Exeter, an. 1551, and to the Bishops of Lincoln and Chichester, an. 1552.

Some have two wives.

There were also other unlearned and ill-disposed people, who whispered now into men's ears ill opinions against God's laws, and the good order of the realm; as some taught, that a man might forsake his wife and marry another, his first wife yet living, and likewise that the wife might do so to the husband. Others taught, that a man might have two wives, or more, at once; and that these were prohibited, not by God's law, but by the Bishops of Rome. And so by these fantastical opinions some did marry, and kept 91 two wives. The King understanding this, charged by the proclamation aforesaid all Archbishops and Bishops, and others that had spiritual jurisdiction, to proceed against such as had or should hereafter have two wives, or any that should put away his wife and marry another: and to punish such offenders according to the ecclesiastical laws, that others might be afraid to fall into such insolent and unlawful acts. And lastly it was required, that all the King's officers should detect such to the Archbishops or Bishops, or others that exercised spiritual jurisdiction, and aid the same to the punishment of such evil doers.

The Judges and Justices cited to the Star-chamber.

The Judges and Justices of the peace (namely, such as were then within the cities of London and Westminster, or suburbs) were required by proclamation, dated at Westminster, April 30, to appear before the King's Council in the Star-chamber on Friday by eight of the clock in the morning; there to know further of his Majesty's will and pleasure. The reason of this summons, I make no doubt, was because of the suspicion of some disturbances and mutinyings in the country, which soon after brake out more openly. And this appeared from the charge (extant in Fox's History) which the Lord Chancellor Rich gave them, when they met in the Star-chamber: which was, among other things, "that they should go down into their several "countries, and there see good order kept, and the King's "laws obeyed: and that if there should chance any lewd or "light fellows to make any routs, riots, or unlawful assem-"blies, or seditious meetings, or uproars, by the motion of "some private traitors, to appease them at the first, and "apprehend the first authors. Not (said he, concealing "however their jealousies at Court) as if we feared any "such thing, or that there is any such thing likely to "chance; but we give you warning, lest it might. And "for the same purpose he required them to see in their "several countries, that horse and harness, and other fur-"niture of weapons, were ready, according to the laws of "the land."

A rebellion in Cornwall.

And indeed they were already up in Cornwall, and the parts thereabouts, even in the month of April, where, by the means of some popishly affected persons, many idle lying insinuations of the King's doings or intentions were buzzed about into the heads of the people, to blow them up into discontents: chiefly, as it seems, upon the King's proceedings. Which the ignorant people refusing to obey, it came at last to that pass, that they got together in great numbers, and made an open rebellion. And in this confusion, one William Body, Gentleman, one on the King's side, was slain. But at length they were quelled, and begged the King's mercy, and obtained it: yet the chief ringleaders were excepted, and reserved for execution. This general pardon was dated at Westminster, May 17, in the second year of the King. And it ran to this purport:

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Pardoned.

"Albeit that many of the King's Highness' subjects and "commons, dwelling and inhabiting in that shire of Corn-"wall, or in any other place or isle, being reputed, or taken "for any part, parcel, or member of the same shire, and "such other the King's subjects inhabiting in other places, "have now of late attempted and committed manifest and "open rebellion against his Majesty within the said shire, "or the limits of the same: whereby was like to have ensued "the utter ruin and destruction of that whole shire; and "to the high displeasure of Almighty God, who straitly
92 "commandeth you to obey your sovereign Lord and King "in all things, and not with violence to resist his will and "command for any cause whatsoever it be: nevertheless, "the King's most royal Majesty perceiving, by credible "reports, that your said offences proceeded of ignorance "and evil enticements, and by occasion of sundry false tales, "never purposed, minded, nor intended by his Highness, "nor any of his Council; but most craftily contrived, and "most spitefully set abroad among you, by certain malicious "and seditious persons. And thereupon his Highness, in-"clined to extend his most gracious pity and mercy to-"wards you, having the chief charge over you under God, "both of your souls and bodies; and desiring rather the "preservation of the same, and your reconciliation by his "merciful means, than by the order of rigor of justice to "punish you according to your demerits; of his inesti-"mable goodness, replenished with most godly pity and "mercy, and at your most humble petitions and submis-"sions made unto him, is contented and pleased to give "and grant, and by this present proclamation doth give "and grant unto you all, and unto all and every of your "confederates, wheresoever they dwell, of whatsoever estate, "degree, or condition soever, &c. his general and free par-"don for all manner of treasons, rebellions, insurrections, "&c. and for all manner of unlawful assemblies, unlawful "conventicles, unlawful speaking of words, &c. from the "time of the beginning of the said rebellion, when it was, "until the first day of May last past, &c. Provided that

" this general and free pardon shall not extend unto John " Williams, William Kilter, John Kilter, John Kelion, " Richard Trewela, &c. and about twenty-six or twenty-" seven persons more."

A proclamation against enclosures.

And that these insurrections might be prevented for the future, occasioned in a great measure by the poverty and discontent that reigned in the country by reason of the decay of tillage, and the enclosing of land for pasturage; therefore a commission was granted, to inquire into these abuses: and on the 1st of June there went out a notable proclamation against enclosures, letting houses fall to decay, and unlawful converting of arable ground into pastures, which accompanied the Commissioners. It set forth, " that the King, the " Lord Protector's Grace, and the rest of the Privy Council, " were advertised and put in remembrance, as well by di-" vers supplications and pitiful complaints of the King's " poor subjects, as also by other wise and discreet men, " having care of the good order of the realm; that of late, " by the enclosing of lands and arable grounds in divers " and sundry places of the realm, many had been driven to " extreme poverty, and compelled to leave the places where " they were born, and to seek them beings in other coun-" tries with great misery and poverty: insomuch as in time " past ten, twenty, yea, in some places, an hundred or two " hundred Christian people have been inhabiting, and kept " households to the bringing up and nourishing of youth, " and to the replenishing and fulfilling of his Majesty's " realm with faithful subjects, who might serve both Al-" mighty God, and the King's Majesty to the defence of " this realm; now there is nothing kept but sheep or bul-" locks. All that land which heretofore was tilled and oc-" cupied with so many men, and did bring forth not only " divers families in work and labour, but also capons, hens, " chickens, pigs, and other such furniture of the markets, " is now gotten by unsatiable greediness of mind into one " or two men's hands, and scarcely dwelt upon with one 93
" poor shepherd. So that the realm thereby was brought " to a marvellous desolation, houses decayed, parishes di-

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"minished, the force of the realm weakened, and Christian "people, by the greedy covetousness of some men, eaten "up and devoured of brute beasts, and driven from their "houses by sheep and bullocks. And that although of the "same thing many sundry complaints and lamentations "have been heretofore made, and by the most wise and discreet princes, his Majesty's father and grandfather, &c. "with the consent and assent of the Lords spiritual and "temporal in divers Parliaments assembled, divers and "sundry laws and acts of Parliament, and most godly ordinances in their several times, have been made for the "remedy thereof; yet the insatiable covetousness of men "doth not cease daily to encroach hereupon, and more and "more to waste the realm after this sort, bringing arable "grounds into pasture, and letting houses, whole families, "and copyholds to fall down, decay, and be waste:

"Wherefore his Highness is greatly moved both with a "pitiful and tender zeal to his most loving subjects, especially to the poor, which are minded to labour and travail "for their livings, and forced to live an idle and loitering life; "and of a most necessary regard to the surety and defence "of his realm, which must be defended against the enemy "with force of men and the multitude of true subjects, not "with flocks of sheep and droves of beasts.

"And further, it is advertised, that by the ungodly and "uncharitable means aforesaid, the said sheep and oxen "being brought into a few men's hands, a great multitude "of them being together, and so made great droves and "flocks, as well by natural reason, as also, as it may be "justly thought, by the due punishment of God for such "uncharitableness, great rots and murrains, both of sheep "and bullocks, have lately been sent of God, and seen in "the realm: the which should not by all reason so soon fall, "if the same were dispersed into divers men's hands. And "the said cattle also by all likelihood of truth should be "more cheap, being in many men's hands, as they be now "in few, who may hold them dear, and tarry their advantage "of the market.

" And therefore he, by the advice of his most entirely " beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, &c. and the rest of " his Majesty's Privy Council, hath weighed most deeply " all the said things, and upon the aforesaid considerations; " and of princely desire and zeal to see that godly laws, " made with great travail, and approved by experience, and " by the wise heads in the time of the said most prudent " princes, should not be made in vain, but put in ure and " execution; hath appointed, according to the said acts " and proclamations, a view and inquiry to be made of all " such as, contrary to the said acts and godly ordinances " have made enclosures and pastures of that which was " arable ground, or let any house, tenement, or mease decay " and fall down; or otherwise committed or done any thing " to the contrary of the good and wholesome articles con" tained in the said acts. And therefore willeth and com" mandeth all his loving subjects, who know any such de" faults and offences, contrary to the wealth and profit of " this realm of England, and the said godly laws and acts " of Parliament, done and committed by any person, who- 94 " soever he or they be, to insinuate and give information " of the offence to the King's Majesty's Commissioners, who " be appointed to hear the same, so truly and faithfully, " that neither for favour nor fear they omit to tell the truth " of any; nor for displeasure name any man who is not " guilty thereof: that a convenient and speedy reformation " might be made herein, to the honour of God and the " King's Majesty, and the wealth and benefit of the whole " realm."

Commissioners appointed for inquiry thereinto.

So that, that these abuses and hard pressures upon the poor commons might be the more effectually remedied, commissions were now given out to divers persons of quality and integrity, for inquiry into these misdemeanours throughout England. For the counties of Oxon, Berks, Warwick, Leicester, Bedford, Bucks, and Northampton, were appointed Sir Francis Russel, Sir Foulk Grevil, Knts. John Hales, John Marsh, William Pynnock, Roger Amys. And at their meeting for executing this commission, John

Anno 1548. Hales made an excellent exhortation or charge to the people, who were sworn to make presentments. Wherein he first explained to them the good laws made against these corruptions. Whereof one was, that no man should keep above the number of two thousand sheep: another, that those that had the sites of any monasteries suppressed should keep continual household upon the same, and occupy as much of the demeans in tillage as had been occupied within twenty years before. Which notwithstanding were not regarded nor obeyed. Whereby towns, villages, and parishes decayed daily in great numbers; houses of husbandry and poor men's habitations utterly destroyed every where: husbandry, the very nourishment of the whole body of the realm, greatly abated, and the King's subjects wonderfully diminished; as appeared by the new books of the musters compared with the old, and with the chronicles. And how all this grew through the great dropsy of the realm, that is, the covetousness of many men, given to their own private profit, but passed nothing of the commonwealth. He shewed how the former King Henry VIII. and the present King Edward, for want of their own natural subjects to serve them in their wars, were forced to hire Almains, Italians, and Spaniards. And that this was the cause the King was fain to build so many castles and bulwarks by the seaside. And the charges by these means waxing daily greater and greater, he was of necessity driven to ask so great subsidies as he did. He went on, and shewed how these covetous men were disappointed. For they reckoned to leave great possessions to their children, and to make their families noble: whereas many times their children, before their fathers were laid in their graves, consumed and wasted all away upon harlots, gaming, and lewd company. And so, evil got, worse spent. But the whole charge is well drawn up, and containeth in it so many matters proper to give light into these times and affairs, that I have put both it and the commission into the Repository. These Commissioners went down into the countries, and spent the summer in this necessary business. P. Q.

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But these commissions could not be so carefully and diligently executed, but the commons were ready to right themselves; and began to talk boldly, that if remedy were not presently had for reducing of farms and copyholds to their wonted state, that they would not fail among themselves to attempt the reformation thereof. And some of them were ready to pull down enclosures, the Commissioners still sitting. But where the Commissioners were discreet, as those were that were appointed for Oxon, Bucks, Berks, &c. stayed them by their good management from their attempts.

The commons notwithstanding ready to rise.

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Such bruits as these came plentifully to Court. This occasioned letters from the Protector and Council, written in August, to the Commissioners. Advising them in their return homeward to pass by all the good towns and other notable places, where they had sitten before in commission, and to declare that the King had sent them on purpose to take notice of these grievances, in order to reform them, (which he would do in time convenient for it,) and to assure them of the good-will of the King and Council to them for their benefit, as much as they could wish; exhorting them therefore to remain good and quiet subjects. But the answer which Hales gave to the Protector, dated from Coventry, Aug. 25, shewed, that his enemies, whom this commission chiefly touched, did rather give out these rumours, than that there was much truth in them. For he assured the Protector the people were in good quiet, and daily resorted to him to take his advice in making their presentments. So that he concluded this to be done to dash the commission, or to put to shame the Commissioners. And therefore that there would not lack tales, surmises, and practices for that purpose. And that the hand of the Papists was in this, perceiving the execution of the commission would be an establishment to Christ's religion in the people's hearts. For they could not but love it, when they saw it brought forth such good fruit. He prayed the Protector therefore, that when such rumours again came to him, he would learn the names of the offenders and the accusers: and then the

The King's and Protector's kind message to them.

matter would soon be tried, where punishment was required. But that according to the charge given them, the Commissioners, they intended to do at their return, and what transgressors they should find, to commit to ward, till his Majesty's pleasure were further known concerning them. He shewed the Protector moreover what practices were used, and threatenings and revilings towards those honest men, that were sworn to present the offenders. And in fine, he put the Protector in hope, that they should find the commonalty in their circuit (at least) quiet, and some of them better disposed to religion and the King's proceedings than they were before.

Displeasure against Hales for his commission.

Such reports also came to the Earl of Warwick's ears, being then at Warwick; insomuch that he grew much displeased with Hales, who acted very honestly in this commission, and favourably to the commons. Which occasioned him to write at large to the said Earl, answering the two causes of his displeasure against him, (according as he had taken it from Hales's enemies, that were secret Papists.) The one was, that he should sue out the commission against enclosures in that troublesome time. The other, that in the execution of it by his charge to the people, he stirred up the commons against the nobility and gentry. But Hales, in a letter to him dated from Fladbury, August 12, as to the former, professed he thought upon nothing less than enclosures, when he was appointed to be a Commissioner, and willed to prepare to see the same executed. But he thought it not his part, he said, to deny to serve, nor to let that, that the King and his Council minded to set forward: the 96 sore, he added, was brought to such an extremity, that if it were not remedied, all the realm would rue. And besides, that this was no new motion, for as long as he had knowledge of things, all men had cried out against enclosures. He meant not, he said, hedging in lands, but decaying tillage and husbandry. Some had complained to the Parliament, some in their sermons, some in books. And as to the second, that he should by his hortation set the commons against the nobility and gentlemen, he said, that he never spake any word, but some of the Commissioners were present; who he doubted not would testify for him in this part to his accuser's shame. And then he declared unto the Earl the chief points of the charge he gave at that time, which had not one word that tended that way as was surmised. And therein he was sure that he offended neither God nor the King, nor gave occasion to any honest man to be offended; saying, that whosoever that reported any otherwise to his Lordship, he trusted, should be found the child of the devil, and not of God: for he is true, and his children will not lie. He concluded, praying his Lordship for God's sake (though he trusted he should not need to put him in remembrance) to remember the poor, to have mercy and compassion on them, and that he would not go about to hinder them. That the hindering of them, if we considered it well, should be our own hinderance at length. That God had as much respect to the poor as to the rich, to the poor man as to the gentleman, and to every man indifferently. It grieved him much, he said, that those that seemed to favour God's word should go about to hinder or speak evil of this thing: whereby the end and fruit of God's word, that is, love and charity to our poor neighbours, should be so set forth and published to the world. In a word, he exhorted to take example by the Germans, who, because they were babblers, and no doers of God's word, were then and worthily punished, and brought to extreme misery and servitude, praying God the like happened not to them.

The Gospellers, friends to this commission.

It appears hence, that the favourers of the Gospel did especially further and promote this commission, and laboured to remedy those oppressions towards the poor: knowing what lessons of compassion and benignity true religion required; and reckoning, that hereby the Gospel would receive the better countenance in the country, when they saw how it produced love and charity towards the poor neighbours, when others oppressed and vexed them.

Hath not its desired effect.

But though the good Duke of Somerset took all this pains, and employed many honest men (such as Mr. Hales)

BOOK I. Anno 1548.

in this charitable work, to put a stop to the impoverishing and dispiriting of the poor, and to heal their discontents, which he foresaw also a great danger in; yet such was the greedy avarice of the gentry, that all these endeavours proved insuccessful; many great men at the Court, and the Earl of Warwick, it seems, among the rest, backing them, being themselves probably guilty in that behalf. The severe effects of which appeared, as was feared, the next year, in insurrections almost throughout the kingdom. The jealousies of which were at present so great, that, besides these gentler methods, it was thought necessary to summon all the realm to be ready to arm, upon the fears of intestine turmoils, as well as upon the present hostility with France and Scotland. Such an order I find now sent in May to 97 the Earl of Sussex, dwelling in Norfolk, as no question the like were sent to others of the nobility and gentry. This to that nobleman was as follows:

By the King.

"Edward,

To the Earl of Sussex to provide horse. Titus, B. 2.

"Right trusty and right welbeloved, we greet you wel. "And being credibly informed that there is a great aid "put in a readiness to be sent shortly by the seas into Scot"land; in the which there shall be, as we be also certainly "advertised, a number of men at arms sent for defence of "the Scots impeachment of our affairs, and further annoy"ance of our dominions and subjects; like as we have al"ready, with the advice and consent of our dearest uncle "the Duke of Somerset, Governor of our person, and Pro"tector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, and the "rest of our Privy Council, both foreseen this matter and "prepared for the same in all other parts, in such sort, as "if any thing shall upon courage of this aid be attempted "against any our ports, pieces, or subjects, the same shall "be, with help of Almighty God, so met withal, as they "shall have smal cause to boast themselves of their doings: "so being no less careful to provide also for the surety of "our most loving subjects in all other events, wee have

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“ thought good and necessary to have out of hand put in “ order a sufficient number of horsemen of sundry sorts, to “ be employed for defence and safeguard of our said sub“ jects, dominions, and countries, as occasion shall serve. “ And for this it is, knowing your accustomed towardness “ and good-wil toward the advancement of our service, we “ have, with the advice and consent aforesaid, thought meet “ to pray and require you among others of that our county “ of Norfolk, to have in ful areadiness by the 10th of June “ next ensuing, two good and hable horses or geldings “ meet to serve in the field for demilances, with two demi“ lances to be employed upon the same, harnessed, wea“ poned, and furnished in all things, as appertaineth : put“ ting the same in such order and arreadiness, as upon one “ hours warning after the said 10th of June they may be “ in ful readiness to set forward to any such place, as by “ us or our said dearest uncle and Council shal be appointed “ unto you. Wherof we require you not to fail, as ye “ tender the advancement of our service. Yeven under “ our signet at our palace of Westminster, the 16th of “ May, in the second year of our reign.

“ E. Somerset.”

Exporting of leather prohibited.

There was now so great exportation of leather, that there became a mighty scarcity and lack thereof at home for the necessary use of the people: and the prices of that commodity rose to great, high, and unsupportable rates, which caused a proclamation dated from Westminster, June 1, that no manner of person should carry or export out of the realm any manner of leather or salt hides unto any strange nation without express licence.

Care taken about the pensions of stipendiary and chantry Priests.

By virtue of the act made last year, whereby chantries was given to the King, the Commissioners appointed for execution of the same were empowered to assign to the stipendiary Priests that attended those chantries whose salaries the King was entitled to, and to every fellow and 98 poor person that was wont to have yearly relief out of any

Anno 1548. of those colleges, free chapels, or chantries, such yearly annuities, pensions, or other recompences, during their lives, as by them should be thought convenient: and thereupon to make assignments and orders for the payment to the said Priests, or other. This occasioned vast numbers of stipendiaries, and other poor people that claimed these pensions, to flock to London, for getting them assigned to them. So that the Court, the Lord Protector's house, the Court of Augmentations, and other courts and places, were extremely pestered with them. Whereupon, to satisfy these men, and to deliver the town of such confluxes of unnecessary people, a proclamation was issued forth, dated at Westminster, May 14, to this tenor: "that the King's "Majesty, of his tender zeal and love which he bore to "his loving subjects, understanding that divers chantry "priests, poor men, and other men, of late dissolved col"leges, chantries, free chapels, &c. which by the last act "of Parliament were come to his hands, daily repaired to "London to him, and to the Protector, the Chancellor of "the Augmentations, and other courts, for assurance of "their pensions, to their great cost and charges, and no "small travail: by the advice of his entirely beloved uncle "the Duke of Somerset and the rest of his Council, for "the avoiding of the same, had taken order, that Commis"sioners should repair down shortly to every shire, and "there should declare unto them the manner of the pay"ment of their said pensions, so by the said act due, and "to be appointed, and also for their said patents of their "pensions, in such sort and manner, and to the proportion "as they should be therewith right well contented. Where"fore his Highness willed and commanded all manner of "chantry priests, prebendaries, guild priests, or any other "who had repaired thither for that purpose, to return im"mediately down into their countries."

CHAP. XIII.

A gift to the Lady Mary. The King minds the public affairs. Points of state polity for the King's exercise. Consultation about the coin. The case of the nation involved in war with France and Scotland. The merchants of Antwerp wronged. The English Ambassadors interpose.

Anno 1548. Lands by the King granted to the Lady Mary. Book of Sales.

THIS second year of the King, to oblige his sister the Lady Mary, and in accomplishment of his father's last testament, on May 17, he granted to her the lordship and manor of Kenninghal, alias Kenningale, and the rectory impropriate thereof with the appurtenances, in the county of Norfolk; and divers other lordships, manors, lands, tenements, and possessions in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, Essex, Bucks, Chester, and Middlesex. To the yearly value of 3489*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* *q. di. q.* Rent reserved 99*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* *q. di.* The time of the issues of this estate so granted was to commence from the feast of St. Michael, anno 38 Hen. VIII.

The King sets himself to mind public affairs.

The young King, though but eleven years of age, did now seriously set himself to mind the public affairs of his kingdom, and to study to understand the state and condition of it, and to provide for the safety and peace of himself and his people. And for this purpose he began to bethink himself how he might make use of the present time with advantage to himself and his realm, and likewise to inspect more narrowly into his own affairs abroad and at home. And as to the former, how a great point of his security and strength consisted in a good understanding with his neighbours. And as to his own realm at home, this also he saw required a great deal of diligence, for the well understanding, regulation, and government thereof. And for the better furnishing himself with knowledge and insight into these things, he delighted to hear and read learned men, and learn their judgments. Among those, he made great use of William Thomas, Esq. a person (however unfortunate, being afterwards executed for treason in Queen Mary's rough reign) excellently qualified to instruct the King in these and such like politic matters, by his travels abroad, and his thorough acquaintance with the Roman and other histories, joined with an accurate skill of dexterity in drawing proper and useful inferences and conclusions from former accidents and transactions.

Thomas draws up questions of state polity for the King.

This Thomas drew up proper questions of *state polity*, devised for the exercise of the young King's contemplations: upon which the said learned man purposed at his leisure to compose distinct discourses. He entitled them
100 *Common Places of State.* Which, together with his prefatory letter to the King, when he presented them, may deserve a place here.

Cot. Lib. Titus, B. 2.

"To the King's Highness,

"Pleaseth your excellent Majesty. Albeit that my gross "knowledge be utterly unapt to enterprise the instruction "of any thing unto your Highness, whose erudition I know "to be such as every faithful heart ought to rejoice at; yet "imagining with myself, that hitherto your Majesty hath "more applied your study of the tongues, than any matter "either of history or of policy, (the holy Scriptures excepted,) and considering, that since your Highness is by the "providence of God already grown to the administration of "that great and famous charge, that hath been left unto "you by your most noble progenitors; there is no earthly "thing more necessary than the knowledge of such examples, as in this and other regiments heretofore have happened: methinks, of my bounden duty, I could no less "do, than present unto your Majesty the notes of those "discourses, that are now my principal study, which I have "gathered out of divers authors; intending with leisure to "write the circumstances of those reasons that I can find to "make most for the purpose. And because there is nothing better learned than that which man laboureth for "himself, therefore I determined at this present to give "unto your Highness this little abstract only; trusting,

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" that like as in all kinds of virtuous living and exercise, " ye have always shewed yourself diligent; even so in this " part, which concerneth the chief maintenance of your " high estate, and preservation of your commonwealth, " your Majesty would shew no less industry than the matter deserveth. For though these be but questions, yet " there is not so small an one among them, as will not administer matter of much discourse, worthy the argument " and debating. Which your Highness may either for pastime, or in earnest, propone to the wisest man. And " whensoever there shall appear any difficulty, that your " Majesty would have discussed, if it shall stand with your " pleasure, I shall most gladly write the circumstance of " the best discourses that I can gather touching that part, " and accordingly present it unto your Highness: most " humbly beseeching the same to accept my good-will in as " good part, as if I were of ability to offer unto your Majesty a more worthy thing.

" Your Majesty's most humble servant,

" William Thomas."

Politic questions.

1. Whereof hath grown the authority of astates; and how many kinds of astates there be?

2. Which of all astates is most commendable and necessary?

3. Whether a multitude without head may prosper?

4. Whether is wiser and most constant, the multitude or the prince?

5. Whether it is better for the commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility or in the people?

6. Whether a mean estate may bear a great subject? 101

7. What laws are necessary, and how they ought to be maintained?

8. How easily a weak prince with good order may long be maintained: and how soon a mighty prince with little disorder may be destroyed?

9. What causeth an inheritor king to lose his realm?

10. Whether religion, beside the honour of God, be not

also the greatest stay of civil order; and whether the unity thereof be not to be preserved with the sword and rigour?

Anno 1548. 11. Whether of the two is the more unkind, the people or the prince?

12. How unkindness may be eschewed?

13. What is the occasion of conspiracies?

14. Whether the people commonly desire the destruction of him that is in authority; and what moveth them so to do?

15. What a man of authority may do in the multitude?

16. What is to be observed in choosing of officers?

17. How flatterers are to be known and despised?

18. How men's opinions in great matters are to be pondered?

19. Whether in judgments the mean way ought to be observed?

20. Whether a man of authority ought to contemn his inferiors?

21. How dangerous it is to leap from humility unto pride, and from pity unto cruelty?

22. Whether men may easily be corrupted?

23. How much good ministers are to be rewarded, and the evil punished?

24. How dangerous it is to be author of a new matter?

25. Whether accusations are necessary, and whether evil reports are condemnable?

26. Whether evil report lighteth not most commonly upon the reporter?

27. Whether ambitious men mounting from one ambition to another, do first seek not to be offended, and afterward to offend?

28. Whether it be dangerous to make him an officer, that once hath been misused?

29. Whether they be not often deceived, that think with humility to overcome pride?

30. What force the prince's example hath among the subjects?

31. How a prince ought to govern himself to attain reputation?

32. What things deserve either praise or reproach?

33. What is liberality and misery?

34. What is cruelty and clemency?

35. Whether hate and dispraise ought to be eschewed?

36. What is fortune?

37. How men be oftentimes blinded with fortune?

38. Whether it be not necessary for him that would have continually good fortune, to vary with the time?

39. What prince's amity is good?

40. Whether a puissant prince ought to purchase amity with money, or with virtue and stoutness?

41. What trust ought to be had in leagues?

42. What is the cause of war?

43. How many kinds of war there be?

44. How many kinds of soldiers.

45. Whether they that fight for their own glory are good and faithful soldiers?

46. Why do men overrun strange countries?

47. How should a prince measure his force; and how rule himself in war? 102

48. Whether a manifest war towards, ought to be begun upon the enemy, or abidden till the enemy begin?

49. Whether it is better to assault or to defend?

50. Whether money be the substance of war, or not?

51. Whether weak astates are ever doubtfully determining; and whether much deliberation doth rather hurt than help?

52. Whether is greater in conquest, virtue or fortune?

53. Whether prevaileth more in fortune, policy or force?

54. What is policy in war?

55. Whether conquests are not sometimes more noisome than profitable?

56. Whether it be wisdom to venture much?

57. What means ought to be used in defence?

58. Whether the country ought not always to be defended, the quarrel being right or wrong?

59. Whether inconveniences ought rather to be quali-

fied and overcome with leisure; or at the first plainly repressed?

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60. What danger it is to a prince, not to be revenged of an open injury?

61. What discommodity it is to a prince to lack armour?

62. How much ought artillery to be esteemed?

63. Whether ought more to be esteemed, footmen or horsemen?

64. Whether it be dangerous to be served of strange soldiers?

65. Whether is an army better governed of one absolute head, or of divers?

66. What ought the general of an army to be?

67. Whether is more to be esteemed, a good captain with a weak army, or a strong army with a weak captain?

68. Whether it be necessary, that general captains have large commissions?

69. What advantage is it to foresee the enemy's purpose?

70. Whether a captain in the field may forsake the fight, if the enemy will needs fight?

71. What is it to be quick of invention in time of battle?

72. What sufferance and time is in fight?

73. Whether it be necessary to assure the army before the fight?

74. Whether it be not necessary sometimes to feign folly?

75. How to beware of craft, when the enemy seems to have committed a folly?

76. What advantage it is for a captain to know the ground?

77. Whether skirmishes be good?

78. Whether fortresses are not many times more noisome than profitable?

79. Whether an excellent man doth alter his courage for any adversity?

80. Whether princes ought to be contented with reasonable victories, and so to leave?

81. Whether fury and bravery be any times necessary to obtain purposes?

82. Whether promises made by force ought to be observed?

83. Whether it becomes not a prince to pretend liberality, when necessity constraineth him to depart with things?

84. What is virtue; and when it is most esteemed?

85. What destroyeth the memory of things?

103 It becometh a prince for his wisdom to be had in admiration, as well of his chiefest counsellors, as of his other subjects. And since nothing serveth more to that, than to keep the principal things of wisdom secret, till occasion require the utterance, I would wish them to be kept secret; referring it nevertheless to your Majesty's good-will and pleasure. And so Mr. Thomas concluded his paper above, of questions of state and government.

These useful questions the King no doubt spent some thoughts upon: and soon wanted to see Thomas's discourses upon the same.

To him therefore did the King now send certain notes by Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, one of his bedchamber, concerning such particular matters of state as he would hear his thoughts of; and to draw up some distinct discourses for his study and meditation, namely, of the things before mentioned. This task this ingenious gentleman cheerfully undertook.

Political discourses composed for the King.

Thus he compiled for the King's use a more general discourse, whether it were expedient to vary with time. Which he determined to be exceeding necessary for a prince to do; that is, that they should not always observe one direct and obstinate proceeding, if the time fell out that would require the contrary. For then it would follow inevitably, that their proceedings must perish. He meant not, as he wrote, that men should vary in amity, or turn from virtue to vice, or to alter in any such things as required constancy; but touching other private or public doings he judged it necessary to humour the time. For which he gave many apt examples out of ancient Greek and Roman history. He drew up also

Anno 1548. for the King, and by his command, another general discourse, to instruct him concerning the different natures of the nobility and commonalty, of which two ranks of people his whole realm consisted, and of the danger of the latter above the former. This discourse he prosecuted under this question, whether it be better for a commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility or in the commonalty. Then as to his Majesty's amity with princes abroad, and how to make profitable leagues with them, the said Thomas composed for the King's study another treatise; discoursing, what prince's amity is best. Wherein he shewed the use and benefit of leagues with other states. Which he made to consist in two things, *viz.* in giving aid to resist an enemy, and in relieving his friend's country with the commodities that it wanted. The necessity of this friendship he shewed to appear, in that few princes were able to maintain their own, if they wanted the friendship of other princes. And for the better instructing the King what prince's friendship were rather to be chosen, he propounded four things worthy consideration; *viz.* the propinquity, the antiquity of friendship, the religion and the nature of the prince whose amity was sought. Again, the same person yielded the King another discourse, and this more particular, concerning the King's outward affairs at that juncture: shewing in what ill case things then were. Letting him understand, how the case was altered in the kingdom from its condition under his father, when it was dreaded of all its neighbours, and needed not to esteem any of them more than they esteemed it: but how it was now hated and condemned of them all. Whereupon it was necessary for the nation now, for lack of
104 its own estimation, either to esteem them, or redeem its own estimation, or perish. He let him see how war threatened on every hand, and therefore friendship was to be gotten from abroad: which yet he saw not how it was to be gotten, without either extreme disadvantage, or the denying of our faith: neither of which was tolerable. That the King had two puissant enemies to deal withal, the French King, a doubtful friend, and the Emperor, a dis-

sembling foe. Then the writer deliberated, how either was to be dealt withal. And then stated the matters as to Scotland and Ireland. From which excellent discourse may be seen the present state of the kingdom at that time. All these curious discourses are preserved in the Repository. R. S. T. V.

Consultation about the coin.

At home the coin was much debased since King Henry's time, and much complaint was made of it, and many inconveniences foreseen to follow, if it so continued: and therefore great deliberation began to be concerning it at the Council Board. This occasioned the writing a fifth discourse by the King's especial (but secret) order to the said Thomas. This indeed seemed to be writ first of all before any of the rest; for this matter lying before the Council suddenly to be considered, the young King, having a mind to be prepared to speak upon that argument, privately sent Throgmorton to him, who, as he brought the King's notes, signifying his will to Thomas, that he should draw up the discourses above mentioned, so particularly and immediately to give him his thoughts upon the coin; but secretly. Accordingly he shewed the King his judgment, that by all means the coin should be reformed, and that without delay. Because the badness of it bred multitudes of bargains, that people might get rid of it, to the utter impoverishing of the needy. That they indeed had silver coin, but in such kind, as that neither they esteemed it for silver, nor could without great loss use it as silver. And as the value of money daily decayed, so he shewed, that gold increased to that value, that lying still it amounted above the revenues of any lands: and that the value of gold was likely to advance unmeasurably; so that he that lived a twelvemonth should see an old angel worth twelve shillings of the current money. Therefore in his discourse upon this argument, he advised, that twelve pence should be exacted in the pound for the redress of money. This discourse he sent very privately to the King, sealed up as if it were a thing for the Council, assuring his Majesty, that no creature living was or should be privy either to it, or any the rest of his discourses. One reason whereof was, that so the King might utter these matters as of his own, whereby they might gain greater credit with the Council, than if it were known to have proceeded from Thomas, or any one else. This discourse it would be pity it should be wanting. See it among the rest W. of his discourses, in the Repository, as they are found in a Cotton MS.

Aphorisms for war, for the King's use.

And to exercise his princely mind in the great matter of war, the last and only remedy oftentimes left for princes to maintain or recover their rights, among the rest of the rules of policy, provided for the King by Thomas, I know not to whom to attribute certain aphorisms of war, which came forth about this time, so well as to the said Thomas; nor for whose use drawn up, as for the young King's, being fitted for his study, by recommending to his reading several 105 instances of the Roman history. It was entitled, *A necessary order which a prince in battle must observe and keep, if he intend to subdue or pass through his enemies country: also the manner of besieging a fortress; and how a prince besieged should order himself: and how to pacify a sedition of soldiers.* This writing, which, I suppose, was penned originally for the King's use and study, was soon after printed, that it might be of more common benefit for such as were or should be captains and officers in the King's army.

In biblioth. Reverend. Patr. D. Joh. Episc. Elien.

This I saw among the excellent collections of the late right reverend Bishop of Ely.

The King's objection about the coin.

But as to Thomas's late discourse concerning the coin, the King in answer signified to him, notwithstanding the vehemency he expressed for the reformation of it, what dangers and inconveniences were urged by others, if any alteration should be made. And that therefore some were of opinion, that sentence should take place here, *malum bene conditum ne moveas.* But Thomas, in another private X. letter to the King, gave his sense of this objection against the reformation of the coin, in these words:

Thomas's answer. Cott. Libr. Vespasian, D. 18.

...... "And where indeed I was somewhat earnest for "the reformation of the coin, wherein it pleased your Ma"jesty to command my opinion, truly my zeal to my coun"try did so prick me, that I could not forbear to exclaim

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" against the fault. Like as for the redress, I am not yet " persuaded from my device. For though I understand " there be other arguments, perchance better than mine, " yet I like not his opinion, that in this case groundeth " himself on *malum bene conditum ne moveas.* For *malum* " it is indeed, but *conditum* it is not, and *bene* it will never " be: wherefore *necesse est moveri.* And this I dare stand " to in argument, that where I devised an exaction of " twelve pence in the pound, if the money thus continue, " your Majesty, by reason of the mints, shall exact above " six shillings of the pound, and yet be undone yourself at " length, unless ye purchase land withal.

" And whether it hath made your Majesty rich or no, I " cannot tell, but I am sure this coinage, since the first beginning, hath exacted upon your subjects already above " eight shillings in the pound.

" As for their frivole reasons that allege three parts of the " four through the realm to fare the better for it, I will not " say, that either they understand little of policy, or else " they would be glad to become commoners themselves; but " this I dare avow, that there is not one of hundred, no, not " one of thousand, that is contented with this coin.

" Helas! can we suffer neither fault nor remedy? Neither war nor peace?

" Your Majesty's most humble servant,
" William Thomas."

And we shall hear, not long after, what effectual care the King took for the bettering the estate of the coin of the nation.

Soldiers raised for the King in the Low Countries.

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The wars with Scotland, and the keeping and defending of Bologn, and other pieces on that side, against the French, created the King much trouble and charge of men and treasure. This summer, Sir Thomas Chamberlain and Dr. Thomas Smith being Ambassadors with the Emperor, were raised two thousand men in the Low Countries for the service of the wars, the Emperor granting licence to levy them, and for their safe passage into England. And in Ja-

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nuary following, Mr. John Dymock, the King's servant, was sent over by the Protector and Council, secretly to repair to Sir Philip Hoby, the King's ambassador, now with the Emperor, to raise two thousand men more. And Sir Philip had command to acquaint the Emperor, that a great part of the former two thousand men were dead and spent in the wars of the last year, and the number being grown very small, the King, desiring to have two thousand footmen more to be levied about the parts of Freezland, prayed the Emperor's good permission thereof in respect of the treaty of amity between them. And it seemed to be granted.

Prayers appointed upon the tidings of war.

Upon the war likely to be with France, which looked severely upon the state of the kingdom at this troublesome time at home, it was piously ordered by the Privy Council, that prayers should be made in all churches in the diocese of Westminster, to Almighty God, for success of the King's arms, and for the restoring of peace. The Council's letter to Thirleby, Bishop of Westminster, was as followeth:

The Council's letters to the Bishop of Westminster. Regist. Thirlb.

"After our hearty commendations to their good Lordship; hearing tell of great preparation made of foreign princes, and otherwise; being enforced for the procurement and continuance of peace to make preparation for war; forsomuch as all power and aid vailable cometh of God; the which he granteth as he hath promised by his holy word, by nothing so much as by hearty prayer of good men: the which is also of more efficacy, made of a whole congregation together, gathered in his holy name:

"Therefore this is to will and require you to give advertisement and commandment to all the Curates in your diocese, that every Sunday and holyday in their common prayer they make devout and hearty intercession to Almighty God, for victory and peace. And to the intent you should not be in doubt what sort and manner we do like, we have sent unto you one: the which we would, that you and they should follow, and read it, instead of one collect of the King's Majesty's process. Thus we pray "you not to fail to do with all speed, and bid you farewell, "from Westminster, the 6th day of May, 1548.

"Your loving friends,
"E. Somerset. R. Rich, Canc. W. Seint John.
"J. Russel. T. Cheine."

The Dane offers a mediation to England.

Christopher Mount was the King's agent, as he had been his father's, among the Protestant princes of Germany. And being resident at Strasburgh, he happening in discourse with the Danish ambassadors there about English matters, they shewed more than once their master's great concern for the differences between England and France, and how ready he would be to be a mediator for a right understanding between both princes. And so they had declared before to Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, and Sir Phil. Hoby, Ambassador with the Emperor. This Mount writing to the Court, the English were willing to hearken unto the motion; and the rather, because that being now in 107 war with Scotland, the amity of the King of Denmark, whose country adjoined near thereunto, would be no little advantage to England. Upon this occasion therefore, October 4, the Protector wrote to Hoby in a letter from Sion, That this was not to be refused, being so gently offered; and that he should take some occasion to talk hereupon with the Danish Ambassador, and in discourse, that he should declare the wrong the English had received from France, and how unjustly the French had handled them. As, in not paying the pension, by the treaty at the last conclusion of peace due unto us, in place and time there expressed; fortifying against the treaty; keeping away from the King's Majesty fines and other things there in Boloignois. Besides, that upon every pretence, when they would, they robbed and killed our men, and said their King had commanded them so to do, by way of revenge; and that if one bullock were taken [by the English in Boloignois, where they bordered upon the French territories, and so might sometimes steal from one another] to take twenty; if one were killed, to kill forty; and that upon

The Protector's letter hereupon. Galba, B. 12.

The injuries of the French;

only surmise, and no proof of justice. And under pretence of Scots, if there were but one Scot in their ships, yea, and sometimes none, they robbed and spoiled the King's subjects on the seas, and then sold their goods openly in their havens and other places; and then, when they listed, said they were Scots. And so Petro Strozzi, both going, and coming, and tarrying, being the French King's lieutenant, yet pilled and took our men, and burnt our ships so many as he could get, so that the English were enforced somewhat also to do against him.

And Scotch.

And for Scotland the Ambassador was commanded to set out the right that the King had to that kingdom, which he knew well enough, and to shew that yet, for a quiet amity between the realms, the King's father was content that the King that now is should marry the young Queen of Scots. And that hereunto the Scots condescended by the whole Parliament of the three estates, and under the great seal of Scotland, which was then to shew. And that the French King, notwithstanding all this, not only had aided the Scots against the King's Majesty their sovereign Lord with money and men, but also, now lastly, had taken away the young Queen; and by that means taken away the best and most quiet way of concord betwixt these two realms, and defrauded the King's Majesty of his lawful and promised wife. And now the French King had said, that he would marry her to the Dauphin. The which things, as the Ambassador was instructed to say, was not sufferable to any mean lord or prince, much less to a king as he was. And though his Majesty was young, yet that his power was able enough to see redress and revenge in these matters: as this last year it had appeared. When, notwithstanding French powers there sent, the King had not only defended his realm against the French, but against all Scotland too. But how far this mediation by the Danish King was carried, I cannot ascertain, finding no more of this matter. To be sure the hostility still continued between both nations till the end of the next year.

Ammunition for Newcastle.

And to be prepared with ammunition against any insults from Scotland, an order came May 16. from the Protector and Privy Council, to deliver out of the Tower, for Newcastle, for supply of the stores there, hand-guns complete, eight hundred; fine cornpowder, three last; serpentine 108 powder, ten last; matches, eight hundred weight; saltpetre in roche, half a last; brimstone, two barrels; bows of yough, a thousand; bow-strings, forty gross; demy lances, four hundred; northern staves, two hundred; morice-pikes, two thousand seven hundred; horse harness, twenty.

Wrongs done to the merchants of Antwerp.

April the 10th had a treaty been agreed to for the continuation of the price of wool, between the Emperor and the King, during his minority. But notwithstanding this and other treaties, our merchants at Antwerp met now lately with much unfair dealings from the government there, by laying heavier taxes and duties upon them than they ought to have done, by virtue of privileges granted the English traders, ratified by pacts and covenants: which were now grievously violated. Whereat the English complaining, and finding no redress, the governor of the merchants residing in the said town made a decree that they should trade no more there. And accordingly they withdrew their effects: which was no small detriment to the place, and to the Emperor in his revenues. This gave great offence at that Court, and it was urged as an infringement of the intercourse of treaties. Secretary Smith, together with Sir Thomas Chamberlain, who were at this Court this summer, and came partly to adjust and settle the matter, had several meetings with the President of the Council, and others that were Commissioners, who shewed great passion and much disturbance at this withdrawing of the English and their trade. The said President affirmed, the officers of Antwerp had done no injury to our merchants. He asked them how the Emperor would be satisfied, that a governor of merchants in his dominions should make statutes to forbid the traffic from his town of Antwerp, and cause the merchants to depart thence so tumultuously as they did. And so aggravated the matter, saying, that the Emperor both would and should punish the same.

Debates thereupon.

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Secretary Smith, Ambassador, his discourse.

Smith the English Ambassador, on the other hand, who liked well enough what the merchants had done, said more calmly, that there had nothing been done, but what might be done by the intercourse and privileges, and upon just occasion. But the Emperor's Commissioners looked that, on the English ambassadors parts, they should have yielded in somewhat, and consented to some of these unjust impositions what they did not.

At a fourth meeting, when it was expected that they should come to some conclusion, the President, who had been answered over and over, was still as hot as he was before. But Secretary Smith being by him required to speak what he had to say, answered gravely, that he wondered to see them now so far off, when he took the conclusion rather to be at hand, seeing that afore they had so fully answered, as it seemed, they themselves could not but allow their answers. Notwithstanding, he said, if they would be so precise, and that reason might not serve, and seeing the King's Majesty had purposely sent them to pacify the differences between the English merchants and them of Antwerp, meaning none other but continuance of amity betwixt both princes and their subjects, the King's Majesty, he said, would not forsake his subjects. Whereat the President began again to startle, and asked, whether the King did more regard
109 a governor of merchants and his fact, than the amity of an Emperor. But he was answered so reasonably and fully, as reason required. Then the said President cast them in the teeth with the continuance of the merchants still from Antwerp; and that three of them of late should say to some of the citizens of Antwerp, that they durst buy no wares of them for danger of their statute.

The merchants blamed for breaking their own orders.

But however such was the covetousness of the merchants, that though they were thus withdrawn, and their trade suspended for a while, for their general benefit, yet some of them did underhand bring over cloths to Bruges, notwithstanding the Protector's prohibition and stay of their ships; and also did buy at Antwerp, contrary to their own statute and ordinance. Whereby they had forfeited large sums, out of which the King was to have a third part. At which Sir Tho. Chamberlain, ledger ambassador at Brussels, was highly offended, and affirmed, as he wrote to Sir William Paget, that till the King did take the same forfeiture, and made them smart, they would never keep order, but for their private lucre undo, if they might, the commonwealth. And that it was their fashion, even when they made their statutes, and swore to observe the same, even forthwith to seek by collusion and colour to break the same: generally saying, that every man transgressing shall cause a general pardon among them. And thus, he said, they mocked with God and the world, and were perjured daily. For these and other misdemeanours of these merchants, the said Chamberlain protested, that after this time, for his part, he would never wish the King to be at more charge and trouble with merchants' affairs than other princes were, seeing his Majesty did for them that which none other prince, that he knew of, did for their merchants; and yet took off the greater customs, and cared not whether they sunk or swum, wheresoever they went with their merchandize. He professed that he was sorry that ever the King's Majesty entered into this matter, and should be troubled with such rude folks, that esteemed not their own weals, nor who did for them. Wherefore in conclusion he prayed Paget, that till he heard of their, with the other Commissioners' agreement, it would not be ill in his opinion, to stay them of shipping thither, which should be the only way to bring them to a conclusion with honour. For that he had intelligence by good and substantial advice, that they of Antwerp would fain the Commissioners on both sides were at a point: and also they that set the greatest brag thereupon said, that they wot not how to frame it, to redub all with their honour. This letter was writ July 24. And thus it stood now with the merchants of Antwerp.

Chamberlain offended thereat. Galba, B. 12.

The King's care of his merchants.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1548. 110

The condition of the Protestants in Germany, related by the English Ambassador there. The Interim. The Elector of Saxony. Allen, a conjurer, reports the King dead. Seized and examined. Underhil a memorable man in these times.

The Emperor enjoins the Interim.

UPON occasion of an English ambassador now residing in Germany, we have an opportunity of seeing how the Protestant affairs went in those parts. Thurleby, the Bishop of Westminster, lately went home, and in his room Sir Philip Hoby was now the King's ambassador to the Emperor Charles, then at a diet at Ausburgh. Thence, in the month of July, the said Ambassador wrote a letter to the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, of the news then stirring, chiefly in reference to the religion. "That the Emperor, "at the conclusion of the diet, was bent to cause the Pro-"testants to observe the Interim. That he had used both "fair means and foul to bring his purpose to pass. And "that by the latter means divers were brought to submit "to it against their wills. That the towns of Constance, "Argentine, and Linda, refused it. The last whereof sent "their Secretary to the Emperor to Ausburgh with this "message, that they had all met together, and found the "Interim so disagreeable to God's word, (whose laws they "were bound upon pain of damnation to observe,) that they "were resolved not to accept of it, fearing more of God's "threatenings, and his just indignation against such as neg-"lected his will and the Scriptures, than the loss of goods, "life, or any other temporal thing. But that the Empe-"ror's Majesty should not think it was done out of obsti-"nacy or disobedience, (whom they acknowledge for their "prince,) they would not refuse or resist him, howsoever he "should dispose of them. Nor should their gates be shut "to any of his soldiers, whether Spanish or Italians; yea, "content that he should take their goods or lives from "them. And that he should not need to go about this

Several towns refuse it. Linda.

"with a strong hand: for it should suffice but to command "them, and they would gladly offer their heads to the "blocks. Upon this message Grandvel, the Emperor's "great counsellor, threatened them desperately.

The Duke of Wittemburgh taxes such as heard mass.

"The Duke of Wittemburgh, having received the Interim "from the Emperor, with commandment to see it take place "throughout his country, did not then make a shew of disobeying the Emperor, but received his commission reve-"rently. But shortly after, without taking any notice of "the reception of the Interim, caused proclamation to be "made, that each person, for every time he heard mass, "should pay eight ducats of gold: whereby he forbade not "the mass to be said, but required a tribute of such as 111 "heard it. He was aged, and sometimes merry-conceited.

Duke of Saxony will not promote the Interim.

"Grandvel also required in the Emperor's name, that "the Duke of Saxony, at that time the Emperor's prisoner, "should promote this his desire for the peace of Germany, "considering how well his Majesty had deserved at his "hands by rendering his imprisonment easy. He piously "answered, that his body was in the Emperor's hands, and "he might use his carcase as it liked him, but he prayed "his Majesty not to press him to yield to this, which was "against the word of God. Upon this the Emperor being "offended, clapped upon him a guard of three hundred Spa-"niards more than he had before, and disarmed his ser-"vants of all their arms, and dismissed his servants, being "seventy in number, reducing them to twenty-seven. His "preacher was also sent away upon pain of burning, if he "stayed any longer. And his cooks and officers, upon the "same pain, were commanded to dress no flesh for him on "Fridays and Saturdays, and other fasting-days. Yet "herewith the Duke seemed so little moved, as there was "no alteration perceived in him." These and other things may be read more at large in the Ambassador's letter in the Cotton library.

Titus, B. 2. Y.

A Spaniard's communication with Hoby

About the 11th or 12th of July, Hoby, the said ambassador, was visited by Don Alonso Vides, a Spaniard, who was master of the camp to the Emperor, and had the custody

Anno 1548. about the Elector. Titus, B. 2.

of the Duke of Saxony. This man, upon occasion of talk, (as Hobby related it in another letter to the Duke,) began to set forth the Duke's patience and wisdom, lamenting that his case was not so ordered as by policy he might be won to the Emperor's devotion: which, he said, in his mind was easy enough to bring to pass. For he said, he had talked and discoursed with him sundry times, and did very well perceive his stiff sticking to his opinion to proceed of no ignorance or lack of knowledge: for he was witty, and even as well seen in the Scripture, and knew as much by that he had read in his mother tongue, as all the whole heap of learned men of Germany could tell him. And how is it possible, added he, that a man of such wisdom and knowledge remaining in captivity, having lost such and so many possessions, and deprived of the electorship, a dignity of no small estimation, should be brought to grant to a thing so far disagreeable to that doctrine, whereof he was and had been the chiefest stay and head? Was it like, demanded he, that he having nothing left him but the estimation that those men had him in, would by granting to that Interim lose that also, without assurance thereby to be restored to his former estate and dignity? He assured the Ambassador he should not take him to be a man of that wit that he hitherto had judged him of, if he would upon so slender a ground and small hope yield to that thing, the utter blemish and defacing of this estimation, that was alone without any other comfort left him. But were not his Majesty, as he went on, guided in this case by such as regarded not so much his honour and quietness, as their own affection and profit, he assured the Ambassador, the Elector might easily have been won. And by the small practice he had of his nature and disposition, he would jeopard his head to be lost, if he did not, and that within a short space, win him to yield to the Emperor's request, so that his Majesty would therein be content to follow his advice and counsel. "For
112 "I pray you," said he, "what may all this strait keeping "and threatening words avail to fear him, whose manly "heart is so far past all dread, that he seemeth to contemn,

“as setting nothing by, whatsoever shall happen unto him. “Such is his valiant stomach and princely courage. No, “no, said he, it must be gentleness shall win him: and “not gentle words only, but answerable deeds also. That “he may perceive an unfeignedly good-will burn towards “him. Let him be again restored to his electorship, placed “in his dukedom, at his liberty, and perceive himself to be “favoured of his Majesty, and then my life on it, he will “be so conformable, and shew himself as true and as faithful a prince toward his Majesty as the best of them that “now make the proudest brags. And what good this gentleman being reconciled may do, how much he may serve “for the setting forth of his Majesty's service, and for the “stay and quietness of Germany, may of all wise men be “easily gathered. And therefore ought with the greater “study to be travailed.”

Hoby's thoughts thereof.

Unto all this discourse Hoby made no answer, neither discommending nor approving of it: but only gave him the hearing. But in relating it to the Protector, he shewed him how he might perceive the opinions of men there, and how this gentleman's patience and constancy was by worldly persons judged to proceed of worldly wisdom and policy, like as others affirmed it to be the grace and assistance of God that did aid and strengthen him.

Articles of the Interim disallowed by the Protestants

Hoby did also at this time send to the Protector a note of certain articles of the Interim, to which the Protestants would not agree. Which were as follow:

De authoritate et potestate Ecclesiæ.
De confirmatione.
De sacramento pœnitentiæ.
De cæremoniis et usu sacramentorum.
De memoria defunctorum in Christo.
De memoria sanctorum in altaris sacrificio fieri consueta, et eorum intercessione inibi expetita; et obiter
De sanctorum invocatione.
De sacra unctione.
De sacramento Eucharistiæ.
De sacramentis in genere.
De Pontifice summo, et Episcopis.

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Of Auspurgh.

With these the people of the town of Auspurgh, where the Ambassador now was, were not satisfied: and against them certain learned men there protested, and would not agree to, as the same Ambassador signified; adding, that the Emperor seemed to desire to appease and allure them by gentleness and fair means. And therefore had caused on a certain Sunday in July, a certain exhortation of his to be read to the people in each church: whereby he did desire them, seeing he had travailed so much about their quietness, and set forth this thing for the establishment of the same, (wherein he had in many things yielded to their own desire and request,) that they also, shewing themselves loving and obedient subjects, would for their part be content to bear with the rest, and grant to his request. But Hoby signified, how that those of that town had not as yet answered hereunto: neither had they hitherto altered their religion, but used the same as they had been accustomed. The Papists had good hope it should not long continue in that state. The Protestants on the other side trusted it
113 should not be altered. But commandment in the mean time was given to the men of this town in the Emperor's name, that from henceforth they should eat no flesh on the Fridays, Saturdays, nor on any fasting-days. Duke Maurice's subjects being by him required to accept the Interim, made answer, that they had both the Emperor's hand and seal, whereby he promised not to meddle with matters of religion, but with reformation of the commonwealth. Which they doubted not, they said, but his Majesty would hold, and not press them against his promise to grant to this thing, which they would not agree to. And they exhorted the said Duke to solicit this their suit to his Majesty, which if he would not do, they plainly told him they would not fail to find such a prince and head as should see his subjects take no wrong. How this answer would be liked of the Emperor, the Ambassador told the Protector, to whom he wrote all this, his Grace would easily judge.

And Duke Maurice's dominions.

Allen, a conjurer, reports the King dead.

Here at home, about the month of July, a sudden report flew through London, that King Edward was dead. Which

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arriving to the Court, troubled them. The occasion whereof was this. There was one Allen, whom people called *the prophesier*, that pretended by casting figures to tell things to come, and to prognosticate of the length of men's lives. This fellow was much courted by the Papists to calculate the life of King Edward. Who did so, and giving assured belief to his own art, confidently gave out about this time, that the King was dead. This spread like lightning. The Court hearing the rumour at midnight, sent to Sir John Gresham, the Mayor, to apprehend the persons, if he could find them, that raised this false report, the King being alive and well. Edward Underhil, one of the guard of gentlemen pensioners, the next morning came to the Mayor, requiring of him some officers to apprehend the raiser of this lie, having learned where he had a chamber. The Mayor sent two officers with him, who found Allen in St. Paul's. These carried him away to his own chamber, where they saw figures set to take the nativity of the King, and a judgment given of his death, (I use the words of Underhil's own narration,) whereof this foolish wretch thought himself so sure, that he and his counsellors, the Papists, bruited it all over, as was said before. The King lay at Hampton Court the same time, and the Lord Protector at Sion. To him Allen was brought with his books of conjurations, circles, and many things belonging to that devilish art. He affirmed before the Protector, that it was a lawful science, and that the statute against such was repealed. "Thou "foolish knave," said my Lord, "if thou, and all that be of "thy science, tell me what I shall do to-morrow, I will "give thee all that I have."

Foxii MSS.

Sent to the Tower.

He was committed to the Tower, and the Protector wrote a letter to Sir John Markham, then being lieutenant, to cause him to be examined by such as were learned. Mr. Markham, as he was both wise and zealous in the Lord, talked with him: unto whom he did affirm, that he knew more in the science of astronomy than all the University of Oxford and Cambridge. Whereupon he sent for one Mr. Record, a Dr. of physic, and very learned in divinity also,

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who examined him, and found that he knew not the rules of astronomy, but proved a very unlearned man, and a sorcerer. For the which, said Record, he was worthy hanging.

114 For further matter with him, the lieutenant, and Mr. Underhil, who brought him to the Tower, sent for Thomas Robins, alias Morgan, commonly called Little Morgan, brother unto Great Morgan of Salisbury-court, the great dicer. For he had formerly told Underhil many stories of Allen, what a cunning man he was, and what things he could do; as, to make a woman love a man; to teach men how to win at the dice; what should become of this realm; nothing but he could do it. When this Morgan and Allen were brought together, Morgan utterly denied that ever he had seen him or known him. Yes, said Allen, you know me, and I know you. For he had confessed that, before his coming. Upon this, the lieutenant stayed Little Morgan also prisoner in the Tower.

Morgan seized.

Allen's chambers.

Allen had his chambers in divers places of the city, whither resorted many women for things stolen or lost, and to know their fortunes, and their children's fortunes; and where the russling roisters, the dicers, made their matches.

Gascon seized.

Underhil caused also to be apprehended Gascon, the lawyer, at whose house this Allen was much, and had a chamber, a great dicer also: where were many things practised too. Here citizens' wives had meetings of debauchery, their husbands innocently letting them resort thither, upon pretence the women made of going there to inquire for things lost or stolen, which they hid for the nonce to blear their husbands' eyes. By this means Gascon, a pander, had choice for himself, and for his friends, the young lawyers of the Temple.

Allen examined before the King's visitors.

This Allen, a Norfolk man born, was called *the god of Norfolk*, before they received in those parts the light of the Gospel; and was a great doer in judgments in divers matters there. This man was had before the King's Commissioners, and being before them, he required to talk with one of the Council, saying, if he were unburdened of that which he would then say, he cared not what came of him. He said also before the Commissioners, that he could make the great *elixir*. Also he stood earnestly before them, that he could say more concerning astrology and astronomy, than all the learned men within the University of Oxford and Cambridge, though he understood no part of the Latin tongue.

Sir John Godsalve, one of the Commissioners for the royal visitation, 1547, required the other Commissioners to demand of Allen, whether he did not say unto two men, yet living, ten days before the apprehension of the Lord Crumwel, that the said Lord Crumwel should be in the Tower within fourteen days following. This question being demanded of him, he denied not that he said so; but said, that he spake it not of his own knowledge, but of others. But Allen, and the others mentioned before, after a year's imprisonment, were by friendship delivered. But Underhil, the proctor and discoverer of this pack, they endeavoured to take away by sorcery.

Some account of Underhil.

Of this gentleman I shall here add a few things, being one that deserves to have his name preserved in history, though nothing hitherto in any ecclesiastical commentaries of our nation be said of him. For he was a man zealous for pure religion against superstition and impieties of all sorts, and made a figure in King Edward the VIth's days. I will first relate what his quality was, and then make report of certain of his actions.

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His quality.

He was of a good family, (son of Thomas Underhil, of Honington in Warwickshire, Esquire,) and first bred a soldier under Sir Richard Crumwel, in the journey to Laundresey. The next year, when King Henry VIII. made an expedition against Bulloign, being a stout and personable man, Sir Richard put him unto his Majesty in the room of a man at arms. In this band there were two hundred, all mounted upon barded horse, in one suit of red and yellow damask, (the bards of their horses and plumes of feathers being of the same colour,) to attend upon his Majesty for the defence of his person. Afterwards, for his deserts, he

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served the King in the band of gentlemen pensioners, as he did after to King Edward and Queen Mary. In the days of King Edward, he was of such good esteem, and so well known and beloved by the nobility, that having a son born during the short reign of Queen Jane, she was godmother, and named him after her husband's name, Guildford, Sir Nicolas Throgmorton's lady being her deputy, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke, godfathers. Immediately after the christening was done, Queen Mary was proclaimed in Cheapside, the deputy-godmother returning to the Tower to wait upon her lady, found the cloth of state taken down, and all things defaced belonging to Jane as Queen, and she as well as her mistress made prisoners.

Follows bad company.

At first Underhil followed loose company, gamesters and ruffians. Some of them were these dicers, Great Morgan of Salisbury-court, Sir John Palmer, called Buskin Palmer, Sir Miles Partridge, lusty young Rafe Bagnal, men infamous in King Edward's days: yet in favour among the magistrates, and were advanced, though they were the sowers of sedition, and destroyers of the two dukes. These were the court-flatterers, and knew well the old proverb;

He that will in Court abide,
Must curry fault both back and side.

But leaves them.

To these was Allen the conjurer joined, of whom we have spoken before. But Underhil soon forsook them by reading the Scriptures, and hearing the preachers. And then, as some satisfaction to the world, he put forth a satire against the wickedness of these men, revealing the falsehood and knavery that he was made privy to. For this they hated him mortally. They called him *the hot Gospeller*, jesting and mocking him; and would say of him, *He is all of the Spirit*. It was their common custom at their tables to jest and scoff the preachers and earnest followers of the Gospel. Even among the magistrates and lords they would spend the time in wanton and ribald talk. Which when they fell into, one or other would look through the board, saying, Take heed that Underhil be not here. And these persons, those of them that survived, (for Palmer and Partridge died by the hand of justice,) at the change of prince, readily complied with Queen Mary's religion, and then became infamous. Anno 1548.

They hate and raise scandals of him.

Of Underhil they raised scandals and false bruits, saying, he was a spy for the Duke of Northumberland, and called him *Hoper's champion*. He was so indeed. For Hoper, being a zealous reformer, drew upon himself great envy: insomuch that he was abused with railing libels cast 116 into pulpits against him, and by other ways. But Underhil, who was a very witty man, set up a bill upon St. Paul's door in defence of Hoper, and another at St. Magnus church, where especially such ignominious lampoons had been divulged against that reverend man. For the fixing up these sort of bills was common in these times.

His actions.

Cranm. Memorials.

How this Underhil apprehended a Vicar of Stepney for hindering the preaching of the Gospel in his own church in King Henry's reign, and bringing him before the Archbishop of Canterbury, was told in another book. These following are acts which he did in the reign of King Edward.

Takes away pix out of the Bow church.

At Stratford on the Bow, he took the pix from the altar of copper, stored with copper gods, the Curate being present, and a popish justice dwelling in the town, called Justice Tawe. There had been an injunction, that the pix should no more hang in a string over the altar, the meaning whereof was, that it should be taken wholly away. But the Papists thought to obey the injunction, and withal to preserve their pix, and so they set it upon the altar. This stirred the zeal of Underhil to observe how the orders of the government were illuded by such shifts as these: which made him, living not far off, *viz.* at Limehouse, to go himself and put it away. For this act, the Justice's wife, with the women of the town, conspired to have murdered him. Whereof one of the parties gave him warning, whose good will to the Gospel was unknown to the rest. And by that means, being aware of them, he took care and preserved himself from them.

Frees Day the printer.

There was one Luke, a physician in London, who wrote divers books against the Papists, in the end of King Henry's

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reign: for which he had been imprisoned in the Fleet. In the first year of King Edward, he published one book, for which he was heavily cried out upon by the Papists to Sir John Gresham, the Lord Mayor. It was a dialogue between John Boon and Master Parson. Which two persons were brought in, reasoning together of the natural presence in the Sacrament; but the author had concealed himself. It was writ very facetiously, and sprinkled with wit, severely biting now and then at the Priests. The book took much at the Court, and the courtiers wore it in their pockets. But the Mayor had the book so illy represented unto him, that he was very angry, and sent for Day the printer of it, intending to make him discover the author, and to lay him in prison for printing the same. Underhil chanced to come in at this time, to desire aid of the Mayor to take Allen before spoken of, who reported the King's death. The Mayor made Underhil dine with him, and speaking to him at dinner concerning this book, the maker whereof, he told him, he intended to search for, that so, as it seems, Underhil might declare at Court the diligence of the Mayor in his office, he presently replied to him, that that book was a good book, adding, that he had himself one of them about him, and that there were many of them in the Court. With that the Mayor desired to see it, and took it and read a little, and laughed thereat, as it was both pithy and merry. And by this seasonable interposition of Underhil, John Day the printer, sitting at a side-board, after dinner, was bidden to go home, who had else gone to prison.

117 Prosecutes the woodmongers.

The woodmongers in this King's reign had wronged the city in their firing extremely, by setting false marks upon their billets. Underhil, being moved with this piece of dishonesty to the injury of the public, complained of them, presenting them, and had a long conflict with them. For which he drew a great deal of spite upon himself from them, which they uttered in the next reign. When being put into Newgate, they required the keeper to shew him no favour, and to lay irons upon him, declaring that he was the greatest heretic in London.

He was of so active a spirit, and so inquisitive into wicked and superstitious practices, that he made himself the mark of evil men's rancour and violence. Loose lords and ladies, priests and lawyers, wizards, knaves, whores, bawds, thieves, and gamesters, so hated him, that, as he writ in his narrative, " he walked as dangerously as Daniel " among the lions; and yet from them all the Lord deli- " vered him, notwithstanding their often devices and con- " federacies by violence to have shed his blood, or with " sorcery destroyed him." But though he escaped in King Edward's time, having the countenance of authority, yet he had his share of sorrow and persecution in the reign of Queen Mary, as we may see when we come to that time.

Anno 1548. His great dangers.

CHAP. XV.

Preaching suspended. Pensions. Term put off. Exportation of corn forbid. The state of the coin. Melancthon writes to the King. Bucer and Martyr placed in the Universities. Sharington of the mint attainted: and the Lord Admiral. His practices. His ill life. His death.

NOTWITHSTANDING the care used in licensing fit preachers, the sermons now preached gave much offence. For several who had preaching licences, either from the King, the Lord Protector, or the Archbishop, (for none else might give them out,) and who at the receiving those licences had good advice given them for their discreet using them, yet had abused this their authority, and behaved themselves irreverently, and without good order in their preaching, contrary to such good instructions and advertisements as were suggested to them. Whereby much contention and disorder was in danger of arising in the realm. Wherefore the King by a proclamation, Sept. 23, inhibited all preachers for a time, and gave notice of a public form of divine service ere long to be expected. He told

Notice given of the framing an uniform order of prayer.

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his subjects, "that minding to see very shortly one uniform "order throughout his realm, and to put an end to all controversies in religion, so far as God should give grace, "(for which cause at that time, as he added, certain Bishops "and notable learned men by his commandment were congregate,) he thought fit to inhibit for a time, till that order "should be set forth, as well the said preachers so before "licensed, as all manner of persons whosoever they were, "to preach in open audience in the pulpit, or elsewhere. "To the end that the whole Clergy in this mean space "might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God for "the better achieving of the said most godly intent and "purpose. Not doubting, but his loving subjects in the "mean time would occupy themselves to God's honour, "with due prayer in the Church, and patient hearing of "godly homilies, heretofore set forth by his injunctions. "And so endeavour themselves, that they might be the more "ready with thankful obedience to receive a most quiet, "godly, and uniform order, to be had throughout all his "realms and dominions. And to see the infringers of this "commandment to be imprisoned, he gave charge to all "justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables."

All preachers inhibited.

The King takes care for paying his pensions.

When chantries and such like foundations were by a statute given to the King in his Parliament, the incumbents thereof being discharged, for their livelihood had pensions allowed them during their lives. For the King being minded to provide for those late incumbents of colleges, chantries, fraternities, guilds, and such other, convenient and reasonable recompences and pensions, according to the said statute, had commanded several letters patents to be made under the great seal of the Court of Augmentations, and the revenue of his crown, for the pensions and recompence of the said incumbents. But those that were appointed to pay these poor men were suspected to deal hardly with them by making delays, or requiring bribes, and deductions out of the pensions, or fees for writing receipts; as it appeared afterwards they did, which occasioned an act of Parliament in behalf of these pensioners. Therefore, by

An. 2 and 3 Reg. Edw. VI. cap. 6.

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a proclamation dated the last day of October, published in every shire, the King signified, that these pensions should presently be sent to the hands of the auditors, receivers, and surveyors of the respective counties, with strait commandment to believe the same patents immediately, and to make payment unto the parties when it concerned them, and hereafter yearly frank and free, without fee, duty, or sum of money to be demanded or taken of the said pensioners. And willed those persons who had to do herein to resort to his Highness's audit presently, to be held within the county, or else where the officers should be, and there receive their pensions accordingly.

A plague.

Towards the declining of the summer, the King kept his Court in the country. In the beginning of September he was at Hatfield; and at Leghes the month after: occasioned as it seems by the plague, which now afflicted the city and other places. The danger of which infection made it advisable to put off the term for about a month. Which was therefore done by a proclamation, dated at Hatfield aforesaid, Sept. 6, to this import: "That the King's Majesty "was credibly informed, that the infection of the plague "reigned in sundry places of the realm, and especially "within the cities of London and Westminster, and in other "places near adjoining to the same. And that whereas, by "the continuance of the same, through the great repair and 119
"resort of his loving subjects, greater peril and danger "might not only ensue unto his most royal person, but also "unto his most loving subjects repairing thither for their "suits and causes; his Majesty therefore minding the pre-"servation of his loving subjects, and being in hope that "the same infection would, by the help of Almighty God, "and through the coldness of the year, the rather cease by "the adjournment of the next term of St. Michael, from "the *utas* of the same till the morrow after the feast of All "Saints next coming; of his special favour and benignity "was pleased and contented to adjourn the said term of St. "Michael from the *utas* thereof unto *crastine animarum* "next coming; and willed and commanded his subjects to

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"observe and keep their assembly and appearances, with "all their returns and certificates in his Courts at Westminster, to be holden in like manner, form, and condition, "as they should or ought to have been done, if this present "proclamation of adjournment had not been had, made, "and proclaimed."

Restraint of exportation of corn.

The prices of corn and other victuals now increased, and rose in divers places within the realm, and the marches and confines of the same. Wherefore the King thought it meet, weighing most especially (as it ran in the proclamation) the wealth and commodity of his poor subjects, to have a restraint for a season of all manner of grain, tallow, and victuals in all places within his realm. And therefore straitly charged and commanded all manner of persons, as well denizens as strangers, that they should not transport any manner of grain, butter, cheese, tallow, or any kind of victual, without his special licence under his great seal of England, upon pain to forfeit the grain, tallow, &c. and to be farther punished by imprisonment, &c. This bore date at Leighes, Oct. 8, *an. secundo reg.*

A prohibition again for the King's occasions.

This prohibition seemed to be relaxed again not long after. But in the month of January ensuing, the King, being to equip and furnish out a navy and an army, put a stop again to the exportation of provisions, till himself were first served. For a proclamation went forth, dated from Westminster, Jan. 18, that forasmuch as the King's Highness at that present should occupy great provisions, he, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, &c. straitly charged and commanded, that no manner of person, whosoever he were, should ship or lade, to the intent to carry out of the realm, any wheat, malt, oats, barley, butter, cheese, bacon, cask or tallow, any licence or grant heretofore made notwithstanding; until such time as his Majesty's provision be fully certified and restored; upon pain that whosoever should, after the 22d of January this present year, and before the 20th of April, transport or carry into the parts beyond seas any of the foresaid things or provisions, contrary to this present proclamation, &c.

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The state of the coin.

The state of the coin of the nation at this present stood thus. The King had lately called in the testons, a coarse sort of money that went for 12*d.* the piece, though not worth half so much, as to the intrinsic value. Which occasioned vast numbers of false testons to be coined by stealth, and to pass about. Many therefore brought in these pieces to the King's mints. The smaller pieces of good coin, such as groats and half groats, were now also for the most part so bent and battered, that they were hardly passable, and great boggle was made in the receiving them. By which 120
means there was a great want of money to pass in ordinary exchange of buying and selling. This the King was sensible of: and for the speedy help and relief of his loving subjects, and to the intent that money and coin might be more plentiful hereafter in the realm, had caused several pieces of gold and silver of various values to be coined, and commanded the other pieces of silver to go current. The pieces of gold which were now coined were of four sorts, whereof the first was called *the sovereign of gold*, and was appointed to be current for twenty shillings in lawful money of England. Another piece was called *the half sovereign*, or *Edward's royal*, running for ten shillings of the lawful money aforesaid. One other piece of gold called *the crown*, running for five shillings. And the fourth piece was called *the half crown*, for two shillings and sixpence. The pieces of silver newly coined were, first, a piece called *a shilling*, running for twelve pence of the lawful monies of England; one other piece or coin, which should be called *the half shilling*, running for six pence. All which pieces or coins, as well of gold as also of silver, the King by his proclamation signified it to be his pleasure and commandment, from henceforth, to be current within his realms and dominions, according to their several rates and valuations before expressed. And moreover, he straitly charged and commanded, that from henceforth all manner of groats, half groats, pence and halfpence, of his coins, being not counterfeits, current within his realms, not clipt nor fully broken, albeit they might be much crooked, should be taken, re-

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Melancthon writes to King Edward.

The great learned German divine, Philip Melancthon, addressed King Edward with a letter dated the 13th of January: which one Francis Dryander, a learned Protestant, brought and presented, who fled hither, as many other professors of religion out of foreign parts had done, for avoiding the persecution which the Interim occasioned. By which letter it appeared, that great consultations were now held here at home by the King and some of his learned Divines, not only concerning the reformation of this Church, but of the other foreign churches too in Germany, Switzerland, and France, Italy and Spain, and for the uniting them together in one uniform doctrine; a matter thought fit for a royal breast. Wherein the Archbishop of Canterbury was the great mover. Melancthon in his letter commended the King for this, and told him, "that he followed his royal "father's example, whom he styled *sapientissimum regem*, "*a very wise king;* and that many in Europe well knew, "how he, in the controversies of religion then moved, had it "a great while in his serious thoughts, that care should be "taken for the churches every where, by applying a due
121 "moderation to the different opinions of men in matters of "religion; and that he liked not of oppressing truth with "arms. And wished heartily that other kings had been "of his mind. For, as he added, whereas some thought "the concord of the Church might be restored by arms, "they judged amiss: and that the unjust counsels of op-

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"pressing truth were neither pleasing to God, nor were "long successful. That the wise King his father saw great "diseases, and they of ancient date, in the Church; to "which there was high need of applying true and whole"some remedies. He beseeched God the Father of our "Lord Jesus Christ to overrule the King's mind, and to "amend the churches in his kingdom and elsewhere; that "his glory might be truly set forth, and many might be "truly converted to him, and at last made consorts with "the Son of God for ever. But he advised him to take "heed in this reformation, that men of ill principles mixed "not corruptions. And that he would therefore do well, "prudently to consider the senses and opinions, as well of "his own people, as of the strangers, the guests of his "kingdoms. And lastly, he commended to the King the "bearer Dryander, as well learned, and long known to "him; that he was a man that judged aright of the con"troversies of religion, and withal his heart abhorred wild "and seditious opinions. And therefore judged him a per"son that would be of good use, as to the Church of God, "if he were placed in the University, or elsewhere in his "kingdom." To these letters of foreign learned men, the King paid a great reference, and they had a great influence with him.

Martyr and Bucer at the Universities.

The King was beforehand with Melancthon in these motions, and had provided the two Universities of the land with two learned foreigners, Peter Martyr to read divinity at Oxford, and Martin Bucer at Cambridge, both coming from Strasburgh, but Martyr first. These grave and learned Doctors were placed there, the Lord Protector and the Archbishop judging them the fittest persons to inform the students in their notions and doctrines concerning religion. Because as they were very learned in other sciences, so in divinity they took the holy Scripture for their guide, and gathered their tenets from no other authority but from thence, according to the constant principle of that great and good Archbishop. It was especially thought necessary, that the corrupt opinions about the Eucharist should be

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Misrepresented by Papists.

Ward-woord, cap. 4. vindicated.

But first, as for Fecknam's assertion concerning Martyr, it was undoubtedly a slander, since it appears, by the writer of his life, that his opinion in that point of the Sacrament was not according to the Roman doctrine, while he lived at Strasburgh. And the aforesaid Green, who had been a scholar at Oxford, while P. Martyr was Professor there, and the hearer of him, told Fecknam, that he had himself heard the said Professor say often, that he had not, while he was a Papist, read Chrysostom upon the tenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, nor many other places of the Doctors; but when he had read and well considered them, he was contented to yield to those Doctors, having

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first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the Scripture. Which was in all probability before he left Italy, or while he remained in Germany among those that professed the true doctrine. So that we may conclude him settled in that point of the Sacrament before his arrival in England.

Abbot ag. Hil. p. 103. 105.

And as to what Parsons hath said, I leave the reader to Dr. George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who gives this account of the matter: "Parsons may have "the name of a slanderer, who can glose and invent any "thing which may serve for his purpose: as, that Peter "Martyr and Martin Bucer were indented withal, to teach "as the Parliament should decree: implying, that whatso"ever it had been, they must have condescended unto it. "This lying Jesuit can shew no letter, no act of record, no "testimony of semblance of truth, to aver this his calumni"ation. But the matter indeed was, that the reformers of "religion here, intending to level all by the line of God's "word, knew that those two worthy men were so affected "in all their teachings. And therefore, as also for their ad"mirable learning and judgment, they made choice of them "before all the great clerks which were in Europe. And "that those who called them hither were not deceived in "them, the excellent monuments which they left in writing "behind them do testify to the world."

Sharington's frauds in the mint.

Toward the latter end of this year the great and shameful frauds of Sir William Sharington, Knt. a chief officer of the King's mint, were discovered. He had in 1547. coined testons (a sort of money embased, and under standard) to a great sum, without warrant, and contrary to a prohibition sent unto him. Also, he defrauded the King of clippings and shearings to the sum of 4000*l*. and above: and to make up the sum in his accounts, made the King's coin the lighter. And when the monthly books, shewing the doings of the mint, were brought to him, he used to strike out as much as he thought good. And that he might do this without being discovered, he falsified the indentures and writings which might have charged him. His gain by this

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means amounted to an unknown sum. For these causes he was clapt up in the Tower: and in February made a free confession of all, acknowledging himself worthy of death, and grievous punishment, and upon his knees with a 123 most woful heart prayed for mercy. The original of this confession, drawn up by the hand of Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary, and signed by Sharington himself, and attested by certain Privy Counsellors, having been sent to him in Z. the Tower, I have seen.

Attainted. In the month of February aforesaid, he was attainted by Parliament, and all his estate and lands given to the King. But the King pardoned him, as to life. This Sharington, to assist and abet the treason of the Lord Seimour of Sudely, granted the mint at Bristow to be at his commandment. Out of which the said Lord designed to receive 10,000*l.* a month, for the payment of ten thousand men of his tenants, and servants, and others, which were to be put in arms for his treasonous purpose.

His wealth. King Edward's Book of Sales. Sharington's wealth may be guessed at by a purchase he made of the King in this second year of his reign for the sum of 2808*l.* 4*s.* 10*d. ob.* and in consideration of the exchange of woods, land, and tenements in the county of Essex, and in performance of King Henry the Eighth's will. The purchase was all the manors of Awbery, Winterbourn, and Charlton, in the county of Wilts, with the appurtenances, lately parcel of the possessions and revenues of the college of St. Mary and All Saints of Fotheringah, in the county of Northampton; and the whole farm called Barbury Leer, lying in Okeburn; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Northamptonshire, Wilts, and Gloucester. Nay, and notwithstanding his forfeiture of all he had by his attaint, yet it seems he was not so undone, but was able soon after to make a great purchase again. For in the fourth year of this King, for two great sums of money, *viz.* 4866*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* and 8000*l.* the said King granted him the lordships and manors of Lacock, Beaulieu, Natton, Woodrew, Send, Sendrew, Winterbourn, Charlton, Awbery, Avebury, Catcomb, Ladington, Cote, and Medburn;

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and the rectory of Lacock, in the county of Wilts, with the appurtenances, lately the said Sir W. Sharington's; and divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the counties of Wilts, Gloucester, Berks, Devon, Somerset, and in Bristol; which also lately were the said Sharington's. It seems he had money enough still left, to buy again what he had forfeited to the crown by his treason.

Restored to favour.

Indeed his repentance was looked upon to be sincere: insomuch that Latymer, in one of his sermons at Court, took occasion to commend Sharington for his honest confession of his fault. And as he was pardoned and restored in blood by the Parliament in 1549, so he seems to have been soon restored to his offices again: for I find that in April 1550, he, with Sir John Davies, was appointed to receive the first payment from the French, according to the articles of peace lately made, and to give their acquittance for it. And soon after he went over to Calais, and there received it.

The Admiral's crimes.

Near the conclusion of this year, Sir Thomas Seimour, Lord Seimour of Sudley, (a manor and castle in Gloucestershire, formerly belonging to the abbey of Winchelcomb,) uncle to the King, and Lord High Admiral of England, was beheaded on Tower-hill, for affecting the kingdom. But whereas it was wont to be much laid to the charge of the Duke of Somerset his brother, as a point of his weakness, to yield to the taking him off, by whose life he might have been the stronger to have withstood his ene- 124 mies; and that the quarrel between the brothers was occasioned by the strife of the two great ladies, their wives, for precedency, in which the men themselves became concerned; I think they are no better to be esteemed than stories raised by the giddy multitude, or by the Duke's enemies, to impair his credit and reputation. For if we may believe the act of attainder, this Lord was so ill a man, and his nature so utterly spoiled and corrupted by insolence and ambition, that it was not fit he should live in the state. For in the first year of the King's reign, he laboured by craft and sleight to get the government of the King's person from his brother, to whom it was granted by the consent of

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all the nobles, and himself among the rest. And when that would not do, soon after he proceeded to more open practices of tumults and stirs, thinking to make the King and Parliament serve his turn. For he had the confidence to go to the young King, and moved him to write a letter to the Parliament with his own hand; wherein he should desire them to be good to the Lord Seimour in such suits and matters as he should declare unto them. And to incline the King to do it, he had several about the King's person, his instruments, to help it forward. And this letter he intended himself to carry to the Lower House, and open the same in the Upper; and had procured parties in either House to forward his purposes; to make a tumult and sedition both in the Court and the whole realm. And he was heard to say, that "he would make the blackest Parliament that "ever was seen in England." He did also prepare a great number of men and of weapons; and he travailed with the most part of the Council to help him to the government of the King's person. And in the Parliament, by himself, his friends, and servants, he ever laboured to obstruct every thing that tended to the honour, surety, and benefit of the King and his realms. He spread abroad sundry slanders touching the King's person, the Lord Protector, and the whole state of the Council; and they so vile, as not fit to be repeated.

The Protector's gentleness towards him.

When all this was discovered, and come to light, the good Duke his brother was heartily grieved at it, and according to his gentle nature endeavoured by sober counsels to reclaim and save him, and to bring him to a better consideration of his duty to God and the King: and laboured with the whole Council, and otherwise, to reconcile and reform him, who presently else must have perished in his folly. And though the Protector then had perfect knowledge of all his attempts and misbehaviour; and though the Admiral had said that he would not come at the Lord Protector or Council, if they sent for him, or that he would not be committed to any ward for his doings by the best of them; yet the Protector used still all good means, according to his clemency, by persuasion of certain of the Council, and otherwise, to frame him to amendment of his ill courses. And upon consideration of the state of things in the realm about the beginning of the King's reign, it was thought most meet for the King to pass his doings over with silence; and to bridle him with his liberality; and so gave him lands to the yearly value of eight hundred pounds. And by King Edward's Book of Sales, I observe this favour shewn him herein, that though his patent bore date the 19th of August, yet the time of the issues was reckoned from the Michaelmas before. This gift of the King is thus set down: "The lordship, manor and castle, 125 "and park of Sudeley, in the county of Gloucester, with "the appurtenances, lately belonging to the monastery of "Winchelcomb, in the same county, dissolved; and divers "other lands and tenements in the counties of Gloucester, "Wilts, Wigorn, Berks, Oxon, Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, "Southampton, Stafford, Salop, Denbigh, (where Holt "castle stood, of which by and by,) Bricon, Radnor, Essex, "Bedford, Somerset, and Karnarvan."

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Practiseth again.

It was not long he continued quiet, notwithstanding these favours, but began to make a party and confederation, whereof himself would be head; and got rules and offices into his hands, and retained many gentlemen and yeomen in his service. Insomuch that he told some of his familiars, that he was able to raise ten thousand men. For whose wages he devised ten thousand pounds by the month; which monies, by dealing with Sir William Sharington, he was to have out of the King's mint at Bristol, as was shewn before. He took up money, and ran in debt, owing to the said Sharington, almost three thousand pounds. Into that strong castle of Holt he put a great quantity of wheat, malt, beef, and a great mass of money, for the feeding and entertainment of a number of men. And for the blinding of his doings there, he caused it to be bruited as though the King were dead. He laboured also with sundry noblemen and others, to join with him: devising with them, how and by what policy they should make themselves strong

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in their countries, and how they should win the head-yeomen, and ringleaders of the common people. He promised favours and benefits very liberally, nay, and gave a promise of the King himself in marriage to a nobleman's daughter in the realm. Moreover, he persuaded the King to take upon him the rule and order of himself, intending thereby to take the King into his own hands and government, and so to rule the affairs of the realm; and endeavoured to engender a hatred in the King's heart against his uncle the Protector. But the King, though at that age, had the wisdom to resist that motion, and without any advice or counsel refused his ill persuasion. He corrupted sundry of the privy-chamber to move the King to write letters according to his and their devices, and to put into his head a singular favour and affection toward him, and a disposition to follow whatsoever the Admiral would have wrought towards others, the better to compass his traitorous purpose.

Courts the Lady Elizabeth.

And for further token of his ambition, immediately after King Henry's death he bore an affection towards the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, second person in remainder of the succession to the crown, and would have married her, if he could by any means. But he was stayed by the Lord Protector and other of the Council. Then he married the relict of King Henry, Queen Katharin Par, whom he married privately first, and after sued to the King, and the Lord Protector, and the Council, for his preferment to the match with her. Whom nevertheless it was credibly spoken, he holp to her end, to hasten his other purpose, which was still to marry the Lady Elizabeth. In which resolution he continued in his said wife's time, while she was alive; and by sundry secret and crafty means endeavoured the achieving since her death. And when the Protector and Council dissuaded him from this, and to forbear his pretended purpose, he would defend himself by asking, why he should not continue his suit towards the Lady Elizabeth, and did secretly and earnestly follow it, and did what he could to have married her.

Marries Queen Katharine.

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And all this the Parliament judged to be a traitorous aspiring to the crown of the realm, and to be King of the same, and an open deed and act, and a false and traitorous compass and imagination to depose and deprive his Majesty. For more of his doings still; he abetted, assisted, and maintained Sharington in his traitorous frauds. When Sharington brought in his false indentures, books, and reckonings, he took them into his hands and custody, and affirmed, that he had wrong to be committed to prison, and endeavoured by all means he could to deliver him. So that one may conclude him privy to his cheats, if not a sharer therein. The Admiral was also guilty of much oppression and extortion of the King's subjects, using *island*, and other voyages by sea, and resolved upon revenge towards all with whom he was offended, which his own letters and other testimonies made appear.

Judged by the Parliament to aspire to the crown.

More of his ill deeds.

If we were minded to rake further into his life, he lived dissolutely from his very youth. In the reign of King Henry VIII. about the year 1539, or 1540, a lewd woman, that had lived an unclean life, and was condemned with some of her comrades for a robbery, as she went to execution, declared that Sir Thomas Seymour had first of all debauched her. And afterward she took to that unlawful course of life that led her to consort with rogues; and that brought her to her shameful end. Of which Latimer, then Bishop of Worcester, hearing, looked ever what would become of him, and feared that he would come to some bad end. And so this man fell from evil to worse, and from worse to worst of all, till at length he was made a spectacle to all the world. It was commonly reported of him that he disbelieved the immortality of the soul. And the little devotion that appeared in him at his death, which we shall speak of presently, made this report the more probable. The probability whereof appeared also too much in his general neglect of prayer and serving God. For when the good Queen Katharine his wife had daily prayers before and after noon in her house, the Admiral would get him out of the way, and was a contemner of the common

His ill life.

prayer. So that the grave father Latimer, in one of his sermons before King Edward, said, that he was a man the furthest from the fear of God that ever he knew or heard of in England. When he was upon the scaffold, and ready to be executed, a passage happened which shewed him still of the same turbulent and malicious mind he was of before, and that he had not yet subdued his spirit, and brought it to that charitable frame that was proper for dying persons, that believe they are going into another world. He had a great mind to be revenged of his brother, the Lord Protector. And though he should be dead, and so could not practise himself his ruin, yet he endeavoured to kindle such coals as might afterwards cause others to do it. For when he was ready to lay his head upon the block, he turned to the lieutenant's servant, and said to him, that he should bid his servant *speed the thing that he wot of.* And so immediately he laid down and died, having received two strokes of the axe. But the words he spake happened to be overheard. The Admiral's servant hereupon was taken into examination, who confessed that they were two letters which 127 his master had written in the Tower to the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth, which he had enjoined him to take his opportunity to deliver. And that he had made his pen of the aglet of a point that he plucked from his hose; and made his ink some other way as craftily, and then had caused these two papers (which were but of a small quantity) to be sewed between the sole of a velvet shoe of his. And by this means these letters came to light, and fell into the hands of the Protector and Council. The contents of them tended to this end, that the two sisters should conspire against the Protector, enforcing many matters against him, to make these royal ladies jealous of him, as though he had, it may be, practised to estrange the King their brother from them, or to deprive them of the right of their succession. Both these papers Latimer himself saw, and reported publicly in his fourth sermon before the King, though in the last edition of his sermons the passage be left out. This retaining of his malice and revenge to the last,

His practice against the Protector his brother, a little before his death.

His private letters.

made that good old father to say, "that he died *very dan-* "*gerously*, *irksomely*, *horribly*; and to conclude, that God " had him left to himself, and had clean forsaken him. " And then asked the question, What would he have done, " if he had lived still that went about that geere, when he " had laid his head on the block? and again, Whether he " be saved or no, I leave it to God, but surely he was a " wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him." And this that reverend man said, to justify the Protector and Parliament in taking off this seditious man, and to shew what a necessity there was of it, which some had thought very strange, considering his quality and relation both to the King and the Protector. And therefore thought he was too rigorously dealt with. And some, because he seemed to die boldly, were apt to suppose him to die innocently.

He that would see more of this man, may have recourse to the articles drawn up against him in the Collections to the Bishop of Sarum's History of the Reformation. Vol. ii. p. 158.

Orders for his execution.

The Admiral being condemned to die, the Council dealt gently with him, and sent to him the Bishop of Ely to instruct and comfort him. By whom the said Admiral made certain requests to the Council. Which what they were, and the method of his execution, take from an authentic MS. extracted, as it seems, out of the Council book.

" This day, the 17th of March, the Lord Chancellor, " and the rest of the King's Majesty's Council, meeting in " his Highness's palace of Westminster, heard the report of " the Bishop of Ely; who, by the said Lords, and other of " the Council, was sent to instruct and comfort the Lord " Admiral. After the hearing whereof, consulting and de- " liberating within themselves of the time most convenient " for the execution of the said Lord Admiral, now at- " tainted and condemned by the Parliament, they did con- " descend and agree, that the said Lord Admiral should be " executed the Wednesday next following, between the " hours of nine in the forenoon and twelve the same day, " upon the Towerhill, his body and head to be buried " within the Tower; the King's writ, as in such cases

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"heretofore hath been accustomed, being first directed and "sent forth for that purpose and effect.

"Upon this, calling into the council-chamber the Bishop "of Ely, they willed him to declare this their determination "to the said Lord Admiral, and instruct and teach him the 128 "best he could to the quiet and patient suffering of justice, "and to prepare himself to Almighty God.

"The said Bishop, after he had been with the said Lord "Admiral, repairing again to the Court, made report to Mr. "Comptroller and Secretary Smith of the Lord Admiral's "requests. The which were, that he required Mr. Latimer to come to him; the day of execution to be deferred; "certain of his servants to be with him; his daughter to "be with my Lady Duchess of Suffolk to be brought up, "and such like. Touching which requests, the said Lords "and the rest of the Council declared their minds to Mr. "Secretary Smith: willing him to write their answer in a "letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who should shew "in all those requests their resolute answer to the said "Lord Admiral. The which was done accordingly."

CHAP. XVI.

Of Queen Katharin Parr, and her daughter by the Lord Admiral. That Queen's books of devotions. Some relation of her. Priests allowed marriage. Private acts of Parliament. Bills in behalf of the commons. The King sells chantries, guilds, &c.

The Lady Mary born of Queen Katharin.

HIS wife, Queen Katharin, saw not this heavy hour, dying in childbed of a daughter named Mary, but a little before. This high born infant lady, destitute already both of father and mother, remained a little while at her uncle the Duke of Somerset's house at Sion, and then, according to her father's dying request, was conveyed to Grimsthorp in Lincolnshire, where the Duchess of Suffolk lived. There she had her governess, who was one Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse,

Committed to the keeping of the Duchess of Suffolk.

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two maids, and other servants agreeable to her high quality, attending on her. The Duke upon her going away promised a pension to be settled on her, for the maintenance of her and her servants, and that a certain parcel of plate of silver and household stuff, which belonged to her former nursery at the Duke's, should be applied to her service, when she went to live with the Duchess: and so Mr. Bartue her servant brought her word from the Duchess of Somerset. The said plate and stuff were, two pots, three goblets, one salt, parcel gilt, a maser with a band of silver and parcel gilt, and eleven spoons; a quilt for the cradle, three pillows, three feather beds, three quilts, a testor of scarlet embroidered with a counterpoint of silksay belonging to the same, and curtains of crimson taffeta, two counterpoints of imagery for the nurse's bed, six pair of sheets, six fair pieces of hangings within the inner chamber, four carpets for win- 129 dows, ten pieces of hangings of the twelve months within the utter chamber, two cushions of cloth of gold, one chair of cloth of gold, two wrought stools, a bedstead gilt, with a testor and counterpoint, with curtains belonging to the same. But several months were past, and neither was this plate and furniture as yet sent, nor the promised pension settled, nor care taken for payment of the governess and servants, the whole burden and charge all this while lying upon the Duchess of Suffolk, without any satisfaction, which pressing her so hard, and she was none of the wealthiest, made her send, in the latter end of August, to the Duchess of Somerset, to urge the performance of what was promised, and to Mr. Cecyl, then a servant in the Duke's family, and Master of his Requests, complaining heavily at the constant charge she was at in maintaining the said Lady Mary and all her retinue, without any consideration hitherto. "Praying him "to help her at a pinch, (as she expressed it,) all that "he might help: that both governess and all the servants "called upon her for their wages; whose voices her ears, "she said, might hardly bear, but her coffers much worse."

The quality and condition of the

This neglect no question was occasioned by the cares of the weightier affairs of state incumbent on the Duke: for I

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will not attribute it to his want of concern for his deceased brother's child, however undeserving he had been. But it was an hard case to put all this trouble upon the Duchess of Suffolk, who, although she were an excellent woman, a great professor and patroness of true religion, (entertaining Latymer at Grimesthorp to preach to her family,) of high quality, the second wife and relict of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by whom she had two sons; yet her incomes were much too scanty for her quality, as appears by the foresaid letter to Cecyl, dated Aug. 27, which she began in this ingenious manner:

said Duchess.

The Duchess to Cecyl.

" It is said, that the best mean of remedy to the sick, is " first plainly to confess and to disclose the disease. Where- " fore both for remedy, and again for that my disease is so " strong that it will not be hidden, I will discover me unto " you. First, I will, as it were under *benedicite*, and in " high secrecy, declare unto you, that all the world know- " eth, though I go never so covertly in my net, what a very " beggar I am. This sickness, as I have said, I promise " you, increaseth mightily upon me; amongst other the " causes thereof, if you will understand not the least, the " Queen's child hath lain and yet doth lie at my house " with her company, wholly at my charges, &c. Wherefore " I cease, and commit me and my sickness to your diligent " care, with my hearty commendations to your wife. At " my manor of Grimesthorp, the xxvii. of August.

" Your assured loving friend,

" K. Suffoulk."

This Lady Mary restored in blood.

I conclude, care was soon after taken about this infant lady's family, and the Duchess's charges, as there was to restore her in blood: which was done by act of Parliament, 1549, under the name of Mary Seimour, daughter of Sir
130 Thomas Seimour, late Lord Seimour of Sudley: when she was restored and enabled in blood, as daughter and heir, and heiress to the said Thomas Lord Seimour, and might demand, ask, have, hold, and enjoy all and every such honours, castles, manors, lordships, &c. which at any time

hereafter should come, remain, descend, or revert from any collateral ancestor, &c. And to use and have any action or suit, and make her pedigree and conveyance in blood, as heir, as well to and from her said father, as also to any other person in like manner, form, and degree, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as if the said Thomas Lord Seimour had never been attainted. I have no more to say of this child, but that she died not long after.

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Q. Kath. Parr's character.

But I have more to add of that illustrious woman and Queen, her mother. She was a right noble lady, and had done abundance of good things, but yet cared not that they should be known or spoken of. "Such was her modesty, "that she sought nothing less than the fame of her good "deeds to be blown abroad. She was of virtuous living "from her tender years. She was endued with a pregnant "wittiness, joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence: "studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of "other human disciplines, as also of the holy Scriptures. "Of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from "all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions "of idleness, and contemning provocations of vain pastimes. "Her modesty was coupled with great integrity and innocency in all her behaviour. She was mighty studious to "promote the glory of God, and of the holy Gospel. These "qualities moved King Henry to judge her a meet spouse "for his Majesty, and to pick her out to be his lawful wife "of so many women of nobility and honour, and high worth. "When she was Queen, she employed herself days and "nights in psalms and contemplative meditations, in lieu "of vain courtly pastimes and gaming. And these she herself set forth in print, for the example of all noble women, "and to the ghostly consolation and edifying of all that "read them. By her godly bestowing her time, it appeared she little set by the world; thirsted much after "righteousness, carefully sought the kingdom of God, in "the midst of a thousand occasions, which otherwise might "have withdrawn her high esteem therefrom." As N. Udal writes in his epistle dedicatory to her, while she was King

Ep. dedic. before the English paraphrase of Erasmus upon St. Luke.

Anno 1548. Henry's Queen, before his translation of Erasmus' paraphrase upon St. Luke. She caused, out of her zeal to the Scripture, and her desire to bring in the knowledge of it among the common people, that divers, at her great cost and charges, should be employed in translating Erasmus' paraphrase into English. This she did in King Henry the Eighth's time, and it seems it was in a manner finished in that King's days, and to which he was privy. For Udal writ, " he doubted not, but that it was so acceptable to the " King, that he would not suffer it to lay buried in silence, " but would one day cause the said paraphrase thus Eng" lished, to be published and set abroad in print." The translation of the paraphrase upon St. Luke was finished in 1545. For in that year the epistle dedicatory was writ.

131 Those devotions of this Queen's before mentioned, (whereby appeared what little opinion she had of her princely state, in comparison with her enjoyment of God, and desire of spiritual things,) consisted of psalms and prayers. The psalms were in number fifteen, of good length each, made in imitation of David's Psalms; being digested into versicles: whereof many were excerptions out of the book of Psalms, and other places of Scripture. Each psalm had its proper subject. The first was for obtaining *remission* of sins: beginning, " O Lord of lords, God Almighty, great and " dreadful; which by thy word hast made heaven, earth, " the sea, and all things contained in them.

Her psalms.

ZZ.

" Nothing is able to resist thy power: thy mercy is over " all thy works.

" All things be under thy dominion and rule, both man " and beast, and all living creatures.

" Thou art merciful to whom thou wilt, and hast com" passion on whom it pleaseth thee," &c.

The second psalm also was for *remission* of sins; beginning, " O most mighty God of angels and men, whose " judgments be unsearchable, and whose wisdom is pro" found and deep:

" Hear the prayers of thy servant, and cast not away the " humble suit of thy poor creature and handy work," &c.

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The third psalm was for *remission* of sins also. The fourth, a *complaint* of a penitent sinner, which is sore troubled and overcome with sins. The fifth, for obtaining of godly wisdom. The sixth, a Christian man prayeth that he may be healed of God. The seventh, for an order and direction of good living. The eighth, a Christian man prayeth that he may be defended from his enemies. The ninth, against enemies. The tenth, when the enemies be so cruel that he cannot suffer them. The eleventh, of confidence and trust in God. The twelfth, if God defer to help long time. The thirteenth, in which he giveth thanks to God, that his enemies have not gotten the over-hand of him. The fourteenth, in which the goodness of God is praised. The fifteenth, of the benefits of God, with thanks for the same. To which were subjoined the twenty-first psalm, entitled, *The Complaint of Christ on the cross*, and a psalm of thanksgiving.

And prayers.

Then followed the book of prayers; entitled, *Prayers or Meditations, wherein the mind is stirred patiently to suffer all afflictions here; to set at nought the vain prosperity of this world; and always to long for the everlasting felicity.* Collected out of holy works by the most virtuous and gracious Princess Katharine, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, an. Dom. 1545. These prayers were all digested, as were the psalms abovesaid, into versicles or sentences, and contained a great strain of true piety and devotion, sense of God, and dependance on him; and many of them excellently suited to the Queen's own condition. A part of one of these her devout exercises I remember to have read in the excellent collections of Dr. Sampson, a London physician, deceased, shewing the devout spirit of this lady.

Then follow two prayers for the King, and for men to say entering into battle. Which latter I make no doubt the Queen composed upon the King's expedition into France with a great army, when she was left Regent at home. In the said prayer she had this truly pious petition; "Our 132
"cause being now just, and being enforced to enter into
"war and battle, we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord

" God of hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the " desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt; or else, " grant, O Lord, that with small effusion of blood, and to " the little hurt and damage of innocents, we may to thy " glory obtain victory. And that the wars being soon ended, we may all with one heart and mind, knit together in " concord and unity, laud and praise thee," &c. The next is a devout prayer to be daily said, together with one or two prayers more.

And her exposition on Psalm li.

There was also printed another piece of the devout studies of this good Queen, entitled, *A goodly Exposition, after the manner of a Contemplation, upon the fifty-first Psalm*, which Hierom of Ferrary made at the latter end of his days. The which, I suppose, this godly woman translated into English, beginning, " Wretch that I am, comfortless " and forsaken of all men, which have offended both heaven " and earth," &c. Then follow in conclusion, other proper things very necessary to edify the congregation of Christ: as, of faith; the power of faith; the work of faith; good works; the prayer of the prophet Daniel.

She was foretold to be born to a crown.

I have met with a passage concerning this Queen, in the margin of Bale's Centuries, in the possession of a late friend of mine [a], noted against her name by an uncertain hand: which shewed the greatness of her mind, and the quickness of her wit, while she was but a child. Somebody skilled in prognostication, casting her nativity, told her, that she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house; which she took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would say, My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, not needles and spindles.

She had long loved the Lord Admiral.

The Admiral's marrying of this Queen was laid to his charge as a point of his high ambition, as was said before, though it seems by a letter of her own writing from Chelsey, soon after her marriage, that she rather courted him, than he her: professing, that she loved him when she was the Lord Latimer's widow, and before King Henry made her his wife; and therefore being at first very listless towards that royal match.

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[a] Dr. Sampson of London, now deceased.

She writes to King Henry in his expedition.

But to stay a little longer before we part with this excellent lady. The King, when he undertook, in the year 1544, an expedition in person to France, made her general Regent in his absence. In his absence she wrote him a very well penned letter, declaring her great love and high honour towards him, and expressing her earnest desire to know of his welfare since his departing, and her mighty concern for his prosperity and health, which she professed she preferred before her own. "She knew, she said, that his Majesty's "absence was never without great respects of things; yet "it was her love and affection compelled her to desire "his presence: and again, the same zeal and love forced "her to be best content with that which was his will and "pleasure. And thus love made her in all things to set "apart her own commodity and pleasure, to embrace most "joyfully his will and pleasure, whom she loved." And so she proceeded throughout her letter with profound reverence towards him; as well knowing his lofty humour to require it, that she might keep herself in his favour, who had been so fickle towards his former Queens.

She intercedes with the King for the University.

In the year 1545, the University of Cambridge addressed 133 their letters to her by Dr. Smith, (he that was afterwards Sir Thomas, the learned Secretary of State to King Edward,) upon a late act made, that all colleges, chantries, and free chapels should be in the King's disposition. Which put the University in a great fright: and they prayed her to intercede with the King for their colleges; which she effectually performed. Insomuch that she writ to them in answer, "that she had attempted the King for the stay of their "possessions: and that notwithstanding his Majesty's pro-"perty and interest to them, by virtue of that act of Par-"liament, he was, she said, such a patron to good learning, "that he would rather advance and erect new occasion "thereof, than confound those their colleges. So that learn-"ing hereafter might ascribe her very original, as well as "conservation and stay unto him. And then in the same

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Her good advice to the University.

"letter, she exhorted them not to hunger after profane "learning, and forget Christianity in the mean time, as "though the Greek University of Athens were transposed "into England. Since their excellency did only attain "to moral and natural things. But she admonished them "so to study those doctrines, that they might serve as means "towards the attaining and better setting forth of Christ's "most sacred doctrine. That it might not be laid against "them at the tribunal seat of God, how they were ashamed "of Christ's doctrine. That she trusted, that in their several "vocations they would apply themselves to the sincere set"ting it forth, and that they would conform their sundry "gifts, arts, and studies to such end, that Cambridge might "be accounted rather an University of divine philosophy, "than natural or moral."

The King woos the Queen for his uncle.

King Edward, in his invaluable journal, preserved in the Cotton Library, and lately published by the Bishop of Sarum, noteth, that the Protector was much offended with this marriage of his brother to the Queen. But however displeased he was, the King his nephew was pleased well enough: willing, perhaps, that he that was so nearly related to him being a King, should be advanced to the bed of a Queen. And therefore he both wooed for his uncle, recommending him unto the Queen, and after the marriage wrote her a congratulatory letter, which was in answer to one that she had sent unto him by the hands of the Lord Admiral her new husband.

To Queen Katharine Par, the King's letter congratulatory, upon her marriage with the Lord Admiral.

MSS. penes me.

"Wee thank you hartely, not onlie for your gentle "acceptation of our sute moved unto you, but also for your "lovinge accomplishing of the same, wherin you have de"clared not onlie a desire to gratifie us, but also moved us "to declare the good-will likewise that wee bear to you in "all your requests. Wherefore yee shall not nede to feare "any grefe to come, or to suspect lake of ayde in nede; "seeing that he, being mine uncle, is of so good a nature

“ that he will not be troublesome on the means unto you;
“ and I of that minde, that of divers just causes I must fa-
“ vor you. But even as without cause you merrily re-
“ quire help against him, whom you have put in trust with
“ the cariage of these letters; so maye I merrily retourne
“ the same request unto you, to provide that he maye live
“ with you also without grefe, which hath given him hoely
“ unto you.

“ And I will so provide for you both, that hereafter 134
“ if any greafe befal, I shall be a sufficient socor in your
“ godlie and praisable enterprises. Fare you well, with
“ much encrease of honour and vertue in Christ. From
“ Saincte James, the five and twenty day of June.

“ Edward.”

Another of his letters to her.

There is another ingenious letter written in Latin by this King to this Queen, when he was prince, (wherein he called her *mother*,) upon occasion of a new-year's gift sent by her to him at Hertford; which was the King's picture and hers. Which letter is extant in Fuller's History.

B. vii. p. 423.

After this digression concerning Queen Katharine, let us return again to the Parliament now sitting, which we heard had attainted two eminent persons. I will briefly touch at one thing more done this sessions, relating to the Clergy. Which was the making an act for the lawfulness of Priests' marriage. But before the bill passed in the house, it was debated earnestly, and sifted thoroughly in the Convocation. And however the Clergy was supposed to be prejudiced for the celibacy of Priests, yet, (as we learn from one who seems to have been a member in that Convocation, or at least well acquainted with the transactions of it,) there was in the Lower House, of Deans, Archdeacons, Doctors, Heads of colleges, to the number of seventy, that set their hands in allowance of the marriage of Priests, (as in the Convocation the last year were fifty-three voices for it.) And most of the Bishops in the Upper House set their hands to the taking away the positive laws that prohibited such marriage. And hence it became enacted in Parliament.

An act for Priests' marriage.

JohnRogers in his intended speech to the Lord Chancellor.

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There was a bill sent from the Convocation the last year, that married men might be Priests, and have benefices. Which was read thrice in two days in the Parliament, and agreed to, and sent up to the Lords House. Where it lay undispatched, by reason that sessions ended within two or three days after it came before them.

The Parliament's second session.

This being the second sessions of the Parliament, it began Nov. 24, and ended not before March 14 ensuing. Besides the public acts then made, there were these private ones:

Private acts.

An act concerning gavelkind lands in Kent.

Acts for the restitution of Sir George Darcy, Francis Carew, Edward Charleton, Sir Ralph Bulmer, Henry Weston, Ralph Bygot, Thomas Percy.

An act for the uniting of churches in the city of Lincoln. And another act for the uniting of churches in Stamford.

An act for the erecting a school at St. Alban's.

An act for the uniting the churches of Ongar and Greensted in Essex.

An act for the founding of a school at Barkhamsted. And another for a school at Stamford.

Bills put into this Parliament for the benefit of the poor commons.

There was one thing debated in this Parliament, which may deserve to be here related. For the pacifying of the people, and making the condition of the poor easier against graziers and gentlemen, who enclosed commons, and neglected tillage, John Hales (that had been lately in a commission to inquire into enclosures, and then saw and pitied the oppression of the poor country people) devised three bills to be put into Parliament. Unto which he first made many wise men privy. The one was for the re-edifying of houses decayed, and for the maintenance of tillage and husbandry. The other, for regrating of victuals and other
135 things, wherein one principal point was, that neither graziers nor none else should buy any cattle, and sell the same again within a certain time. For, as the said Hales had learned, and knew of certainty, divers graziers and sheepmasters brought both cattle and money to the market; and if they could not sell their own as dear as they listed, they carried them home again, and bought all the rest. These two bills

were first put to the Lords. The first being read was not liked. The second they allowed and augmented, and sent down to the Lower House. Where it was so debated, and tossed up and down, and at last committed to such men, and there so much deferred, that men's affections might there have been notably discovered. And perhaps, (said Hales, relating this matter in a writing of his,) he that had seen all this would have said, that the lamb had been committed to the wolf's custody. The third bill was set forth first in the Lower House, and tended to this end, that every man that kept in several pasture sheep or beasts, should keep, for every hundred sheep that he had above six score, two kine; and for every of these two kine, should rear one calf. And for every two kine that he kept beside, more than ten, he should rear one calf. By this means he thought and believed, that the nation should not only have plenty of beasts, whereof there was wonderful great decay, but also thereby the markets should be replenished with milk, butter, and cheese, the common and principal sustenance of the poor. The said Hales had such an opinion of this bill, that he durst have laid his life on it, that if it had proceeded, there would have been within five years after the execution thereof, such plenty of victuals, and so good cheap, as never was in England; and besides, a great many good things ensue, very necessary and profitable for the commonwealth of the country. Which neither by the execution of the late commission, nor yet by any positive law then in being, could be holpen. But, said Hales, Demetrius and his fellows soon spied whereunto this thing tended. There was then, *Hold with me, and I will hold with thee.* Some alleged the opinion of their fathers in time past, (but these had been great sheepmasters,) who, when the like bill had been propounded, would never consent unto it, but said, that when any scarcity of cattle was, a proclamation was made that no calves should be killed for a time. Some alleged, that men then eat more flesh than they did in time past, and that in Lent, and other fasting days heretofore, the people eat neither butter, milk, nor cheese, and would have

Anno 1548. them do so again for policy sake. And thus these rich inclosers got the better of this good bill, intended for the benefit of the poor.

The King sells chantries.

The King having the guilds or fraternities, chantries, colleges, hospitals, &c. given him the last year, hastened to sell them, to make up the defects of his treasury, and to get ready money for necessary uses. He began to sell the last year, and so continued this and the next year, which brought in vast sums. What chantries, free chapels, colleges, &c. were sold this second year of the King, and to whom, and for what sums, and lastly, of what value they were respectively, I could set down, having extracted them ZZZ from an authentic MS. of the King's sales, but for avoiding prolixity I omit them.

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CHAP. XVII.

Books published this year. Archbishop Cranmer's book of Unwritten Verities. His notes of traditions. Doctor Turner against the mass. Crowly's book in behalf of the poor commons, &c.

Cranmer's book of Unwritten Verities.

FOR the conclusion of this year, I shall glance at some books of remark that issued abroad within the compass of the same. One was a small tract, entitled, *Unwritten Verities.* It was printed at London, in St. Andrew's parish in the Wardrobe, by Thomas Reynold, *cum privilegio.* This book, I make no doubt, was that very book which Archbishop Cranmer had before penned and printed, if I mistake not, in Latin; which Dr. Richard Smith of Oxford, in the beginning of this reign, attempted to confute, and was vindicated by the Archbishop. This year, for more common use, it came forth in English. The drift of it was to prove and shew the divine authority of the holy Scriptures, and the difference between them and traditions, called *Unwritten Verities;* and to enervate these, by declaring the first rise and original of them. That as for the holy Scriptures, "It

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" was not lawful to deny any thing they affirmed, nor to " affirm any thing which they denied. And that because " they were received in the primitive times by assent of " people and clergy, when the people were newly converted " to the faith, and were full of grace and devotion, and " when there were blessed Bishops, and blessed Priests, " and others blessed of the Clergy. And the time of the " authorizing of the New Testament, and gathering it " together, was the time, he supposed, of the most high " and gracious shedding out of the mercy of God into the " world, that ever was from the beginning of the world to " this day. That after this, by a common speaking among " the people, the Bishops and others of the Clergy were " called *the Church*, and under colour of the name *Church*, " in process of time, pretended that they might make expositions of Scripture, as the universal Church of Christ. " And thereupon, when covetousness and pride increased " among the Clergy, they expounded, very favourably, divers texts of Scripture, to sound to the maintenance of " their honour, and power, and riches: and took upon them " to affirm, that they were the Church, and might not err; " and that Christ and his Apostles had spoken and taught " many things that were not expressly in Scripture; but " nevertheless, that the people were as much bound to believe them as the Scripture. Then he proceeded to specify many of these traditions, which the Clergy called " *unwritten verities*, pretending they were left to the world " by tradition and revelation of the Apostles. Then he 137 " briefly confuted the arguments commonly used in behalf " of their authority; and reckoned it concerned princes " to look upon these *unwritten verities*, and upon the " Clergy's making laws, and upon their intruding things " upon the people to be believed, upon pain of damnation." This short but excellent treatise, which is by this time almost wholly lost and extinct, I have thought fit to take this notice of. The whole tract may be found in the Repository.

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Cranmer's collections of traditions. MSS. D. Henrici D. Ep. Londin.

Having met with a volume of Archbishop Cranmer's common places, I will here transcribe thence what he wrote and collected of these *traditions:* especially because what is there written is different from the foresaid book, and contains other things.

" *Traditions not written recited by Tertullian.* That " children should be christened but two times in the year, at " Easter and Whitsuntide. That the Bishops should christen " them. They that should be christened, should be three " times put in the water, the whole body. That by and by " after, they should eat milk and honey mixed together. " That the whole week after, they should not be washed. " To offer yearly, the day of men's death, and of their birth. " Upon the Sunday neither to fast, nor to kneel in prayer: " and likewise from Easter to Whitsuntide. To make a " cross upon our foreheads.

" *Traditions recited by Basilius.* Making a cross upon " them that be christened. To turn our faces to the east, " when we pray. Consecrating of oil and water in bap" tism. Unction with oil. To put them that be baptized " three times in the water. To renounce the devil and his " angels in baptism.

" Other authors rehearse a great number of *traditions.* " The fast of Lent. To fast Wednesday and Friday. Not " to fast Saturday nor Sunday. That a Bishop should be " consecrated of two or three Bishops, and Priests of one. " A Bishop, Priest, and Deacon shall not meddle with the " business and care of worldly things: and if he do, let him " be deposed. If a Bishop give orders in another Bishop's " diocese without his licence, he shall be deposed, and also " he that taketh orders of him. Giving of *pax* after mass. " Consecrating of *religious* men. And a thousand mo tra" ditions apostolic there be, if we give credence to St. Denys " De Ecclesiast. Hierarch. Ignatius, the Canons of the Apo" stles, Ecclesiastica et Tripartita Historia, Cyprian, Ter" tullian, Irenæus, with other old ancient authors. And " yet an infinite number mo, we shall be constrained to

" receive, if we admit this rule, which St. Augustin many " times repeats, that whatsoever is universally observed, " and not written in the Scripture, nor ordained by general " councils, is a tradition coming from the Apostles. As " that Bishops have authority to excommunicate all persons " that be manifest and obstinate sinners: to admit or reject " other Bishops and Curates, presented by princes or patrons: to ordain ceremonies to be observed in the Church: " to make laws, how to proceed in excommunication, and " other laws ecclesiastical: and what punishment is to be " given to offenders; and all people being within their " jurisdiction, of what state or condition soever they be, be " bound to obey them.

" Reasons. *Idem.* If traditions apostolic have the force 138 " of God's word, so that every one is bound to the observation of them, the Bishop of Rome hath a great advantage " thereby to establish his *primacy:* not such a primacy as " he hath lately usurped, but such a *primacy* as he hath " had by prerogative from the beginning; that is to say, " to be one of the four patriarchs of Christendom, and " the chief of all four. And the traditions be the chief " authors, whereupon Pighius stayeth himself. And furthermore, if we admit traditions to be of such authority, " it is to be feared that we must resort to the Church of " Rome to fetch there our traditions, as of the oldest, and " the mother Church. Irenæus, *Ad hanc, &c.* Cyprian calls " Rome, *Petri cathedram et ecclesiam principalem.* Julius " writing for Athanasius, &c. Melchiades, and other quotations he there mentioneth.

" The Old Testament was sufficient for the Jews: and " is not both the Old and the New sufficient for us?

" What things came by traditions from the Apostles, no " man can tell certainly: and if we be bound to receive " them as articles of our faith, then is our faith uncertain. " For we be bound to believe we know not what.

" Faith must needs be grounded upon God's word. For " St. Paul saith, *Fides ex auditu; auditus autem per verbum Dei. Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata.* This

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"text St. John Chrysost. Theophylact, Thomas, with many "other authors, both old and new, do expound plainly as "the words be, that whatsoever truth is necessary to be "taught for our salvation, or the contrary to be reproved; "whatsoever is necessary for us to do, and what to forbear "and not to do; all is completely contained in the Scrip-"ture. So that a man thereby may be perfectly instructed "unto all manner of goodness." This was Archbishop Cranmer's judgment.

A book of Dr. Turner against the mass.

As the last year appeared abroad a *Declaration* of the Mass, so about this time, still for the further humiliation of that popish service, came forth an *Examination* of the Mass, made by Dr. William Turner, a physician, about this time living in the Duke of Somerset's family, afterwards Dean of Wells, a witty as well as learned man. This book was entitled, *A new Dialogue, wherein is conteyned the examination of the Messe, and of that kind of priesthood which is ordeyned to say Messe, and to offer up for remission of sin, the body and blood of Christ agayne.* The names of the speakers in this dialogue are, Mistress Missa, Master Knowledge, Master Fremouth, Master Justice of Peace, Peter Preco the Cryer, Palemon the Judge, Dr. Porphyry, Sir Philip Philargyry. Of which two last the former represented a Doctor of the Canon Law, and the latter a Doctor of Divinity and Priest, Missa's great friends and patrons. Mr. Knowledge describes her abuses, Fremouth accuses her. Mr. Justice of Peace is hasty to execute the law upon Fremouth for speaking against her. Afterwards all apply to Palemon, a wise judge, for his decision. And he having at good length fully heard all parties, in the end finds Mistress Missa guilty, and pronounceth his judgment against her in these words: "These men, thy ac-"cusers, have brought forth sufficient evidence and witness, "that thou art not of God; that thou art contrary and an "enemy unto the holy Scriptures, and an idolatress, mak-"ing a God of consecrated bread and wine; and that, to the "great injury of Christ's passion, thou offerest up Christ 139 "again, and, as much as lyeth in thee, kyllest hym a thou-

"sand tymes in one year. Wherefore thou hast deserved "death, and art worthy to be burned. But least thy fathers "generation, the Papists, should say, that we are as desyrous "of bloud-sheddyng as they were, when they bare the "swynge, I commaund thee in the payne of burnyng to "pack thee out of this realm withal thy bag and baggage "within these eight days, and go to thy father the Pope "withal the speed that thou canst, and say, that here is in "England no more place for hym, neyther for any of hys "generation." And so the book concludes with these words of the mass, wherein she laments her case to her friends the priests; and prays them to look out some place in the Bible for her; which was so extremely difficult to find.

Help and defend, my good brethren all,
Which love doctrine cathedral,
And do believe unwritten veritie,
To be as good as Scriptures sincerite.
Because in the Bible I cannot be found,
The hereticks would bury me under the ground.
I pray you hartily, yf it be possible,
To get me a place in the great Bible.
Or else, as I do understand,
I shall be banished out of this land;
And shall be compelled with sorrow and payne,
To return to Rome, to my father again.

A book recommended to the Parliament, in behalf of the poor commons.

Robert Crowley, a stationer, in Ely rents, but a man of letters, and bred up in Oxford, an earnest professor of religion, and who a year or two after this received orders from Bishop Ridley, wrote a book now complaining of the abuses put upon the poor people, both by the clergy and laity; recommending their cause to the Parliament now sitting. It was entitled, *An Information and Petition against the Oppressors of the poor Commons of this Realm. Compiled and imprinted for this only purpose, that among them that have to do in the Parliament, some godly minded men may hereat take occasion to speak more in the matter than the author was able to write.* Imprinted at London, by John Day. Because this book will shew much of the state of this nation at present, and how the people stood affected, and what most aggrieved them, and the covetousness and oppressions of the wealthier sort, I shall in some larger manner represent the contents of it. It began, "To the most "honourable Lords of the Parliament, with the Commons "of the same, their most humble and daily orator, Robert "Crowly, wisheth the assistance of God's holy Spirit.

"Among the manifold and most weighty matters, most "worthy Counsellors, to be debated and commoned of in "this present Parliament, and by the advice, assent, and "consent thereof speedily to be redressed, I think there is "no one thing more needful to be spoken of, than the "grievous oppression of the poor by the possessioners, as "well of the clergy as of the laity.

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Abuses to be rectified in the Clergy.

"No doubt it is needful, and there ought to be a redress "of many matters of religion. As are these: the use of the "sacraments and ceremonies; the usurping of tenths to private commodity; the superfluous, unlearned and undiscreet, and vicious ministers of the Church, and their superstitious and idolatrous administration. Of these things, "I say, ought there to be a speedy reformation. For they "are now most like, hastily to bring upon this noble realm "the inevitable vengeance of God, if they be not shortly "reformed. Forasmuch as it hath pleased the almighty "and living God to open unto us those abominations, "which have heretofore been kept secret and hidden from "us. These things, I say, are yet far out of joint, and "have great need to be reformed. For, notwithstanding "the King's Majesty's late visitation, the ignorant people, "who have long been fostered and brought up in the superstition, and wrong belief of these things, and are yet "no doubt secretly instructed by their blind guides, and "by them holden still in blindness, will not be persuaded "that their forefathers' superstition was not the true faith "of Christ; till such as they have continuing among them, "such preachers as shall be able, and will by the manifest "Scripture, prove unto them, that both they and their fathers were deceived, and knew not how to worship God "aright; but shamefully seduced by the covetise of the "shepherds and guides, sought him, where he is not; and "when they thought they had been most high in his favour "by doing him so much honour as they thought most acceptable in his sight, then committed they most detestable blasphemy, and were abominable before him, &c." He spake next of the abuse of *Orders*. "That they who "received them were not shepherds, but butchers, and "came not to feed, but to be fed. That it was not possible "to amend this great enormity otherwise, than by reducing "the order of choosing of Ministers, unto the order that "was in the primitive Church, whereof is mentioned in the "Acts of the Apostles.—Idle bellies may come to the Bishop, and be smeared for money.—They applied themselves to priesting, because they liked well the idleness of "the life." He recommended to the Parliament the consideration of this matter at the full; which he doubted not the King's Majesty's visitors knew more of, than he could be able to write.

Orders.

Acts i.

Then he proceeded to speak of the *sacraments*, "how "they were still abused; using them as matters of merchandise, and chiefly the most worthy memory of our redemption. For that they sell both to the quick and the "dead, to the rich and to the poor. None shall receive at "their hands, without he will pay the ordinary shot. And "so are they ready to serve every man. They looked upon "the money only, and nothing upon the mind. Whether "it were taken to comfort of conscience, or judgment, they "passed not. They told the money, they looked for no "more. If they would deny this to be true, let them "say, why they suffered the poor to beg to pay for their "housel, as they called it. Perchance they would say, "that the money was not paid for the sacrament, but "for the four offering days. Then ask I, said he, this "question, why they appointed not another time to receive "it in, than that which was too little to be occupied in declaring to the people the right use and profit of the sacraments, and to instruct them so, that they did not receive

The sacraments.

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141 "it to their judgment, but to their comfort and quietness "of conscience; for which purpose it was first instituted. "Undoubtedly they could not deny, but that they appointed to receive it then, because they would be sure "of it. Their doing would declare it, though they should "deny it. For none might receive the Sacrament, unless he "did first pay the money. And then, with how little reverence it was ministered and received, every Christian "there saw and lamented...... Wherefore he was certain, "he said, they had occasion, and could do no less but seek "a further redress hereof in this present Parliament.

The oppression of possessioners.

"And as for the *oppression* of the poor, which was no "less needful to be commoned of and reformed than the "other, he feared it would be passed over with silence. Or "if it were commoned of, he could scarcely trust, that any "reformation could be had, unless God did now work in "the hearts of the *possessioners* of this realm, as he did "in the primitive Church, when the *possessioners* were "contented, and very willing to sell their possessions, and "give the price thereof to be common to all the faithful "believers. He would not have any to take him, as though "he went about by these words to persuade men to make "all things common. But he would wish, that the possessioners would consider who gave them their possessions, "and how they ought to bestow them; and then he "doubted not, it should not need to have all things made "common.

"He protested unto them all, that the same Spirit that "sent Jonas to the Ninevites, Daniel to the Babylonians, "Nathan to King David, Achior unto Holofernes, Judith "unto the priests and elders of the Jews, the prophet to "Jeroboam in Bethel, John the Baptist unto Herod, and "Christ unto the Jews; witnessed with his conscience that "he renne not unsent. For even the same Spirit that said "unto Esay, *Cry and cease not, and declare unto my people "their wickedness*, cried also in his conscience, bidding "him not to spare to tell the possessioners of this realm, "that unless they repented the oppressions wherewith they

" vexed the poor commons, and shewed themselves through " love to be brothers of one father, and members of one " body with them, ... and would repent the violence done " to the poor and needy members of Christ, and become as " hands ministering unto every member his necessities; " they should at the day of their account be bound hand " and foot, and cast into utter darkness, where should be " weeping, &c.

Lease-mongers.

" He cried out also against *leasemongers*, as he called " them, that took grounds by lease, to the intent to let " them out again for double and treble the rent; and " against surveyors of lands, that of ten pounds land could " make twenty. That they should not be forgotten in the " effusion of God's plague. For that, when they had multiplied their rents to the highest, so that they had made " all their tenants their slaves, to labour and toil, and bring " to them all that might be ploughed and digged out of " their grounds, then should death suddenly strike them; " then should God withdraw his comfortable grace from " them; then should their consciences prick them, &c. " Oh! noble counsellors, as he added, be merciful to yourselves, destroy not your own souls to enrich your heirs. " Enlarge not your earthly possessions with the loss of the " eternal inheritance. Learn to know the estate that God " hath called you unto, and to live according to your pro- 142 " fession. Know, that ye are all members in the commonweal, and that the portion which you are born unto, or " that your prince gives you, is your estate. Know, that " your office is to distribute, and not to scrape together on " heaps. God hath not set you to survey his lands, but to " play the stewards in his household of this world, and to " see that your poor fellow servants lack not their necessaries. Consider, that you are but ministers and servants " unto the Lord our God, and that you shall render a " strait account of your administration. Stand not too " much in your own conceit, glorying in the worthiness of " your blood. For we are all one man's children, and have " by nature like right to the riches and treasures of this

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"world, whereof our natural father Adam was made lord "and king...... That you are lords and governors there-"fore cometh not by nature, but by the ordinance and ap-"pointment of God. Know then, that he had not called "you to the wealth and glory of this world, but hath "charged you with the great and rude multitude. And if "any of them perish through your default, know then for "certainty, that the blood of them shall be required at "your hands. If the impotent creatures perish for lack of "necessaries, you are the murderers: for you have their "inheritance, and do not minister unto them, &c.

The sad effects of oppression.

"Do not therefore, as he went on, neglect this principal "part of your duty, to seek in this Parliament a redress of "this great oppression, wherewith the poor members of this "noble realm are most unmercifully vexed on every side. "The landlords, for their parts, survey and take the utmost "penny of all their grounds; beside the unreasonable fines "and incomes. And he that will not or cannot give all "that they demand, shall not enter, be he never so honest, "or stand he in never so great need; yea, though he hath "been an honest, true, faithful, and quiet tenant many "years. Yet, at the vacation of his copy or indenture, he "must pay welmost as much as would purchase so much "ground, or else void in haste, though he, his wife, and "children should perish for lack of harbour. What a sea "of mischief hath flowed hence? Honest householders have "been made followers of others. And so honest men's "tables and honest matrons brought to the needy rock "and cards. Men's children, of good hopes in the liberal "sciences and other honest qualities, (whereof this realm "hath great lack,) compelled to fall to some handicrafts, "as some to day labour, to sustain their parents' decrepit "age, and miserable poverty. Froward and stubborn chil-"dren have hereby shaken off the yoke of godly chastise-"ment, running headlong into all kinds of wickedness, and "finally garnished gallowtrees. Modest, chaste, and wo-"manly virgins, for lack of dowry, have been compelled to "pass over the days of their youth under great service, or "else to marry to perpetual, miserable poverty. Immodest "and wanton girls have hereby been made sisters of the "bank, [*i. e.* the *bank side*, where the stews were,] the "stumbling stocks of all frail youth, and finally most miserable creatures, lying and dying in the streets, full of "all plagues and penury, &c.

Raising fines upon leases another oppression.

"On the other side, there be certain tenants, not able to "be landlords, and yet after a sort they counterfeit landlords by obtaining leases, and upon grounds and tenements, and to raise fines, incomes, and rents; and by "such pillage pike out a portion to maintain a proud port; 143 "and by pilling and polling the poor commons, that must "of necessity seek habitations at their hands, &c. For the "truth of this he reported him to the Lord Mayor, and "other head officers of London, who could witness with "him, that the most part, yea, he thought nine of the ten "parts of the houses in London, were set and let by them "that had them by lease, and not by the owners. How "they polled the poor tenants would be tried, if their leases "were conferred with their rent rolls."

Usual in London.

Extortion.

He went afterward to the great *extortion* and *usury* that reigned in the realm, and seemed to be authorized by Parliament within these three years last past. "The Clergy "of the city of London had for their parts obtained by "Parliament authority to over-tenths, ever after the example of the landlords and leasemongers, and might by "virtue of the act require for double rents, double tenths. "If the rent of any kind of housing or ground within the city "of London were raised, as there was indeed very much "from ten shillings to twenty shillings; then might the parson, who had before but 16*d. ob.* by virtue of this act demand 2*s.* 9*d.* the double. Besides this, the exactions they "took of the poor commons was so much beyond all reason "and conscience. No couple could be married, but these "men must have a duty, as they called it. No woman "might be purified, but they and their idle ministers must "have some duties of her. None could be buried, but they "would have a fleece." An instance of which he brings in,

The Clergy had over-tenths.

BOOK I.

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that it was not three months before the beginning of the present Parliament, he had just occasion to be at the payment of this duty, for the burying of an honest poor man, whose friends were willing to have his body reverently laid in the ground: and according to the custom he gave warning to the Curate, that they should bring the dead body to the church, desiring him that he would do his duty, and to be there to receive it, and according to the custom to lay it in the ground. "But this raven, said he, smelling the carrion, could not but reveal it to the other carrion birds of "the same church, and so would needs come all together in "a flock to fetch their prey, with cross and holy water, as "they were wont to do, notwithstanding the King's injunctions, and late visitation. The friends of the dead refused "all this, and required to have no more but the common "coffin to put the body in: agreeing to pay to the keeper "thereof his accustomed duty, and in like manner to the "grave-maker, and the four poor men to carry the body. "So that the whole charges had been but seven pence. "But when the corps was buried without either cross or "holy water, styck, *dirige*, or mass, with prayers of as "small devotion as any poor Curate could say, yet must "we needs pay seven pence more: that is to say, one penny "to the Curate, which he called an *head-penny*, and six "pence to three clerks that we had no need of." This was done in Sepulchre's parish in the city of London. "This "he wrote, as he said, addressing to the worthy counsellors of Parliament, to give them an occasion to set such "an order in this and such other things, that either they "might have Ministers found upon the tenths that they "paid yearly to the churches, or else that it might be "lawful for them to do such ministries themselves: and
144 "not to be thus constrained to feed a sort of carrion crows, "which were never so merry as when other lamented the "loss of their friends."

Usury.

This for the extortion of the Clergy. Then he passed "to the intolerable usury, which at that day reigned freely "in the realm over all, and especially in London. That it

" was taken for most lawful gain: yea, that it was almost " heresy to reprove it. For men said, it was allowed by " Parliament. Well, said he, the most part, I am sure, of " this most godly assembly and Parliament do know, that " the occasion of the act that passed here concerning usury, " was the insatiable desires of the usurers: who could not " be contented with usury, unless it were unreasonable " much. To restrain this greedy desire of theirs therefore, " it was commoned and agreed upon, and by the authority " of Parliament decreed, that none should take above 10*l.* " by year for the loan of a 100*l.* Alas! that ever any " Christian assembly should be so void of God's holy " Spirit, that they should allow for lawful, any thing that " God's word forbiddeth. Be not abashed, most worthy " Counsellors, to call this act into question again. Scan the " words of the Psalmist concerning this matter, *Who shall* " *enter into thy tabernacle, &c. He that hath not given his* " *money unto usury*...... How can you suffer this act to " stand, which shall be a witness against you in the latter " day, that you allow that which God's Spirit forbiddeth, " Luke vi. *Do ye lend, looking for no gain thereof, and* " *your reward shall be plenteous*, &c.

The conclusion of the book.

" And so wishing them, in the conclusion, the same " spirit that in the primitive Church gave unto the multitude of believers one heart and one mind, to esteem nothing of this world their own; ministering unto every " one according to his necessities...... And this reformation had, no doubt, the majesty of God should so appear " in all their decrees, that none so wicked a creature should " be found so bold as once to open his mouth against the " order they should take in all matters of religion..... But " if they let these things pass, and regarded them not, he " bade them be sure the Lord should confound their wisdom: invent, decree, establish, and authorize what they " could, all should come to nought. The ways that they " should invent to establish unity and concord should be " the occasions of discord: the things whereby they should " think to win praise through all the world, should turn to "their utter shame, and the ways they should invent to "establish a kingdom, should be the utter subversion of the "same."

Another discourse of the Praise of such as sought Commonwealths, comes forth.

Another small treatise came forth, and writ (as it seems to me) for the use of the same Parliament, and for the same intent with the former. It was entitled, *The praise and commendation of such as sought* commonwealth; *and to the contrary, the end and discommendation of such as sought* private wealths, *gathered both out of the Scriptures and Philosophers.* It was printed by Anth. Scoloker, dwelling in the Savoy Rents. This discourse is chiefly levelled against the covetousness and self-seeking of the age, which then so much prevailed. In the forefront of this discourse is set a moral saying of Epicurus: "If a man having goods "in abundance do not repute it sufficient, he is but a "wretch and a caitiff, although he were lord over the whole "world." Then followed this sentence; "Four things fol-
145 "low covetousness. I. Unsatiableness, being never con-"tented. II. Scarceness of all things among the commons. "III. Deceit among the people. And IV. The desire of "worldly honour." The book begins thus:

"Aristotle, in the first book of Politics, the tenth chap-"ter, saith, how that divers men esteem riches to be no-"thing but only a heap or quantity of gold and silver. "And it is great folly either to think or say the same. For "the philosopher saith, that and if the course of gold and "silver were restrained, that then it should no more be "profitable to commonwealths, neither yet to those things "that are needful to man's life. For many times it may "chance to him, which hath abundance of gold and silver, "to perish for lack of food." And after some lines, "We "see in these days men so given to unsatiable covetousness "in procuring their own private wealths, that the common-"wealth decayeth, and no man looketh to it. We are com-"manded to love God above all, and our neighbour as our-"selves. But how do we love our neighbours as ourselves, "when we put them out of their houses, and lay their "goods in the streets?" And then soon after, reproving the professors of the Gospel for this fault, adds, "Who in these "days are such oppressors, such graziers, [turning arable "land into pasture,] such shepherds, [keeping sheep instead "of ploughing for the setting poor men on work,] such enhancers of rents, such takers of incomes, as are those "which profess the Gospel? What is this but to speak "evil of that good name of Christ, after whom we are "named Christians? ..... Would to God that in these days "men would be as careful for their poor brethren, as they "are for their dogs. We see the city of London can of the "Chamberlain's cost provide an house to keep twenty or "thirty dogs, and to give ten pounds a year for one to "keep them. But they will not allow ten pence by year "out of the chamber towards the finding of the poor. But "the poor artificers must bear part and part alike to the "most extremity that can be invented, as lately appeared "by the Common Council. By hearsay, there is a good "sum yearly coming into the chamber of London: and no "man knoweth how it is spent but the gray cloaks, [servants to the Court of Aldermen, and such like.] Yet "can there not be a poor spring fet two flight shot out of "the city [to supply the city with water] but the poor commons must bear part thereof. I trust within twenty years "men will make suit to be Mayors of the City, &c. [Glancing at the benefits and advantages the Mayors in those "times looked at to make of that office.]

London negligent of the poor.

"We have now no Samuels, which will ask the commons, "saying, *Have I taken any man's ox or ass? If I have* "*done any man violence or wrong, if I have oppressed any* "*man, if I have received a gift of any man's hand, and* "*kept it secret, I will restore it you again. And the people* "*said, No.* We have none of these. Neither Daniels nor "Elizeus's, to deny gifts. But we have plenty of Gehazi's "in all places to receive; God defend them from their leprosies ...... I dare not write for offending; but this dare I "write, that if divers officers within this realm should "shew their accounts from year to year, how they have "gotten their goods, as merchants may do, it should be

Bribery too common.

"found that there were no marvel, though the King's Majesty lacked money, and the poor commons complain." Hereby may plainly be seen the great vice of this age, 146 an immeasurable affectation of wealth in the superior sort of men, which led them to divers ill practices, to the impoverishing of the commons, and, I may add, of the King too.

Crowley's Confutation of Shaxton's Articles.

I will mention yet another book that came abroad this year; and this was in the behalf of religion, set forth by Crowley aforesaid. It was a confutation of the thirteen articles, whereunto Nic. Shaxton, late Bishop of Salisbury, subscribed, and caused to be set forth in print in the year 1546, when he recanted in Smithfield, at the burning of Mrs. Anne Ascue. Printed by Day and Seres. In this book were contained these several pieces. I. Certain matters sent by Mr. Shaxton to his wife: they were counsels to her for chastity, now he was to be divorced from her. II. A letter sent him by the inhabitants of Hadley, where he had been Minister: whence he had been sent for up. At what time he told his people upon his parting, his resolution to persist in the acknowledgment of the truth, whatever became of him. His parishioners in this letter severely charge him for his inconstancy. III. His submission to King Henry, when he recanted. IV. His opinion in the Sacrament before his recantation, which was right and orthodox. Writ by himself to the popish Bishops. V. His thirteen articles, containing the sum of the popish doctrine, by him confessed, subscribed, and put in print; together with the confutation of them by Crowley: which makes the bulk of the book. And before all these is the said Crowley's epistle to Shaxton.

Bale de Viris Illustribus.

The first edition of John Bale's most elaborate and highly valuable book of the writers of Britain came forth this year in quarto. Printed at Ipswich, by John Overton, *pridie cal. Augusti.* The author dedicated his book to King Edward: who in the title-page is represented sitting on his throne, and Bale upon his knees offering him his book, his tutor Cheke standing by at a curtain.

To this I add another book in quarto of a foreigner; dedicated this year also to the King, in a long epistle dated from Hamburgh. The author was Johannes Æpinus. The subjects of his book were, *De purgatorio, satisfactionibus, remissione culparum et pœnæ*, &c. This Æpinus was chief Minister of the Church of Hamburgh, and was sent twelve years before as envoy from Hamburgh into England to King Henry upon matters of religion.

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Æpinus de Purgatorio, &c.

And lastly, *Gratulatio Buceri ad Ecclesiam Anglicanam de Religionis Christi restitutione. Et ejusdem Responsio ad duas Stephani Vintoniensis Episcopi epistolas*, 4to. Which answer of Bucer to Winchester was also this year put into English: and Bradford mentioneth it in a letter to Traves, 1548.

Buceri Gratulatio.

The Lady Elizabeth's translation of a meditation of the soul concerning love towards God and his Christ, must not here be forgotten: compiled in French by the late Margaret Queen of Navar. Printed in 8vo. and afterwards reprinted by H. Denham.

Lady Elizabeth's book.

Richard Bonner, Priest, a man of the same name with that bloody Bishop, but of better principles, set forth a treatise this year of the right worshipping of Christ in the sacrament of bread and wine, when it is ministered with thanksgiving in the holy Supper. Printed for Gualter Lyn, 8vo.

Bonner's book.

CHAP. XVIII.

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Proclamations for regulation of sundry abuses in the realm: as, about gold and silver coins. The King's bands of soldiers not filled. News, disparaging the King's affairs. The teston. Enclosures, &c. The Lord Protector loses himself with the nobility. The Lady Mary required to use the Common Prayer, established by law. Dr. Hopton her Chaplain.

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THE King's gold was now much conveyed out of the kingdom, occasioned, it may be, by the wars in Bulloyn;

Orders about the gold coin;

and especially the old coins of rials, (as they were called,) angels, half angels, crowns of the rose, and others of that or like standard; and also sovereigns, half sovereigns, and other of the King's new coin of gold. The King's gold was carried away in such quantities, that it was sensibly felt, to the great disfurnishing of the realm. Which obliged the King to send forth a proclamation, bearing date April 3, forbidding that any man should convey it away, whole or broken, upon pain of imprisonment, and other pains and forfeitures, as were by the law appointed. By virtue of this proclamation other abuses, concerning the King's gold and other coins, were provided against. As, a charge was given that none should buy or sell the abovesaid gold for other price, than according as they were valued and appointed by the proclamation, *viz.*

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
The angel of gold	at	0	9	8
The half angel	—	0	4	10
The old rial	—	0	13	6
The new sovereign	—	1	0	0
The half sovereign	—	0	10	0
The crown	—	0	5	0

And if any should buy or sell the said pieces at above that price, he should forfeit the said coins so bought or sold, and besides ten times the value thereof, and suffer imprisonment.

And other coin.

And a practice of goldsmiths and merchants was also by this proclamation forbid. Which was to buy and sell the King's coin at higher prices than it was by the King's proclamation rated and valued at. And so to cull and try out the finest and heaviest, and melt them down, or otherwise make gain upon them; leaving the lightest and less fine only to be current; to the impairing the King's money, defrauding the subjects, and disfurnishing and slandering the mints. For the prevention of this, it was the King's will and pleasure, that the old law, statutes, and customs of the realm in this case should be put in ure and execution.

148 This proclamation also took notice, how persons beyond sea had of late attempted to counterfeit testons, shillings,

groats, and other the King's coin of silver, and in great multitudes brought them into the realm. Such counterfeiters were to forfeit their lives and lands, goods and chattels.

Abuses in the King's army;

A gross deceit was now discovered among the King's military officers and soldiers, which he kept in constant pay, the numbers of the bands not being filled, though the King's full pay was allowed. And this abuse was especially in the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, and other places of the borders. The captains of the light horsemen were chiefly guilty of this fraud; who had not so much before their eyes their duty towards their sovereign Lord and country, nor yet their own surety, as a vile mind and filthy respect of their own gain. For they not only polled their soldiers without shame or dread, but diminished their numbers appointed to serve under them; saving that for a colour at the muster-day, they procured some to supply the void places. And by pattishment with unmeet and unserviceable men for less wages than the King allowed, they did in such sort disguise their numbers, as in a manner the third part of the numbers, which the King appointed and paid for, was not ready, able, or sufficiently furnished to do that service that was looked for; to the deceit of his Majesty, and the no less danger of the King's true subjects and soldiers, as upon the confidence of the aid of such light horsemen, to join with them at any encounter with the enemy, should find themselves deceived and abandoned. And as the captains did thus, so the soldiers, taking example and boldness from them, provided not themselves of horse or harness meet to serve withal; and when they were commanded to set forth towards any place of service, repaired not thither together, but sometimes more than the half part remained behind. And if they went, stuck not to return home by small companies, without leave, with several preys and booties, more by them sought, than doing service. And which was worse, at any approach or affronture of the enemy, without order or respect of abiding by the standard, they used commonly upon every

By the captains;

By the soldiers.

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little moment, or causeless, to begin the flight, betraying their fellows; who through such their flying lost oftentimes that assured advantage of victory, which with their tarrying they might have been partakers of. And if so be they tarried, they did it not so much for discharge of their profession of service, as only for desire of spoil and pillage. And this pillage they sought not so much upon their enemies, as rather upon the King's own subjects or friends, namely, the assured Scotchmen: whose goods and cattle divers of those light horsemen of Northumberland and others of the borders had lately spoiled and robbed; as by sundry complaints of such *assured men* was well known. This gross want of good discipline was in the King's militia.

Redress thereof by proclamation.

For the remedying of which, the King, April 6, issued out a strict proclamation. The captains were commanded henceforth not to fail to have in readiness their whole and entire number without diminishment in any part, and without defalcation of any part of the wages so allowed to every light horse; and that they failed not to have their bands complete always, as in an hour's warning to be given them
149 by the commissaries: and that none of the captains, or any light horsemen of the bands, at any road or other invasion of the enemies' grounds, or defence of the borders, should dare to depart from the standard, or otherwise forsake or scatter from the rest of the army or company; nor to forsake or depart from any fortress, to the guard whereof they should be appointed, unless they should have express commandment. And finally, to forbear henceforth to commit any spoils or pillages upon any of the *assured* Scotchmen, their goods, lands, or cattle, which had been received into his Majesty's protection. And likewise, that they forbore from the embezzling or pilfering of horses, geldings, harness, weapons, or any other thing, pertaining to any other soldier serving his Majesty in the wars, whereby the service of the party robbed might be hindered. And that no captain or soldier sell, give, or exchange, or by any fraud find means to set out on purpose, any horses to be taken and come into the possession of any Scotchman, or other stranger,

being his Majesty's enemy. And if any soldier placed in garrison with any of his Majesty's pieces, shall, before discharge of the captain, leave his watch or ward to the danger of the loss of the piece, his Majesty doth and will order, that the offender shall incur the danger and pain of death.

Disparaging news told of the King's affairs: but false.

About this very time did many disaffected persons raise malicious reports of great overthrows and losses, to the disparagement of the King, his fortresses, captains and soldiers in the north parts, and beyond the seas; and of dangers relating to his Majesty's other affairs: whereby they gave occasion to strangers to write into distant countries such tales for news, to the great dishonour of the King; being most false and untrue. This caused the King to set forth a proclamation, bearing date April 29, to all Justices, and other officers, to give all diligence to seize all such sowers and tellers abroad of vain and forged tales and lies. And every such author or maker of false tales or news, to be committed into the galleys, there to row in chains, as a slave or forsary, during the King's pleasure.

The teston money.

The *teston* was a very common piece of current coin under King Henry VIII. and in these times of King Edward. It was a sort of coarse money, or under standard, coined at first by the said King Henry, with his face and stamp, and went for twelve pence. Vast quantities of them were coined abroad, and brought into England; and they more than other pieces for the greatness and facility of counterfeiting them. The counterfeiters were for the most part strangers, dwelling in foreign parts, who found means to convey hither privily, and disperse the said counterfeit pieces abroad in the King's dominions. But all testons were by a proclamation the last year put down, so that none should be taken after the last of December, in the second year of the King, but as bullion. But by another proclamation in January they were prolonged for some time, by reason of the great numbers of these testons dispersed in so many hands; besides, many in policy, hard upon the day, made whole payments in the said coin; and especially for that those that had plenty of other money

Anno 1549. took unreasonable allowance of the poorer sort (which were most to be relieved) for the exchange of their testons. So that much detriment might ensue to the possessors of them, unless a remedy, by prolonging of the term then ap-150 pointed for their calling in, were provided. Upon which considerations the King thought good to prolong the term to the first of May: and so the teston to continue till then for current money.

They are cried down.

On May 22. another proclamation came forth for the annihilating of testons: importing, that the King had prolonged the term of allowing them for current money, as was shewed before, upon trust, that in that space every man helping in their way, all manner of the said testons of the stamp of the late King should have been brought into the mint and exchanged. But that many had kept them still in their hands, abusing his Majesty's clemency, and fewer sithence that time, till of late, had been brought into the mint. Which testons, if they should remain only mere bullion, would be great loss and hinderance to the subject; and if they should still remain, would be greatest loss and hinderance to the realm. Therefore they were now to be cried down, and never hereafter taken for current money. Yet the King of his princely clemency and liberality was content, that such sums of money as should be due to him, as well for relief granted in the last session of Parliament, as for all other rents and debts, might be paid in good and lawful testons before the first of June next, and so received of his treasurers after the rate and value of twelve pence: and after that for the space and time of two months, that is, until the last of July, the King was content to receive these testons at the mint for bullion, after the rate of twelve pence the piece. And moreover, it should be lawful for any person to buy testons, with intent to bring them to the mint, so that he buy them for no less price than eleven pence halfpenny the piece. Upon pain that whosoever should buy any such pieces for his own greedy lucre, under that value, to the damage of the poor men, who should sell the same, should forfeit those testons, and ten times the value. And for that price the mints were ordered to receive them.

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Enclosures and decay of houses forbid.

About the month of May, the King, to prevent the disgusts that might arise amongst his commons, and to stop insurrections now foreseen, issued out his proclamation against decay of houses, (for husbandmen, ploughmen, and such like,) of commons, and lawful enclosures, contrary to good and wholesome laws heretofore made. The King did therefore command such offences to be amended, and to redress all faults committed against those acts, and against the benefit of the commonwealth. And for the better performance of the same, that all his offices to whom it did appertain to see the same redressed, should receive informations, make inquiry, and earnestly endeavour to see redress and punishment of all such offenders.

Routs and uproars against enclosures.

But many of the King's subjects took occasion hence to run into great disorder, or pretended to take occasion so to do. For they riotously with routs and companies, with sword and violence, of their own heads and authority, assembled themselves in many places, plucked down men's hedges, disparked their parks; and being led by furious and light guides of uproars, taking upon them the direction of things, the King's royal power and sword not regarded, committed such enormities and offences, as they justly merited the loss of life, lands, and goods. But at length they were brought humbly to submit themselves, and beg pardon. Whereupon the King by a proclamation, dated June the 12th, pardoned them: looking upon this outrage (as the **151** said proclamation set forth) as done rather of folly, and mistaking of his former proclamation, and at the instigation and motion of certain lewd and seditious persons, than of any malice or ill-will that they bare to the King or quiet of the realm: excepting such persons as were apprehended and already in prison, as heads of the said outrage and routs. But this rage of the commons had gotten too great a head to be allayed by this clemency of the Prince, as it proved not long afterwards in many parts of England, as may be read at large in our historians.

Pardoned.

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A great dearth of provision.

All provisions this summer grew very dear, and the prices of victuals so enhanced above the accustomed value, and this without ground or reasonable cause, as thereby great loss and danger, without speedy remedy, must happen to the subject. Therefore the King resolved to take some remedy herein; and especially being backed with the authority of former good statutes, and particularly two made in 25 of Henry VIII. The effect of the latter whereof was, that the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor, and divers others of the King's great officers there mentioned, should have power and authority, from time to time, to set and tax reasonable prices on all kind of victuals, how they should be sold in gross or by retail, for relief of the King's subjects. And that after such prices be set, proclamation should be made under the great seal of the said prices. And that all farmers and other victuallers should sell all kind of victuals according as they should be taxed by the said proclamation, upon certain pains and penalties. In pursuance of this and other acts, the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellor, and others, set and taxed reasonable prices upon all kinds of victuals; and the King confirmed the same with his proclamation dated July 2. Which taxation was after this manner:

From Midsummer to Hallowmas.

Every ox being primed and well stricken of the largest bone	38*s.*
Of a meaner sort	28*s.*
An ox fat and of the largest bone	45*s.*
Of the meaner sort, being fat	38*s.*
Steers or runts being primed or well stricken and large of bone	20*s.*
Of a meaner sort	16*s.*
Being fat of the largest bone	25*s.*
Being fat of a meaner sort	21*s.*
Heifers and kine being primed and well stricken and large of bone	16*s.*
Of a meaner sort	13*s.* 4*d.*

Being fat and large of bone	22*s.*
Being fat and of a meaner sort	18*s.*

From Hallowmas to Christmas.

Every ox being fat and large of bone	46*s.* 8*d.*
Being fat of a meaner sort	39*s.* 8*d.*
Steers and runts being fat and large of bone	26*s.* 8*d.*
Being fat of a meaner sort	22*s.* 8*d.*
Heifers and kine being fat and large of bone	23*s.* 152
Of a meaner sort	19*s.*

From Christmas to Shrovetide.

Every ox being fat and large of bone	48*s.* 4*d.*
Of a meaner sort	41*s.* 4*d.*
Steers and runts being fat and large of bone	28*s.* 4*d.*
Of a meaner sort	24*s.* 4*d.*

From shearing time to Michaelmas.

Every wether being a shear-sheep, lean and large of bone	3*s.*
Of a meaner sort	2*s.* 4*d.*
Being fat and large of bone	4*s.*
Being fat of a meaner sort	3*s.*
Ewes being lean and large of bone	2*s.*
Being lean of a meaner sort	20*d.*
Being fat and large of bone	2*s.*

From Michaelmas to Shrovetide.

Every wether being a shear-sheep, lean and large of bone	3*s.*
Being lean of a meaner sort	2*s.* 4*d.*
Being fat and large of bone	4*s.* 4*d.*
Being fat of meaner sort	3*s.* 4*d.*

And besides these, bacon, butter, cheese were rated. And all farmers, graziers, and others that had cattle or corn, were bound to bring a certain number and quantity of them to the market.

The Protector loses himself with the nobility.

The Lord Protector had by this time much lost himself among the nobility and gentry. For, being of a gentle and good nature, he loved and pitied the poorer sort, too much

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oppressed by the rich, and particularly by that covetous practice of enclosures, whereby the cattle of the poor were shut out of their ancient benefit of feeding in commons; by means of which their children and families were half maintained. Which made the Protector somewhat sharp upon those of the higher rank and quality. He began also to grow too big for the rest of the nobles: so that there now was but a thin Court and a thin Council-table. Of this his friend Sir William Paget took notice, and wrote him letters of good counsel concerning it last Christmas, telling him the evil that would follow. And so indeed it fell out this summer, as we shall see in due place. This behaviour of the Protector was so well observed, that a Spaniard being now in England, made this witty, but malicious relation of it, when he came home, that he saw the Protector ride upon a fair goodly horse, but he trembled. And that he was so strong and big made, that he carried both his Grace and all the King's Council at once upon his back: meaning, that there was no King's Council in effect but himself only. So that the Protector had now procured himself many formidable enemies, as we shall hear ere long.

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The Council require the Lady Mary to use the Common Prayer.

In June, the Protector and Council sent to the Lady Mary (knowing how averse she was thereunto) to conform to King Edward's laws, and to observe in her family the new Book of Common Prayer, now by Parliament commanded, the use whereof to commence at and from Pentecost; and also to send unto them her Comptroller and Dr. Hopton her Chaplain. But she in her answer, dated June 22, from Kenning-hall, refused to do either, saying, "she could not "spare her Comptroller, and her Chaplain had been sick. "She told them moreover, that the law made by Parlia- "ment [meaning the law lately made for ratifying and en- "joining the Common Prayer Book] was not worthy the "name of a law. That King Henry's executors were sworn "to his laws. That her house was her flock. That she "deferred her obedience to the King's laws, till he were of "sufficient years. That she was subject to none of the "Council," and the like, which gave great offence.

Her answer.

Dr. Hopton her Chaplain before the Council.

Acts and Mon. p. 1212.

Dr. Hopton at length came before the Council. And to them he professed he allowed the Communion Book. And despatching him back to the Lady Mary, they bade him declare this his conscience to her; and giving at large their answers to the several parts of her letter, to deliver them to her, (which answers of the Council are preserved in Fox,) they sent him away. And this was the order they sent with him.

The Council to Lady Mary.

MSS. G. Petyt Arm.

"After due commendations unto your Grace, the same "may by these presents understand, that we have heard "your Chaplain, Dr. Hopton, and in like manner informed "him for the declaration of such things as we have in-"structed him to utter unto you, whom we require your "Grace to credit therein accordingly. Thus we pray "God conserve your Grace in health. From Richmond, "July 7, 1549.

"E. Somerset. T. Cant. R. Ryche, Canc. W. S. John.
"J. Warwyck. A. Wyngfield. W. Petre S. A. Denny.
"E. North. R. Sadleyr."

See more of these matters between the Council and the Lady Mary under the next year.

CHAP. XIX.

The realm in ill terms with Scotland and France. Paget's embassy to the Emperor. A match propounded for the Lady Mary. The Emperor intercedes for her liberty in religion.

The French send forces to Scotland.

THE English nation continued still in hostility with Scotland, and in little better understanding with France. And France, according to her custom, backed Scotland. Where Mons. de Termes arrived this summer from the French King, bringing with him the number of five hundred foot- 154
men and an hundred horsemen: no great force, especially considering that far greater forces were expected to have

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been sent this year; for these were like to go but a little way in resisting the power of England. But the truth was, the French were loath to spare men at this time, the Emperor, his enemy, being sick, and like to die. And the French, who came now over with De Termes, had plainly confessed, upon question asked, wherefore no greater aid was sent, seeing such preparation for the war was reported to be made in France; that it was true the French King had greater numbers in readiness, but because the Emperor was sickly, and unlike to continue long in life, (being laid up with a great fit of the gout, out of which yet he escaped,) that King kept his forces together, thinking that whensoever God should dispose of the Emperor, he should be able to do great feats, and almost what he listed that way.

Inchequeth taken from the Scots;

The English took from the Scots this year the island of Inchequeth, by the conduct of Cotton; and being in great towardness for the fortification thereof, it so chanced that our ships, and in them many of the soldiers appointed to attend the said Cotton at Inchequeth, were departed from the island for the doing of another exploit; when the Scots and Frenchmen, having notice of the departure of our ships with the men in them, taking the advantage of some negligence used on our behalf, and having also prepared for this matter before, came with their galleys, and as many other ships and boats as they could make, and approached the island, and after some resistance, in the end, distressed our men and took the island, with such ordnance as was planted upon the same.

And retaken.

The English inform the Emperor of French practices.

During the Emperor's sickness mentioned before, there was great practising in the beginning of this year between the French and the Germans. Which the English Court understanding, out of friendship and gratitude to the Emperor, who had before sent informations hither of practices against us, thought fit to give him notice of it by Hoby, ambassador ledger there. Which the Council thus expressed in their letters to him, dated from Greenwich, May 5.

Galba, B.12.

"That forasmuch as the Emperor divers times had very "gently and friendly advertised the King's Majesty of such

" practices as had been attempted against his country, or " any of his fortresses or pieces, wherein the King's Ma" jesty had taken great pleasure and comfort; they thought " it to be their parts, and the duty of mutual amity, to " signify all such things to his Majesty, which might perad" venture be any danger to his person, or to the surety of " the Prince of Spain [his son] and the house of Burgundy: " with whom the King's Majesty and his ancestors had so " long sure amity. And therefore, where they were cer" tainly advertised, that the French King had great intel" ligence and conference with princes and noblemen about " the river of Elve and the Weser Holste, and the country " there adjoining about the sea; insomuch that where the " King's Majesty had intended to have transported by that " country a certain number of footmen and some horsemen " by the sea, there had been such practices partly by the " Rhinegrave, and by others, that not only they had been " let of coming that way, but that they did perceive to be " almost continual posting and riding to and fro of French " gentlemen. Who did practise with such captains and " noblemen as were thereabouts, to draw them to be not 155 " content with the Emperor. Insomuch that it was not kept " secret, that they had gotten to the number of twenty-two " thousand foot and three thousand horse. Which were " ready at all times, expecting but the warning, to be " amassed for the French attempt, the which the French " King intended to put forth, if any thing should chance " otherwise but well to the Emperor; daily expecting and " looking for his death. Upon which opportunity he would " give the attempt."

This advice the Council required the ambassador, " tak" ing convenient time and opportunity, to shew and report " to the Emperor, or Monsieur Arras, [one of his chief " counsellors,] with gentle declaration of the good will of " the King and his Council towards his Majesty; to the " intent he might not be ignorant thereof, and might order " that such practices and dangers might be occurred and " met withal in convenient time." After this friendly man-

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ner did England behave itself towards the Emperor, to keep him the faster to her, while she had France and Scotland her enemies.

Paget sent ambassador to the Emperor.

Considering therefore the present state of England, with respect to her enemies, both before and behind her, the King and his Council thought it their interest to court the Emperor. To him they sent this summer (besides Hoby, resident at the Court) Sir William Paget, Comptroller of the King's household, a man who, as he was well learned, so as well exercised in embassies, and well seen in matters of state. Whose business was to renew and make fast the amity with the Emperor, which had been made formerly between him and the King's father. And to make a proposition of marriage for the Lady Mary, the King's sister, with the Infant of Portugal, nephew, I think, to the Emperor: a thing common in these times in all treaties almost, to strengthen them with matches. By this embassy with the Emperor, the English Court intended to learn perfectly how he stood affected to this nation, and to get him to assist it in the defence of Boloign, now severely threatened by the French, and, if possible, to engage him into war with France. And it was a part of the ambassador's instructions to offer to join with the Emperor in a common invasion of that kingdom.

The causes of his embassy.

The said ambassador arrived at Brussels, June 19; and two days after sent to Granvela, the Emperor's ancient and chief counsellor, signifying that he was come from the King of England, desiring to know when he should wait upon the Emperor, to open, on his Majesty's behalf, certain things unto him. With which message, in many obliging words, he promised to acquaint the Emperor presently. And the same day in the afternoon, Monsieur Chattony, Granvel's son, came to visit him on the Emperor's and his father's behalf. Paget, at his admission to the Emperor, (together with Hoby, the other ambassador,) acquainted his Majesty, that he was sent to travail to establish and confirm the amity between him and the King his master, by such means as should be thought good for both parties; and the rather at

this time, when the prince his son was there in those countries, to whom, as they thought, he meant to leave his countries and dominions, so they doubted not he would make him inheritor of his amity and alliance. A second cause of his coming was to communicate unto him the estate of the King's affairs with the Scots, their common enemies; 156
and also the French, the Emperor's dissembled friend, and their enemies. And a third cause was to treat, if he so thought good, upon a matter of marriage, which chanced to come in communication, as the ambassador said, upon occasion of devising ways for the increase and augmentation of this amity.

The Emperor's subjects had traffic with Scotland at this time, who conveyed over commodities thither, and the Emperor had granted safe conduct to them. The ambassador on this occasion desired the Emperor to give order to stay the safe conducts that were given out to his subjects to traffic thither; and also to grant his consent, that his subjects taken beyond Berwic in their voyage towards Scotland might be lawfully stayed by the English, and their goods taken as forfeits. Whereby the Scots wanting this continual relief and assistance might be sooner brought to some reason.

The ambassador shews the Emperor the case between the French and English.

"And, sir," said the ambassador to the Emperor, "whereas in the wars with the Scots, the French have by "sundry means endeavoured to impeach our proceedings "there, and also dealt on this side very unfriendly and "unneighbourly towards us, the King's Majesty, loath to "continue in this faint sort of friendship, and desirous to "know their meaning herein, sent lately a gentleman of his "to the French King, desiring to know what he intended "by this unfriendly sort of dealing. For if he thought, "as by the proceedings of his ministers he seemed to mean, "to break with his Majesty, and to enter into open hostility, "albeit he was not desirous of war, he required that, like a "prince of honour, he would notify unto us the same, and "he should be answered accordingly. For after this sort "to be used, his Majesty neither could nor would endure. "And that he looked by the same messenger to receive re-

"solute answer. Whereupon the French King alleged, "that these piques had been ministered by ministers upon "the frontiers; and affirmed that he meant nothing less "than to break with us, but rather to continue peace and "amity, yea, and to augment it: and also offered unto the "said gentleman to appoint commissioners to meet with "my master's, both for the relief of these quarrels, and the "establishment, if need were, of a further friendship, or to "do any other reasonable thing that might serve for that "purpose. Which offer, being so aptly moved on the "French part, his Grace the Lord Protector, (as the ambassador proceeded in his speech to the Emperor,) with "the advice of the rest of the Council, remembering that "the English had now this eight years, and four of them "alone without other help, continued in wars both against "Scotland and the French King, (who was a prince of great "power, having to do no where else,) had thought good not "to refuse; and hereupon had appointed commissioners to "meet with the French. But that they should not conclude any thing prejudicial to the treaties that were or "should be passed between the Emperor and the King his "master. Neither should they proceed to any resolute "conclusion, but the Emperor should have knowledge "thereof."

The Emperor's answer;

The Emperor made a very courteous, obliging answer in general, in agreeableness to the ambassador's message: and particularly spake favourably of the Protector, saying, "I
157 "know I cannot want my Lord Protector's good furtherance, who is my friend and old acquaintance, and hath "heretofore been with me, when I have right well perceived "his good affection towards mine estate and proceedings. "Which I shall not forget to requite as I may."

And Granvela's.

Granvela spake more particularly and at large to the ambassador, of the good affection the Emperor bore to King Edward: and that he was moved the rather to owe the King's Majesty this fatherly love, not only for the amity that he always found in King Henry until his latter day, but also, because it liked him at the hour of his death to

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The Lady Mary's match.

will the King his son to follow his friendship, and join with the same, who, he affirmed in very deed, should find him a father, whensoever cause should require. Then speaking of the Infant of Portugal, said, he was about forty years of age, brother to the King of Portugal. As for his personage, good wit, and qualities, he assured the ambassador, he was a gentleman worthy to be matched with any great princess; beside the good will the Emperor bare to him, whom he esteemed as his son: and affirming, that there was not in Christendom so meet a match as would be between these twain. "And I promise you, said the ambassador, for our "part, that the Lady Mary is, as I suppose you know well "enough, in beauty, virtue, and honest qualities, nothing "inferior to that worthiness ye report this gentleman Don "Louis of Portugal to be of. And on the other side, she "is sister to a King of England, and near kin to the Em"peror, and one whom I guess his Majesty favoureth as a "daughter of his." When Granvela asked, What think ye to bestow on her? for I would be loath to come empty handed to the Emperor; and therefore I pray you descend to some particulars: the ambassador said, she had a goodly yearly revenue left to her by the King deceased. Which Granvela making light of, the ambassador told him, that the King her father, at what time he was of very great riches, married his two sisters, the one to the French King with 200,000 crowns, and the other to the Scotch King with an 100,000 crowns. And I pray you, added the ambassador, what did the King of Romans offer with his daughter for the King my master? Yea, said he, King Ferdinando is but a poor prince. But the King your master, being so rich and puissant, cannot but distribute liberally with his sister, and according to his honour. For his father did offer once with her to this same man 40,000*l.* sterling. Yea, sir, replied the ambassador, my master is, as you know, and hath been long time, in wars, and hath had occasion to be at great charges and expenses of money. However, in case the Infant may assure this lady a convenable dower, we will not let to stretch ourselves to twice as much as her father

Anno 1549. left her by his testament, peradventure to an 100,000 crowns. All this I extract from Paget's letter to the Protector.

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Consented to by her.

As to this match with Portugal, the Council had beforehand sent to the Lady Mary for her consent to move it; and she had sent them a letter signifying her allowance of it. She had also sent the Council a letter, by her drawn up, to be presented to the Emperor. Which the Council in their next letters sent open to Paget to peruse, and after to seal, endorse, and deliver.

Deliberation about invasion of France.

This mutual league against France, it seemed the Emperor would stand well disposed to, because France had lately invaded his countries, and made great spoil there.
158 And therefore upon Paget's motion in his late letters, it was deliberated in the Council, whether it should be an article in this amity to invade France jointly, (as indeed it was put in his instructions,) seeing it was probable the Emperor would and must do it the next year; or rather wholly to omit the mention thereof; it seeming best to leave themselves at liberty, and not to intangle the nation in wars, whence it might be difficult to get out again, when it should be weary of them. Of this and other things now in hand with the Emperor, more light may be let in by a letter of the said ambassador, dated the last day of June, to the Lord Protector; and the answer given by the Council. The former may be found in the Cotton library, and both that and the other in the Repository. Whereby also appears, that the Council varied also in another particular of their instructions given to Paget, namely, about Boloign: for the defence of which, together with the rest of the King's forts, the Emperor's assistance was required. Which article the Council was now determined to omit, having considered the vast trouble and charges that place, with the members thereof, had cost the King, and still was like to do, the benefit not answerable. And therefore the King was now minded to relinquish it to the French upon reasonable recompence. Yet I find it was urged afterward by the ambassador.

Galba, B. 12.

BB. CC.

Boloign a burden.

The Emperor delays the ambassador.

Whether the propositions of the English ambassador were of that import, that they required much time to deliberate on them, or some other matter were the cause, but the Emperor was slow in giving his answer. For it was not before July 22, that D'Arras came to Paget's lodgings, and excused himself that he came not before to him with the Emperor's answer, having been busied, as he said, in swearing the towns of Brabant to the Prince of Spain. But he prayed the ambassador to take patience (seeing him somewhat hot at this delay) until his coming to Bruges, where he said he should be despatched without fail. But Paget at this, seeing himself only fed with fair words, could not keep patience, but entering somewhat into choler, answered him, "I am here now at the Emperor's will and "commandment, and he may stay me as long as it liketh "him, and despatch me when he list; but were I once at "home, I know that neither the King's Majesty would send "me hither, nor I for my part, to win an 100,000 crowns, "would come again about any like matter, considering how "coldly ye have hitherto proceeded. And surely I am "sorry, that either you should judge me so void of wit, that "I could not perceive whereunto this childish excuse tendeth, or occasion me to suppose you so much without con"sideration, as to think I would be brought to believe, that "the swearing of the Prince and his receiving into these "towns, could be any delay to the answering of those things "that I am now come hither for: a matter easy enough "to be perceived of such as never had any experience of "the world. For who can think that the Emperor would "have brought his son hither to be sworn and received of "his subjects, without having before concluded and deter"mined the whole circumstance thereof with the estates "here? or, can the occupation therein be such, and so con"tinual, as he hath no time to answer to four or five points "proponed to him almost now five weeks past?" Hereunto D'Arras very coldly answered, that in truth the cause of his [the ambassador's] stay, whatsoever he thought, was 159 only such as he had shewed him: and therefore prayed

Who is offended thereat.

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him not to conceive any other opinion. "For I assure you," added he, "the Emperor beareth the King his good brother as much affection as if he were his son; and would "gladly aid and assist him in all things to the uttermost "that he may conveniently. But," said he, "these matters "are weighty, and require to be answered unto with deli-"beration."

Emperor's answer.

A few days after, Mons. d'Arras, accompanied with two presidents of the Emperor's council, S. Maurice and Viglius, gave this answer to our ambassadors, "That albeit "the Emperor thought, the King, being under age, could "not himself, by the order of the law, conclude upon any "thing now in his minority, that should be of due strength "and force, able to bind him and his country, when he "should come to his perfect age; yet taking that his tu-"tors, being authorized thereto by the common consent of "the Parliament, might go through and conclude upon "these, or like things, in his name, he thought it would do "well, when his [the Emperor's] subjects should be recom-"pensed for the wrongs they had hitherto sustained: and "that some order might be devised for the administration "of justice hereafter in like cases.

"That as touching the confirmation of the treaty that "was first made between the Emperor and King Henry "VIII. and not ratified by the present King, the Emperor "thought that he had most cause to require the same. "Wherefore, because he thought that what the King himself "should conclude upon, during his minority, could not be "of sufficient force, but if his tutors should be by authority "of Parliament enabled thereto, the Emperor was content "the treaty should be confirmed by them in the King's name, "and by the Prince of Spain, in such form as should be "thought best by both parties.

"As to the comprehension of Boloign, that they had a "treaty with France as well as with England; which the "Emperor could not, without some touch of his honour, "break without just ground. And albeit his Majesty would "be loath to see the King, his good brother, forego either

" that piece, or any jot of his right, yet could he not enter " this defence, unless he should break with France out of " hand, which in respect of his other affairs he could not " yet do. Howbeit he would gladly assist his good brother " in any other thing the best he might: and would not fail " to shew him all the pleasure he could with regard to his " honour. But with Boloign he could not meddle at that " time."

To which the ambassador replies.

Here D'Arras staying, Paget asked him, whether that were the Emperor's resolute and full answer? Which when D'Arras had affirmed, Paget proceeded, " That albeit he " had no commission to make any reply, because it was not " known to the Lord Protector what the Emperor's resolu" tion should be, yet in way of talk he would be bold to " say his mind herein. We have, Mons. d'Arras, said he, " always esteemed the Emperor's friendship, and desired " the observation of the treaties, and the entertainment of " amity, as a thing necessary and common to both the " parties, for the better establishment thereof; and that " now and in this time some good fruit, to the benefit of " both, might appear to the world to follow of the same, I " was sent hither, which was the chiefest cause of my com" ing. And because the amity betwixt both princes might " be the firmer, and that all doubts being taken away, no 160 " cause of quarrel should be left, we thought best to put " you in mind of the confirmation and revisitation of the " treaty, to the intent that by the one the world might see " an establishment of our friendship by overt deed; and " that by the other, one of us might understand another, " and consider, whether any thing were to be added for the " commodity of both parties. Which I suppose standeth " you as much upon to desire, as it doth us.

The power of the King in his minority, shewed.

" And whereas you say, that the King's Majesty, be" cause he is under age, cannot conclude or go through " with any thing that shall be of sufficient force, I must " needs tell you plainly, that you touch his Majesty's ho" nour over near herein. For we think that the majesty of " a king is of such efficacy, that he hath even the same

Anno 1549. "authority and full power at the first hour of his birth "that he hath thirty years after. And what your laws are "I know not, but sure I am, that by our laws, whatsoever "is done by the King in his minority, or by his ministers in "his name, is of no less force and strength, than if it had "been done in time of his full age and years. If once the "great seal of the realm hath passed, there is no remedy, "but need must he stand thereto. Marry, let the ministers "take heed what they do, and look that they be able to "discharge themselves towards him of their doings, if he "shall require account of them, when he cometh to age. "For it is they must answer him, but he must stand to "whatsoever they have counselled him to agree unto during his minority. And to prove that our laws give him "the same authority now, that he shall have when he cometh to his perfect age, if any man, either for the instruction of learning, or any other cause, should presume to "lay hands upon, or touch his Majesty, in way of correction, he should by the law be taken as a traitor. And if "the matter were as ye take it, we should be then in a "strange and evil case. For neither might we conclude "peace, league, or treaty, nor make laws, acts, or statutes, "during the King's minority, which should be of sufficient "force to bind him and his to the observation of the same. "But ye mistake the matter much. And therefore, if the "Emperor mindeth to proceed to confirmation, he may, or "otherwise do, as it shall please him."

Then did the ambassador descend to the other matters. As to answer a complaint of the Emperor for lack of justice in his subjects' causes. To which he said, "That there "had not any man complained in our country, and required justice, to whom the same had been denied. And "that although some men, abiding the order of the English laws, or having some sentence that pleased them not, "complained thither of delay or lack of justice, they were "not therefore by and by to judge that they said true, or "that there was not uprightness or equity used in our "country. For as the Emperor had in those his countries,

" so the English had in theirs, ministers that were wise " and well learned in the laws, and men of honesty and " good conscience, who dealt and proceeded justly, as the " order of the laws led them, without respect to favour or " friendship of any man."

The case of pretended wrong done to a jeweller, the Emperor's subject.

But the complaints of one of the Emperor's subjects was particularly incumbent upon the ambassador now to answer: whose case D'Arras had especially urged. It was concerning a jeweller, that had gotten a safe conduct of King Henry VIII. to bring into England certain jewels. 161 For which he had the said King's hand and seal: but because he had it not sealed also with the great seal of England, his jewels were taken from him: and he not present, (although it were so named in his sentence, being then dead,) was condemned to lose them by order of our law. Which sentence D'Arras had aggravated to have been contrary to all equity and justice. And that it seemed very strange to him, that when the King's hand and seal appeared to be sufficient for greater matters, it sufficed not for a less: and when the treaties provided, that the subjects of one prince might frankly without impediment traffic and occupy in the other prince's country. But to shade the matter, one, he could not tell who, had been agreed withal, and so the poor man and his heirs put from their right. Therefore, said D'Arras, the Emperor thought it were meet, or ever any further order should be concluded upon, that his subjects were first recompensed of those wrongs they had sustained, and the matter brought to some end, and the Emperor's people put in as good case as the King's were. For he assured him their wrongs were many. As to the matter of the jeweller, thus did the ambassador answer;

Answered by the ambassador.

" That as they there had laws in their country for the di-" rection of their commonwealth, so we had also in ours: " whereby among the rest were forbidden, for good re-" spects, the bringing or transporting forth certain things " without the King's safe conduct and licence. And al-" though the treaty gave liberty to the subjects of either " prince to traffic into the other's country, it was not, for

Anno 1549. "all that, meant hereby, that they should not be bound to "observe the laws or orders of the country whereunto they "trafficked. For this liberty was only granted for the se- "curity of their persons to go and come without impeach- "ment, and made not men, for all that, lawless. And "whereas further it was provided by our law, that in cer- "tain things to be granted by the King, the same grant "must pass under the great seal, if any of those things "pass under any other seal, they be not of due force "until they have also passed the great seal of England. "Wherefore, added he, if the jeweller, either by negli- "gence or covetousness, of himself, or those he put in "trust, did not observe this order, but, for sparing a little "cost, did presume to bring in his jewels before his licence "came to the broad seal, methinks, neither he nor any "other can have just cause to say, that he was wronged, if "according to our laws he were censured to lose the same. "And yet after he was thus condemned," the ambassador proceeded, "more to gratify the Emperor, than for that I "took it to be reasonable, I myself was a suitor to my "Lord Protector's Grace for some recompence to be made "the jeweller's wife, whom we knew, and none other, to be "party. For she followed the suit; she presented the pe- "titions; in her name were they made, and finally she, "and none other, was by the Emperor's ambassador com- "mended unto us. D'Arras said, he had seen the sentence, "and did mislike nothing so much therein, as that the man "was condemned, and named to have been present, at the "time of his condemnation, when indeed he was dead a "good while before. He was present," said the ambassador, "in the person of his wife, who was his procurator, and re- "presented himself."

162 And continuing his speech the more to clear this matter, "He knew, he said, that those before whom this matter "passed were men both learned and of good conscience, and "such as would not have done herein any thing against "right and order of the law. And finally, that the sen- "tences given in our country by the justice and ministers

" there, were just and true. And that therefore they nei- " ther could nor would revoke them for any man's plea- " sure, after they had once passed the higher courts, from " whence there was no further appellation, no more than " they there would call back such final order, as had been " in any case taken by their high court of Brabant."

The Emperor's danger if Bologn were lost.

And whereas the Emperor had declined comprehending Boloign into the treaty, the ambassador said, " That if the " same should happen to be taken from the King by force, " which he trusted it should not, the loss would be com- " mon, and touch the Emperor almost as near as us. And " therefore it was that he thought good, for the better " surety thereof, to move this comprehension; which was as " necessary for the Emperor as it was for the King. And " whereas, as he added, they stuck so much upon their ho- " nours in breaking their treaties with the French, he re- " membered, he said, Monsieur Granvela, at his late being " with him, did not let to say, that he had his sleeve full " of quarrels against the French, whensoever the Emperor " list to break with them. D'Arras replied, they had so in- " deed; but the time was not yet come; and that they " must temporize their things in this case, as the rest of " their affairs led them."

Paget gets reputation in the Emperor's Court.

With this faint answer Paget came home from his embassy, leaving Sir Philip Hoby behind, resident, as he was before. But though he succeeded not, he got great reputation in the Emperor's Court, and was spoken of very honourably, being gone. And Hoby wrote to the Protector, that he was grateful generally to all that Court, a few of England's back friends only excepted, who mistrusted much, lest he had compassed somewhat to their disadvantage. And the rather they were driven to conceive this opinion, because his entertainment had been such, and so respectful, as well with the Emperor as his Council. And he was so generally commended and well reported of by all, and the fame of his prudent handling himself so spread abroad every where, as they could not but think, but that of such toward likelihood some great effect must needs fol-

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low. Hoby added, that should he not perhaps be suspected of adulation, he might find sufficient matter to consume a long time in discoursing of his gravity and prudence, used as well in setting forth and well handling his charge towards the Emperor and his counsellors, as in his behaviour generally towards all others. Whereby he had purchased to himself love and credit with all men, and not a little for the King's Majesty's honour and estimation in those parts.

The Emperor intercedes for the Lady Mary for liberty of her religion.

It must not be omitted, because reference will be made to it hereafter, that upon Paget's last audience of the Emperor, the Emperor recommended the case of his cousin, the Lady Mary; praying the King that she might be favoured, and permitted to have her ancient manner of religion. Whereunto the ambassador considering he had no commission to treat of that matter, answered, with the advice of Sir Philip Hoby, that he would make report of his
163 request unto his master and the Protector, and to the rest of the Council, and doubted not but she should have that favour that was convenient for her, being the King's sister and the Emperor's cousin. Of which request and answer at his coming home he made report accordingly.

CHAP. XX.

Matters with France. The Duke of Somerset's letter to Sir Philip Hoby, ambassador with the Emperor; shewing France's dealings with England.

The English treat with France.

THE answer of the Emperor's commissioners mentioned above was somewhat cold, and not according to the desire and expectation of the English Court, though it were interlaced with plenty of good words: and as great plenty of the like had the English ambassador requited them with. The effect whereof (perceiving how little England was to expect from the Emperor) was, that the King and his Council did more seriously set themselves to make some conclusion with the French. For at this time Dr. Wotton was ambassador at that Court, being sent there to make

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complaints, and to argue matters of difference between the English and them; and to know the reason of those great preparations for war that were making there: when the commissioners appointed to treat with Wotton, were Monsieur de Rochepot, Monsieur de Chastilion, and one Monsieur de Mortier, one of the masters of the requests, all three of the Council. At the naming of whom the constable Montmorancy gave our ambassador very good words: yet for that the two chief of these men were officers upon their frontiers, fierce and haughty in their dispositions, and named by them contrary to the request made on the English behalf, it was doubted much, what would ensue of this meeting, notwithstanding all their fair words, of which they gave plenty. And indeed it proved of little effect, as we shall perceive presently.

Open hostility with the realm.

Sir Philip Hoby was still at Brussels, to prosecute the English affairs with the Emperor. And in the month of August, the King and Council brake into open hostility with the French King, whose abuses and wrongs were intolerable. And now without warning attacking England by sea and land, himself appearing at the head of an army against Boloign. To keep the Emperor fast, Hoby had instructions from England to acquaint him herewith, and withal to shew him the whole state of our causes with France. Therefore at large, thus did the Duke of Somerset in the foresaid month inform the ambassador with these matters: which I the rather set down, because it will so elucidate the quarrel between England and France.

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The reasons thereof.

The Protector to Hoby. Galba, B. 12.

"After our hearty commendations: Albeit we think that "the world, after so many examples, and so long experi"ence, be in all places well acquainted with the French "practices and crafty proceedings; who, having respect "only to the satisfaction of their own insatiable ambition, "cease not, without respect to former leagues and confe"derations, yea, or without warnings, or any intimations, "suddenly to declare hostility, and by that means to take "by stealth the advantage of the time, and unlooked for, "to attempt all the displeasure they may against their

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"neighbours and confederates: albeit, we say, this be well "enough known to the world; yet for that we be the "last with whom they have renewed this feat; knowing "that they use to travail to colour with brags and fair "words all their doings, be they never so foul and dishonourable: to the intent you may be truly informed of "the occasion of these wars, which the French King hath "now begun against the King's Majesty, we have thought "good to make some declaration unto you of the very "troth of theirs and our doings, since the death of the "King's Majesty, our late master.

"First, where for taking away of all occasions of strifes "or contention for the limits of Bolognois, there were commissioners appointed by our said late master and the "late French King, to treat upon those and certain other "differences, and to bring the same to some good appointment; the said differences being almost agreed upon, it "pleased God to call our said late master to his mercy. "After whose death new commissioners were made by the "late French King and the King's Majesty, by the advice "of us, the Lord Protector and the Council: by force of "which commission all those differences were well and reasonably agreed upon: the treaties drawn, sealed, and delivered by the commissioners on both sides, and immediately after died the late French King. The French "King that now is, not only refused to stand to this treaty, "but also seeking all occasions to encroach upon the King's "Majesty's ground, would never (although it hath been "many times required) assent to have any certain order "taken for declaration of the limits. Upon occasion thereof, albeit the treaty of perpetual peace, made at the end "of the last wars, doth to every man's judgment set forth "the said limits plain enough; yet the French men cavilling with words, and pretending now this, now that, have "at one time claimed this piece of ground, and at another time another, being parcel of his Majesty's new "conquests. And among all other, they have taken an "old castle, called Fiennes, expressly within the King's

" territories; and not only taken it, but fortified the same, " contrary to the express words of the treaty, both in claiming of it, and in fortifying. Forasmuch as the treaty " provideth, that neither prince should make any new for" tification within Boloignois, during the said term in the " said treaty specified. They have also, directly, both " against the treaty, and other special agreement, fortified " the point of the hill at the mouth of Boloign haven, for " the annoyance of our ships passing and repassing into the " same.

" Besides this, the French King demandeth from his " Highness the pension due to be paid yearly, and espe" cially provided for in the said treaty. And with injuries " not contented, they have, as all the world knoweth, of " late attempted the suppressing of the King's Majesty's " fort of Boloignberg at one time: at another, the taking 165 " of the mole in Boloign haven, besides others their out" rageous spoils, robberies, and killing of his Highness' " subjects on that side. Which proceeded to such extre" mity, and so far out of reason, that the French King's " great officers being spoken withal for redress, instead of " justice, answered, that for every of their men killed by " ours, they would kill twenty; and for one ox or bullock " taken, forty, yea, an hundred should be taken of ours.

" So as after many requests to have things considered ac" cording to justice, his Majesty, having none other means " to see his subjects recompensed, was forced, for want of " other remedy, to grant them letters of mart, to get there" by recompence of their losses upon the French King's " merchants trafficking the seas. And yet before the grant" ing thereof, we caused all those to whom the same was " granted to be first bound with good sureties, that all " goods to be by them taken should be truly shewed be" fore the officers of the next port, and valued by indif" ferent men. So as either the said wares which were " taken, or the just value of them, should always be ready " to be restored, if justice might have been had for the " King's Majesty's subjects in France.

Anno 1549. "To all these wrongs the French King hath heaped the "taking away the Scotch Queen; who, as you know, by "Parliament and common agreement of the three estates "of that realm, was before promised to the King's Majesty. And besides that, both before and sithence also "hath aided the said Scotch, being the King's Majesty's "vassals, with men, munition, victuals, and all other necessaries, to the uttermost of his power, contrary, not only to "the treaties, but also to all friendship and honour.

"These things considered, and seeing also preparation "for the war made in France, we sent an express messenger to the French King to learn his meaning; and "required him, in case he meant to break with us, he would "openly declare the same, using such means of ending the "war, as betwixt princes of honour hath been accustomed. "Whereunto he answered, that he minded no such thing. "But whensoever he should by any occasion be provoked "thereunto, he would give us warning, after such honourable sort as appertaineth. But for the present, he said, "he was so far from any such meaning, as he desired the "continuance of the amity with the King's Majesty, as "much as with any prince Christian; affirming, that he "would omit no occasion that might conduce thereunto, "and to the good increase of the same. And hereupon ensued the appointing of commissioners on both sides, for "the considering and appeasing of all things in controversy; and to entreat of some good means of agreement "betwixt both parties. Which promise of sending commissioners depending, and the commissioners named on both "sides, with the matters whereof they should treat, all the "former fair words notwithstanding, the French King having suddenly set forth an army to the sea, and with the "same attempted the annoyance and invasion of the King's "Majesty's isles of Jersey and Garnsey, to the utmost of "their power, and having taken an island there, (taking "the advantage of the young years of the King's Majesty, "and some seditions and tumults in the realm,) is presently

166 "descended in person towards his Highness' confines with

" an army royal by land; and as it were with the sword in " his hand, hath at last revoked his ambassadors, and opened " the wars.

" These things we have thought good to open unto you " the more fully, because we know the French, how false " soever their doings be, will not let to colour the same, " and seem to put the fault and occasion of this breach " in us: requiring you at the time of the delivery of the " King's Majesty's letters, which ye shall receive herewith, " to the Emperor, not only to declare the premises unto " him, but also to shew him, that as the King's Majesty is " forced, for defence of his dominions and subjects, and preservation of his honour, to enter upon wars now against " France, and to take them for enemies; so he hath willed " you to declare the same unto him: nothing doubting his " Highness shall find at his hands, whensoever any occasion " shall so require, all that friendship and aid, that the " treaties and old ancient amity requireth. And thus we " bid you well to fare, 13th Aug. 1549."

CHAP. XXI.

Insurrections of the commons upon enclosures. Proclamations and commissions thereupon. The rebellion in Norfolk. Ket the Captain. Lady Mary touched. First institution of Lords Lieutenants of the counties.

The places of the risings, and causes thereof.

THE commons began now to grow malcontent, and to go apart into conspiracies, and betake themselves to arms, the priests and popish zealots blowing the coals. The first insurrection appeared in Hertfordshire for the commons at North-hall and Chesthunt. After this, a greater rising appeared in Somersetshire. From Somersetshire it proceeded into Gloucestershire, Wilts, Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, Worcester, Essex, Kent, and divers other places, as Oxon and Berks, and in the westernmost parts, and in the northern also, as in Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk. The

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causes of these disturbances were divers and sundry. Some were Papists, and required the restoration of their old religion. Some were Anabaptists and Libertines, and would have all things common. And a third sort of these mutineers were certain poor men that sought to have their commons again, by force and power taken from them; and that a regulation might be made according to law of arable lands turned into pasture; and desired a redress of the great dearth, and abatement of the price of victuals. And some about the Lady Mary were not innocent: which occasioned some letters between her and the Lord Protector, concerning some of her servants charged to be privy to the rebellion. Of which we shall hear more by and by.

167 The dearth God's hand, not man's.

And yet in truth the dearth, as was suggested, was more God's hand than man's. For victuals were extremely dear in foreign parts, as well as in England. And Sir William Paget, being now abroad in embassy in France, protested to the Protector, that he then spent twice as much as he did at his last being in the same place; and yet kept no greater retinue. And as for enclosures, they were not now newly begun, but threescore years before, pastures were enclosed: and they and their fathers hitherto had lived quietly under them, as the said Paget wrote to the Protector. But Paget indeed was a favourer of these enclosers, and it is likely was one himself. These were great graziers and sheepmasters, that ceased tilling the ground and sowing of corn; pulling down houses, and destroying whole towns, that so they might have the more land for grazing, and the less charge of poor tenants, who had dependance on them as their ploughmen and husbandmen. Whereby the poor countrymen being driven to great poverty, began thus to shew their discontents.

Light made of these stirs at first.

How little at first the Council made of these popular commotions, may appear by the account they gave to the said Paget, to whom thus they wrote concerning it: "Where some light persons before your departing had solicited some others like themselves, and a multitude of "simple persons, to assemble themselves, for plucking down "of pales and enclosures, and such like matters; you shall "understand, that sithence your departing hence, the like "stirs have been renewed in Essex, Kent, Hampshire, "and Devonshire. Whereof part be already quietly ap- "peased, and the rest in towardness also to return peace- "ably to their houses. So as there is no likelihood of any "great matter to ensue thereof. And yet having expe- "rience how slanderously these small tumults shall be di- "vulged and spread by the Frenchmen, we have thought "good to advertise you by these and other letters, of the "full truth of these matters. Upon knowledge whereof "you may answer their untrue and vain bruits, as you "shall think good." But how little soever the thing were dreaded now, it proved of more dangerous consequence in the process of the year.

Means used to quell the insurrections.

For it was not long after, that the King and his Council having more and more jealousies of this, to ripen into a formidable rising, laboured at first what they could to restrain and smother it before it brake out further, and that by all gentle means, as by appointing commissioners to ease the grievance of enclosures, and by giving pardon by proclamation to routs and uproars raised about in the countries, and by taking order for abating the excessive prices of provisions, as was shewn before.

Censured by some as too mild courses.

Yet some there were that did not approve this way of proceeding with the discontented mutinous people, neither would have them so gratified, having broken the peace and raised tumults, as they had done: and judged it far better policy, that they should have first been made examples, and more rigours used toward them; which might have terrified others, and been a means of preventing those insurrections that happened in other parts soon after. Of this mind was Sir William Paget, a man of an austerer temper: who, soon after these pardons were granted, and the prices of victuals moderated, thus wrote to the Protector: "He "wished to God, that at the first stir, he [the Protector] "had caused justice to have been ministered in solemn fa- "shion to the terror of others; and then to have granted a 168 "pardon. But to have granted pardons out of course did "as much good, he said, to the purpose the Protector "meant, as the Bishop of Rome's pardons were wont to do; "which rather, upon hopes of a pardon, gave men occasion "and courage to sin, than to amend their faults. And so "have your pardons, added he, given evil men a boldness "to enterprise as they do, and caused them to think you "dare not meddle with them. Victuals, they say, wool, "cloth, and every thing is dear. They must have a new "price at their pleasure. The commons must be pleased. "You must take pity upon the poor men's children, &c." Thus were these milder courses of the Protector censured.

The Lord Privy Seal goes down to the west.

But besides this, the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal, having the government of the west, was sent down thither to watch these dangerous motions. And care was taken to provide some able men to preach good doctrine and obedience to the people, and to inform them aright of the King's proceedings, and to rectify the ignorant sort, who were misled into these dangerous courses by their *popish* guides. For the King's Council thought preaching a good expedient to quell these stirs, as well as force, and that sober exhortations, grounded upon God's word, which they had been little acquainted withal, would tend much to incline the people to obedience, and to keep them in their duty towards their Prince. Wherefore licences were now again given out from the Privy Council to certain preachers, authorizing them to preach and teach from place to place, in such auditories and congregations as the Lord Privy Seal should appoint them, and where he conceived most need. And for this they had salaries paid them by the Council. Accordingly I find a licence sent to one Gregory, which ran in this tenor following:

Licences for preachers in the west.

A licence. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"After our hearty commendations. Forasmuch as it is "acceptable to God to have the people lead their lives in "the fear and knowledge of him; and thereupon also followeth, as by good order, quiet, and due obedience of all "people to their princes and heads: the which no wise so "conveniently can be brought to pass, as to have frequent

" and discreet preaching of the holy word and commandments: we have thought it meet, since our very good Lord, the Lord Privy Seal, is appointed under the King's Majesty to have the governance of the west parts of the realm, during his Majesty's pleasure, that they should both be licensed and commanded by us on the King's Majesty's behalf, to preach and openly declare with sincerity the word of God, in such public place and auditory as the same Lord Privy Seal shall solicit you, whose discretion and grave wisdom the King's Majesty and we so well esteem, that without his order and certain knowledge, we will ye take no labour upon you. And for your diligence and study herein, although the same be your duty, and of God prescribed, yet we will have it in good remembrance, and reward it to your contentation. And so we bid you farewell, from Richmond, 23. June, 1549.

" Your loving friends," &c.

It was signed by the Duke of Somerset, L. Rich Chancellor, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, L. St. Johns, Earl of Arundel, Sir Ant. Wingfield, Edward Lord Mountague.

Another letter, varying in the words, but of the same import, was at the same time, and by the same Counsellors, sent to Dr. Raynolds, to preach in those parts, according to the appointment of the Lord Privy Seal. Miles Coverdale was now also here employed in the said function, and particularly made the thanksgiving sermon after the victory. 169

Ruffians kindle disturbances in the kingdom.

The King and Council used also another means to break and disperse these hurly-burlies. There was now a sort of lewd idle fellows, the most part whereof had neither place to inhabit, nor sought any stay to live by, persons many of them condemned of felony, or prison-breakers, run from the wars, and sea-rovers departed from the King's garrisons, and loiterers; these persons ran from place to place, from county to county, from town to town, to stir up rumours, raise up tales, imagine news, whereby to stir and gather together the King's subjects, of simplicity and ignorance de-

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ceived. And by that pretence such lewd ruffians and unruly vagabonds became ringleaders and masters of the King's people, seeking to spoil, rob, and ravin where or whom they listed or might: and so lived, waxed rich, and fed on other men's labour, money, and food. And when the poor of one part of the country raised up by these felons repented and saw their folly, acknowledged their faults, and returned themselves to their duty, and received the King's pardon, the said runagates escaped from the places of their first attempts, and daily resorted to new places; and so from place to place, shire to shire, never quieting themselves, but devising slanderous tales, and divulging to the people such kind of news as they thought might most readily move them to uproars and tumults; and pretending the same time they sought the redress of the *commonwealth*. The King sent a proclamation after these, dated July 8, charging all Justices, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other his officers, to be diligent to take some good special order for the apprehension and attaching of such persons, whether as vagabonds, wayfaring men, stragglers, or otherwise. And that whosoever should discover any of them should have the King's hearty thanks, and twenty crowns for a reward.

The rebellion breaks out.

But notwithstanding these means used for prevention, a rebellion broke out in the west, in July, which cost the King and his Council much work, and the Protector particularly many fears and cares.

The Protector blamed about it.

For upon a pardon, that had been indulgently granted to these mutineers, they came so easily by it, that they soon ran into disturbances again. Upon this the Protector, (whose doing this was,) for his too easy forgiveness of such criminals, was blamed generally by the Council, who were against that pardon, and were for making some examples first, and publishing a pardon for the rest after. This the Protector's friend, Sir William Paget, did declare to him his disapprobation of. He advised him by his letter, that the rebellion being now up, he should do all things like a king, governing for a king, during his imperfect age: that he should send for all the Council that remained unsent

Paget's advice to him how to proceed against the rebels.

abroad, and six other of the gravest and most experienced men in the realm, and consult what was best to be done. His own opinion was, to send for the Almain horse from Calais, which were about four thousand brave accoutred men. To appoint the Lord Ferrers and Sir William Herbert to bring as many horsemen out of Wales as they dared trust. That the Earl of Shrewsbury should bring the like out of the counties of Darby, Salop, Stafford, and Nottingham, of his servants, keepers of forests and parks. And 170 that he, the Protector, should send for all his trusty servants to come to him. Then, that he should appoint the King to lie at Windsor, accompanied with all his officers and servants of the household, the pensioners, the men at arms, and the guard. Then, that he should go himself in person, attended with the Almain horse, and all the rest which were sent for, first, into Barkshire; commanding all the gentlemen to attend upon him by such a day, at such a place, with what friends and servants they could make. That the Chief Justices, with some of the Judges, should resort with commission of *oyer* and *terminer* to the town next to the place where the Protector should remain. That there should be also certain Justices of the peace of the same shire attending; to whom he should give order to attach him and him, to the number of twenty or thirty of the rankest knaves of the shire, and to hang six of the ripest of them in sundry places: the rest to remain in prison. That the Justices should take sureties of the good abearing of the richer sort concerned herein, and for their appearance in the Star-chamber the next term. That the horsemen should lie in such towns as were busiest, taking enough for their money, that rebels might feel the smart of their villainy. To take away the freedom of some of the offending towns; which he might restore again at his pleasure. And to send some of the doers away from their wives to the north, or to Boloign, to be soldiers or pioneers. To give them no good words, and to make no promise in any wise. And thus from one shire to another, to make a progress, till he had visited all the shires that offended, since their pardons.

Thus did Paget advise. In the mean time the Protector and Council issued out divers proclamations relating to the present emergence.

Proclamations occasioned thereby. Rebels estates given away.

And first of all a proclamation, dated July 11, for the punishment of the rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall. The import of which was, that whosoever came not in within so many days, and submitted and yielded themselves unto the Lord Russel, the King's lieutenant in those parts, should be deemed, accepted, and taken for rebels and traitors. And for the more terror to those who stood out rebelliously, and for the encouragement and advancement of his loving and obedient subjects, that should withdraw themselves from the said rebellious traitors, the King was contented that all and singular the forfeitures of all the goods, chattels, offices, pensions, manors, lands, tenements, farms, copyholds, and other hereditaments of the said rebels and traitors, should grow, come, and be unto all and every such person and persons as should first have, take, possess, and attain the said goods and chattels, or should first enter into the said manors, lands, tenements, &c. And the same should have, hold, possess, and enjoy to his and their own proper use, commodity, and behalf, in as large and ample manner as the King, by mean and right of the said forfeiture and confiscation, ought and might dispose the same; and should have assurance thereof by his letters patents.

None pardoned to be molested.

The day after, *viz.* July 12, came forth another proclamation, concerning the effect of the King's pardon given to the rebels. In this he willed and commanded all his subjects, who of late, by their humble submission, and sorrowful 171 repentance of their offences committed in sundry unlawful and riotous assemblies, obtained his pardon, that from henceforth they be of such good behaviour in the peace of God and the King's Majesty, and in all their actions and deeds so quiet, peaceable, and well ordered, that the King's Majesty might think his grace and pardon bestowed upon them with effect. And his Majesty willed and commanded all his other subjects, having suffered any manner of grief, damage, or loss, by the act of any the abovesaid King's subjects, while they offended, and before they received his pardon, that they should not by act, suit, violence, or compulsion, force, punish, avenge, or correct any manner of offence or trespass committed by the aforesaid offenders, having been pardoned for the same.

For execution of law martial.

Another proclamation followed, July 16, wherein the King prohibited any of his subjects, that neither by drum, tabret, pipe, or any other instrument striking or sounding, bell or bells ringing, opening, crying, posting, riding, running, or by any news, rumours, or tales, divulging or spreading, or by any other device or token whatsoever, [which had been the rebels' practices,] to call together or muster, or attempt to assemble or muster any number of people; either to pluck down any hedge, pale, fence, wall, or any manner of enclosures, or to hunt, waste, spoil, desolate, or deface any park, chase, warren, house, lodge, pond, waters, or do any other unlawful act which is forbidden; or to redress any thing which should or might be by the King's Majesty's commission reformed, redressed, or amended. And that upon pain of death presently to be executed by the authority and order of law martial: wherein no delay or deferring of time should be permitted, as in other causes, being indeed of less importance. And therefore the King commanded all Sheriffs, Justices, Ministers, and officers, upon knowledge of any offender against the tenor of this proclamation, forthwith with all expedition, and with such power as should be requisite, to apprehend and attach the same offenders, and them to commit to safe gaol. And thereupon indelayedly to certify the Lord Protector and the Council, to the intent most speedy order may be given for the execution of the said offenders.

Commissioners for enclosures.

About this time, for the redress of unlawful enclosures, and such like enormities, the King had directed several commissions, with large instructions for the same, into every county, not only authorizing his commissioners to reform all manner of things, so far forth as the laws could any wise be construed or expounded, but also by special letters missive, he charged the same commissioners upon great

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pain, in the same letters contained, to redress and amend their own proper faults. Which commissions were partly put in execution, while the rising in the west happened, and partly ready to be executed, and delayed only by the folly of the people, seeking their own redress unlawfully. And of this, information was given in the aforesaid proclamation.

The gentry and nobility disgusted at it.

And here let us digress for a while, and consider these commissions. The gentlemen concerned in these enclosures were highly offended, when the King and his Council had sent forth commissioners for examining enclosures, whereby poor men's commons and livings were thus taken away. They pretended that these things were innovations, and that no alterations ought to be made. And they took great offence against those that put the King and Protector upon
172 these proceedings: and particularly this charge they laid to John Hales, clerk of the hanaper, a good and public-spirited man, and one of these commissioners; him they accused to have sued out the commission. They urged, that now it was no time to send forth such commissions. That Hales had stirred and encouraged the commonalty against the nobility; and, in fine, made him guilty of the present sedition; and that he procured them to be redressers of their own injuries, and to be executors of the law, and to repine and grudge at the nobility, and that he would have *liberty, liberty:* and now it was come to a licentious liberty, as they said.

Their ways to evade it.

These enclosers used all the means they could to stop and hinder the coming forth of this commission. But when they could not do that, they laboured to invalidate, and make it fail of the good ends intended by it. Some of them got means for their servants to be sworn of the juries, that they might be more favourable to them. And in some parts where the commissioners went, such were the numbers of retainers to the great men, (who were the chief enclosers,) that it was not possible to make juries without them. Some were threatened to be put by their holds, if they presented, and others had no certainty of their holds, which were wont to be let by copy for lives, or otherwise, for years: so that their landlords might have them upon the hank at no time, nor in any thing to offend them. And some were indicted, because they presented the truth. And many shameful sleights were used to blind the commissioners and the presenters, and to baffle the good work they were upon. But notwithstanding these ways and courses to stifle the presentments, yet many things were presented. But the commissioners were so favourable to those that were presented, that they made the parties privy thereunto, to hear if they could justly purge themselves. The commission extended only to inquire, not to hear and determine. And it was chiefly set forth, that the Protector and Council might know in part the whole state of the realm; and so to proceed to the redress of all.

The offenders herein pardoned.

John Hales, after he had sat upon the commission, prayed the King, that a general pardon might be sent out: which he sued for and obtained, for the benefit of the rich enclosers as well as the poor sufferers: hoping the rich would have reformed their doings, as the poor men did. But some of these rich men, as soon as they had their pardon, returned to their old practice, and began immediately to enclose, and to take away the poor men's commons, and became more greedy than ever they were before; looking upon this commission but as a storm for a time, that would soon pass over.

A commandment for constables.

Yet another proclamation was occasioned by this tumult, namely, for the office of constables, dated July 22, who were too forward themselves in this rebellion: that whereas the office of constables, bailiffs, or headboroughs was most politicly ordained, as well to be the stay in every city, town, or village, of quiet and peace, according to the King's Majesty's laws, as also to put in execution whatsoever by the said laws, or the higher ministers of the same, should be appointed and limited; contrary to which, the bailiffs, constables, or headboroughs, in the places where these risings were, had been the very ringleaders and procurers, by their example and exhortation, to the rest of their neighbours, to 173
levy themselves (as they had done) in his Majesty's name,

abusing the authority of the same, contrary to their duty of allegiance: the King therefore commanded that they henceforth forbore and abstained from raising and assembling of any the King's subjects, for any act or purpose, other than such as by the law and statutes of the realm is limited for them to execute and do, as incident to their office: under pain to be deemed, accepted, or taken as traitors, and suffer loss of life, lands, and goods for ever.

Plays forbid.

To these let me subjoin one proclamation more, and, as it seems, relating to these tumults. It came forth August 6, for stopping of players to act any play or interlude. The preface assigned the reason; *viz.* that such players within the city of London, as well as elsewhere, did for the most part play such interludes as contained matter tending to sedition, and contemning of sundry good orders and laws: whereupon were grown such disquiet, divisions, tumults, and uproars in the realm.

The bells in Devon and Cornwall to be taken down.

When this rebellion was pretty well allayed, it was remembered how the bells in the churches served, by ringing, to summon and call in the disaffected unto their arms. Therefore, in September, an order was sent down from the Council to the Lord Russel, to execute a work, that proved, no doubt, highly disgustful unto the people, *viz.* to take away all the bells in Devonshire and Cornwall, leaving one only in each steeple, which was to call the people to church. And this partly to prevent the like insurrection for the future, and partly to help to defray the charges the King had been at among them. And thus the Lord Protector and Council writ to the Lord Privy Seal in this matter, *viz.*

The Council's letter. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"After our hearty commendations to your Lordship. "Where the rebels of the country of Devonshire and "Cornwall have used the bells in every parish, as an in-"strument to stir the multitude, and call them together, "thinking good to have this occasion of attempting the like "hereafter to be taken from them; and remembering withal, "that by taking down of them, the King's Majesty may "have some commodity towards his great charge that way:

"we have thought good to pray your good Lordship to "give order for the taking down the said bells in all the "churches within those two counties; leaving in every "church one bell, the least of the ring that now is in the "same, which may serve to call the parishioners together "to the sermons and divine service. In the doing whereof, "we require your Lordship to use such moderation, as the "same may be done with as much quietness, and as little "offence of the common people as may be. And thus we "bid your Lordship most heartily farewell. From West-"minster, 12 Sept. 1549.

"Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,
"E. Somerset. T. Cant. W. S. John. W. Paget.
"W. Petre. Ed. North. E. Wotton. R. Sadleir."

The clappers granted away.

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Two gentlemen of those parts, Champion and Chichester, assistant perhaps against the rebels, took this opportunity to get themselves rewarded, by begging, not the bells, but the bell-clappers only. Which was granted them, with the ironwork and furniture thereunto belonging. And no question they made good benefit thereof.

The rebellion in Norfolk appeased. Ket the chief rebel, his possessions.

And as this rebellion in the west was now put to a conclusion, so also was that in Norfolk about the same time dispersed, Robert Ket, the chief captain of the rebels, being taken and executed. This man, though said to be a tanner, was wealthy and well landed. For I find these several manors to have belonged to him, and forfeited to the King, *viz.* the manor of Melior's-hall, the manors of Lether's-hall, and Gunvil's manor, in the county of Norfolk; which, in King Edward's Book of Sales, is said to be parcel of the possessions of Robert Ket, lately attainted of high treason. These, with several other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Norfolk, and all his goods and chattels, worth forty marks, were given to Thomas Audely, for and in consideration of his good service against the rebels in Norfolk. The patent bore date May 16, an. 4. Reg. Edwardi.

Ket's treasons.

This Ket was a proper person to be a ringleader of mischief. For he was of a bold haughty spirit, and of a can-

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kered mind against the government. He would be styled the *master*, nay, the *king* of Norfolk and Suffolk. He forced all persons whatsoever to follow his camp, and laid many in chains that made any opposition; a great waster and spoiler, especially to the women of quality, whom he spared not to rob and spoil.

Lord Sheffield slain.

The Marquis of Nottingham first went against him, but was unsuccessful in a battle fought with these rebels in Norwich: where among others fell a brave nobleman, Edmund Lord Sheffield, who voluntarily and with considerable expense went along with the Marquis. Which Lord falling from his horse, was knocked on the head by a butcher. He left a son under age, named John Lord Sheffield, being a ward to the King. Who, to shew some particular mark of his favour upon him for his father's merits, granted him by patent, dated in November 1550, to bestow himself in marriage at his own free election and choice, without any fine or payment to be required in the court of wards and liveries, or elsewhere, to the King's use, for the value of his marriage, being in his minority; in consideration (as it ran in the grant) of the great charges that his said father sustained in the King's war at Norwich.

The King intends to send Somerset his general.

The King then intended to send his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, with a strong army into Norfolk, which was to rendezvous at Walden in Essex. For there the gentry of that county were appointed, with their men and arms, to meet the said Duke, on the 17th day of August. And such an order one of the gentlemen of the said county received, (by which we may judge of the rest,) which was as followeth. (And I the rather exemplify it, because therein is some account given of Ket and his doings.)

The King's letter to the gentry of Essex. Vespasian. F. 3.

"EDWARD.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And "whereas one Ket, a tanner, supported by a great many "of vile and idle persons, hath taken upon him our royal "power and dignity, and calleth himself master and king
175 "of Norfolk and Suffolk, in derogation of our imperial

"crown and majesty: and not content to persuade our "subjects, whom we were content to receive to our mercy, "to refuse our most gracious pardon, but causeth also a "great number of our honest and good subjects by force "to follow and aid him, and so continueth the rebellion in "most vile sort; killing, spoiling, and keeping in fetters "and chains, gentlemen, serving-men, yeomen, farmers, "and other honest men, who have regard of their faith and "duty unto us; robbing ladies and widows houses; seeking "nothing but spoil and subversion of us, and the good "estate of the realm: we have appointed our most entirely "beloved uncle the Duke of Somerset, Governor of our "person, and Protector of our realms, dominion, and sub-"jects, with an army royal to go against them, and, by "God's help, to subdue them, to the terror of all others. "Whom like as we have appointed to march forwards with "all speed possible, so having reposed a special trust and "confidence in your good towardness and readiness to serve "us, we have appointed you to give your attendance upon "our said uncle. And therefore do will and require you "immediately upon the sight hereof, with all speed to put "yourself in a readiness with an hundred hable men, or so "many mo as you are hable to make and trust unto, of "your servants, tenants, and friends, well furnished with "armour and weapon: whereof so many to be demilances, "or light horsemen, as ye can furnish with hable and good "horses, and other convenient furniture, to be at our town "of Walden in our county of Essex, the 17th day of this "present month at the furthest. At which time and place "order shall be given for the bringing of them thither to "your contentation. Requiring you not to fail, as ye ten-"der our pleasure, and will answer for the contrary at your "perils. Yeaven under our signet at our palace of West-"minster, the 6th of August, the third year of our reign.

"E. Somerset."

But the King's resolution soon changed, perhaps being loath to part with his uncle; and the Earl of Warwick was despatched in his room.

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One hanged unjustly by martial law.

Upon occasion of this tumult, somewhat a severe execution happened to the bailiff of Rumford in Essex: who chancing to come to London just upon the noise of it; when one Sir Stephen, a curate of Cree church, meeting him, and asking him what news out of the country, the other replied, that they were up in arms in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; yet adding, that "thanks to God, they were all quiet "about their parts;" a suspicion these words of his begat, that he was privy to these mutinies. Sir Stephen, a zealous man, informs against him: and immediately by a court martial he was tried, and condemned to be hanged; and so he was upon a gibbet by the well within Algate, which was afterwards turned to a pump, there still remaining. Though upon the ladder he professed he was no farther guilty than those bare words could make him.

Stow's Survey.

The gentlemen of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, to repair home.

But to speak a little more particularly of this stir in Norfolk, which seemed as troublesome to the state to provide against and to quell, as that in the west. Therefore the Earl of Warwick was sent against them, and the gentry in the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, were required to go down to their several dwellings, by a proclamation, dated August 16, which ran to this tenor: "That the
176 "King's Majesty by the advice of his most entirely beloved "uncle, &c. straitly charged and commanded all gentlemen, "of what estate, degree, or condition soever they were, who "had their habitations and dwellings in Essex, to depart "from the Court, the city of London, and other places "near unto them, into their several habitations in the said "county, with all convenient speed, there to remain till "they should know further of the King's Majesty's plea"sure. Likewise such gentlemen as dwelt in Suffolk, to "depart also to their habitations there; and there to re"main unto such time as they should have command from "the King or the Earl of Warwick. And further, that "all gentlemen, inhabitants of Norfolk, should repair to

"the said Earl; to be with him, to attend upon him in the "King's army in his conduct and leading, for his Highness's better service, upon Saturday next following, or "Sunday at the farthest. And his Majesty, by the advice "aforesaid, did most strictly charge all persons to whom it "might appertain, to follow and execute the said Earl's "commands, with all convenient speed and diligence, upon "pain of his Highness's indignation and displeasure. Yet "provided, that such gentlemen, as were of the King's "chamber or household, should still give their attendance "upon his Highness as heretofore."

Lyn loyal.

A great appearance of these rebellious Norfolcians were got together near Lyn. But the magistrates and people of that town did not side with them, but kept themselves loyal to the King. One of this seditious rout was Sir John Chaundeler, parson of Alswiththorp, a parish near Lyn. Another was called Captain Bunting. Who, it seems, mistrusting his doings, was resolved to get away secretly into Lyn. And to do it so obscurely that none should know it, or suspect he was gone thither, he took his opportunity, and laid his hat down by a well side, to make the rest of his comrades think that he was drowned there. And so they did.

Chaundeler, one of the rebels, comes to Colchester.

And he at the same time fled into Lyn. At whose coming those in the town shot off a volley. But Chaundeler was truer to the cause; and seemed to have been a person employed by the rout to pass from place to place in the counties of Essex and Suffolk, to blow the coals, and to excite the people in those counties to rise. For in the midst of these broils he rode to Bury, and Hadley, and Lavenham, and came to Colchester: where he met with several of that city, his confidents, as it seemed, who were to promote the cause there: namely, Will. Brown, draper and tailor; Sir Roger Peerson of Colchester, priest; Sir John Robynson, priest, parson of Tadston in Suffolk; Richard Kent of Sturton, in Suffolk, weaver. These were all at supper together at Brown's house; where Chaundeler did relate how things stood with the rebels. And to provoke

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them the more against the government, he told them, how there had been six posts sent from their camp unto the King's Council, and not one of them could come to the said Council; and that the gentlemen's servants at Lyn went abroad and killed poor men in their harvest work, and also killed women with child. And to encourage them to enter into the conjuration, he said, that the number of their men at Norwich camp was six score thousand: and that he met at Bury to the number as he thought of seventy thousand, consisting of the towns of Bury, Hadly, Lanham, Branthly, 177 [Branktree perhaps,] and other towns thereabouts. And as for the town of Lyn, and all the gentlemen there, he wished them all on fire. And whereas there was one man among them, he wished there were ten. And all this was deposed against Chaundeler afterward, Aug. 7, by Brown and others that supped with him then at Colchester, before Benjamin Clere and Robert Flyngant, bailiffs of Colchester.

Pardons to the three counties.

After these dangerous tumults were dispersed and vanquished, and the heads punished, the King granted a special pardon to the inhabitants of Norfolk for the rebellion there; which bore date Sept. 4. And the like was bestowed upon the inhabitants of Suffolk and Essex.

The Lady Mary and her servants charged.

These rebellions touched upon the Lady Mary's reputation. For the Lord Protector and Council had information brought them, that several of her servants were chief stirrers, procurers, and doers in those commotions. As namely, a priest and chaplain of hers of Sampford Courtney in Devon; and Pooly, one of her receivers, and one Lyonel. Concerning these reports they thought fit to send her word by letter, dated July 17, wherein they likewise charged her, to give countenance herself to these disturbances by her obstinate incompliance with the religion, and persistance in the use of the old mass. She was now at her house at Kenninghall in High Suffolk, not far off of the rebels; which might give some umbrage to these jealousies against her. But she presently vindicated herself and her servants, and declared her dislike of these practices by an earnest letter

E MSS. Rev. Patr. D. Johan. Episcop. Elien.

writ July 20, being the same day she received the Council's. For first, as to her servants, she shewed, "how she had not "one chaplain in those parts; that Pooly remained continually in her house, and was never doer among the commons, nor came into their company. It is true, she had "another servant of that name dwelling in Suffolk; and "whether the commons had taken him or no, she could not "tell: but by report they had taken by force many gentlemen in those quarters, and used them very cruelly, and "perhaps so he might be served. That as for the third, "she could not but marvel at the bruit of him; especially "because he dwelt within two miles of London, and was "not acquainted with the shires of Suffolk or Norfolk, nor "at any time came into those parts, but when he waited "upon her at her house; and was then at London about "her business; being also a man not at all apt or meet for "such purposes, but given to as much quietness as any "within her house. She added, it troubled her to hear "such reports of any of hers; and especially where no "cause was given: trusting, that her household should try "themselves true subjects to the King's Majesty, and honest, quiet persons, or else she would be loath.

"And as for herself, she assured the Protector, that "these stirs did not less offend her than him and the rest "of the Council. And for Devonshire, no indifferent person could lay their doings to her charge, for she had "neither land nor acquaintance in that country. And "whereas they charged her, that her proceedings in matters of religion should have given no small courage to "many of those men to require and to do as they did; "that, she said, appeared to be most untrue, for that all "the rising about the parts where she was, was touching "no part of religion. But even as they ungently and without desert charged her, so she omitted so fully to answer "it as the cause required, and would pray God that their 178 "new alterations and unlawful liberties were not rather "the occasions of these assemblies than her doings, who "was, God she took to witness, inquieted therewith."

State letters relating to this rebellion. Galba, B. 12.

Besides all this that I have already writ on this subject, I reckon it will not be unworthy any man's pains that is studious of the history of these times, to read three letters concerning these intestine disturbances. The one written from the Lord Privy Seal to the Lords of the Council, and by his son, Sir Francis Russel, brought to them, Aug. 22. Another writ, Aug. 24, from the Protector to Hoby, ambassador abroad. The third from the same to the same, dated Sept. 1. For these consult the Repository; taken from the Cotton library.

DD. EE. FF.

The charges of this rebellion. Otho, E. 11.

But this rebellion in Norfolk, in Devon, and Cornwall, cost the King a vast sum; which rendered him the more necessitous of money all the time of his reign after. The charges are set down in one of the Cotton volumes; *viz.*

For coat and conduct - - -	6446	12	2
In debts and wages - - -	18827	19	6
Emptions of necessaries - -	47	11	8
Divers and sundry necessary charges and expenses, as breaking down of bridges, carriages, and rewards - -	2800	4	3
Sum total	27330	7	7

But the whole charges of King Edward's wars and fortifications to the year 1549, amounted to 1356687 18 5¾

First institution of Lord Lieutenants of the shires.

This year began the making of the Lord Lieutenants of the counties: whose commissions bare date July 24, 3 Ed. VI. as I find it in a clerk of the crown's book in the Cotton library: whose office undoubtedly was first instituted upon occasion of these routs and uproars in most of the counties of England. They were called the King's Justices in their commissions, as well as his Lieutenants. Which commissions ran to inquire of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, rebellions, unlawful assemblies and conventicles, unlawful speaking of words, confederacies, conspiracies, false allegations, contempts, falsehoods, negligences, concealments, oppressions, riots, routs, murders, felonies, and other ill deeds whatsoever, and also all accessaries of the same. And to appoint certain days and places for the inquiry thereof. And to be the King's Lieutenants within the respective counties for levying of men, and to fight against the King's enemies and rebels, and to execute upon them martial law; and to subdue all invasions, insurrections, &c. These commissions were renewed yearly.

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The French's success against the English in Boloignois. Execution of the rebels. Somerset's troubles. The causes thereof. His Court of Requests. A sessions of Parliament. The Acts.

A piece near Newhaven lost to the French.

THESE at length were the successes against the seditions at home; but from the other side of the seas came not so good news. For the French King, taking now his time, and laying hold of this rebellion within the realm, came in August unto Boloignois with a great number of horse and foot, himself in person; and on the 24th of the said month the Almain camp, or Almain hill, a piece appertaining to Ambleture or Newhaven, was delivered to the French by traitorous consent of the captain of the camp there, variance falling or feigned between the captain and his soldiers. So that now they were besieged very near, and in manner round. Howbeit the English at this very time wrote thence to the King and Council, that they trusted the piece itself [*viz.* Newhaven] would be well enough defended, God assisting them, who were in as good and stout a courage as any men might be, and as desirous to win honour, and give a good account of their charge.

Newhaven itself lost.

But soon after, by treachery, the main fort of Newhaven was also lost, and another strong place called Blackness; and the French proceeded to lay siege to Boloign itself. And all this loss caused by the mutinies at home; the suppressing of which hindered the sending sufficient aid thither. This the Protector unfolded to Hoby the ambassador with the Emperor, in his letter, dated September 1, in these words:

Anno 1549. The Protector to Hoby, giving a relation thereof.

"We cannot omit to advertise you, that the French "King, by means of this dangerous business at home, hath "taken courage to invade the King's Majesty's possessions "on the other side of the seas. And albeit it was so fore"seen, as order was taken for his encountering in the field, "yet the outrageousness of the people was such within our"selves, as, attending first to the pacifying things at home "as reason required, we could not in time provide for "things abroad. Which the French King perceiving, and "having before corrupted two of the King's Majesty's "ministers, taking also advantage of our seditions and tu"mults at home, descended in person with an army royal, "and by treason of the captain and master governor of a "little fortress, which stood upon a hill, named the Almain "Camp, near the main fort of Newhaven, and was a key "to the same, abandoned it. After the getting whereof by "means of the same, and of such secret intelligence as they "had with the said traitors, did after in short time win the "main fort of Newhaven: which by these corrupt and "false means they now possess. And beside the fort of "Newhaven, one other small piece of his Majesty's, named "Blackness, and mindeth to do the uttermost he may
180 "against Boloign. And because we doubt not but the "Frenchmen, according to their accustomed fashion, will "brave much of this their sudden enterprize, though it be "not great, we have thought good to write the whole of "these matters unto you, to be used as ye shall see cause. "And considering how dishonourably the French King "hath begun these wars, whereof we have more at large "heretofore written unto you, we trust in the end he shall "have small cause to boast himself of any gain."

We leave the French besieging Boloign; which nevertheless with all their strength they were not able to prevail against, so bravely did the English acquit themselves, till afterwards it was delivered up for money; the keeping whereof being not thought worth the expense. And turn we again to home matters.

The chieftains of the

The heads and captains of the rebellion in the west were, some few of them, gentlemen inflamed with an ignorant zeal to the old religion, but the most of them the dregs of the people, and not a few of them priests. But these, or most of them, when their herds by the valour and conduct of the Lord Russel were routed, suffered the pains of death. Their names were Arundel, Pomeroy, Coffin, Winslade, Rosogan, Holmes, Bury, Underhil, Soleman, Segar, Boyer, Lee, two Mayors, Pain, Maunder, Ashridge, Thompson, Baret, Bocham, Wolcock, Alsa, Morton, Welsh, Barrow, Benet: which last recited nine were priests. There was another which our histories make no mention of, named Paget, whether he was captain, or some other great assistant in this disobedience; who as it seems might be related unto Sir William Paget. Upon which account, or some other reason, the Lord Privy Seal was not so forward to put him to death. But being a person of such note in these broils, the Protector and the Lords sent down a particular letter for his execution. And execution being still deferred, it was seconded with another from the Protector alone; and that because people began to clamour against him, as though he were the cause of the delay of it, and that it reflected upon his honour, as though he were not now such an impartial distributor of justice upon malefactors as he was before, now to wink at Paget, when formerly he had consented to the death even of his own brother. But I must crave leave to insert his letter.

rebellion in the west.

Paget one of them.

“ After our very hearty commendations unto your good “ Lordship: Whereas we, with divers others of the King's “ Majesty's Council, heretofore addressed our letters to you “ for due execution to be done and had upon Paget for “ his worthy deserts; which as we be informed is not done, “ but respected [respited] upon what occasion we know “ not, whereat we cannot a little marvel, the thing so much “ touching our honour; for, as we have been credibly in- “ formed, divers have not left unspoken, that we should “ consent to the death of our own brother, and now would “ wink at him! Wherefore we heartily pray you, as you

The Protector to the Lord Russel for execution of Paget. MSS. G. P. Armig.

Anno 1549. "tender our honour, to see him suffer that he hath deserved, according to the tenor of our former letters; "and that without delay. Thus fare ye well. From Syon, "18. Sept. 1549.

"Your loving friend,
"E. Somerset."

181 The Protector falls into troubles.

But while the Duke of Somerset was thus diligent in quelling and punishing this conspiracy against the King and kingdom, a plot was hatching against himself, and almost ripe. For no longer than the beginning of the next month it brake out and took effect; when he was taken from the King at Windsor, and carried openly through the city of London to the Tower. Seeing the storm approaching him, he endeavoured to make all the friends he could by messages and applications. And the Lord Privy Seal being now strong in the west, he wrote a letter to him, October 6, giving him account of the conspiracy made against him, beginning, "Here hath of late risen such a con-"spiracy," &c. And by the postscript may be seen, what calumnies were now bruited abroad to blacken him, and make him odious among the people. "They are not ashamed," writes he, "to send posts abroad to tell, that we are already "committed to the Tower: that we would deliver the Bi-"shops of Winchester and London out of prison, and bring "in again the old mass." And in the letter it appears, they gave out that he had sold Bologn, and withheld the soldiers' wages. But I refer the reader to our historians, to know more of these troubles that befel that Duke, under which at last he sunk. The foresaid letter of the Duke, but without the postscript, together with the Lord Russel's answer, may be found in Fox. Pag. 1244.

The occasions thereof.

Yet to inform ourselves a little in this place concerning the occasions of his misfortunes. It must be reckoned among his failures, and a thing whereby he procured enemies to himself, the havoc he made of sacred edifices, and whatsoever was contained in them. It was too barbarous indeed, what was practised by him, namely, the defacing ancient monuments, and rooting out hereby the memory of men of note and quality in former times, of which posterity is wont to be very tender. For he pulled down in Paul's church-yard, and other places, many churches and religious fabrics, for the building of Somerset-house. And not only were the tombs of the dead razed, but their bones carried away in cartloads, and buried in Blomesbury. Yet this notice of former superstitions was gained by this barbarity, used by him and others under the reigns of King Henry and King Edward, that among a great number of rotten carcases were found caskets full of pardons safely folded and lapped together in the bottom of their graves: which Dr. Haddon himself had observed, when they digged dead men out of their graves, and carried away their bones, occasioned by pulling down many churches and convents, as he wrote in his answer to Osorius. But this was but a little part of what created the Duke's misfortunes.

He is arbitrary.

By certain secret letters of Sir William Paget, Secretary of State, wrote to the Protector, we learn, that he was somewhat elated with his prosperity, and affected to be arbitrary in the Court, and to have his own will take place, and would seldom follow advice: whereby he procured to himself ill-will among the nobility and gentry; with whom also he would sometimes be very sharp in words. Nay, even the Privy Counsellors did not escape him, when they chanced in council to speak contrary to his will or judgment. A knight once having some business with him, was so nipped by him and rebuked, and that for no great matter, that he could not forbear repairing to Paget's chamber, there complaining to him with tears, how he had been used a little before by the Protector. Nay, and his great friend Paget himself escaped not, but was often by him taken up 182
very short at the Council-board, where he used to speak freely: insomuch that he told the Protector that he had been discouraged at his Grace's hands in open council to say his opinion, as much as ever man was. Which usage made, that neither he nor others of the Council cared to speak much afterwards. These matters provoked the said

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Reproved by his friend Paget.

Paget (who loved to speak his mind freely to his friend, and perhaps had liberty given him by the Protector so to do towards him) to write a letter to him, May 8, wherein he took the liberty to tell him, "that unless his Grace would "more quietly shew his pleasure in things wherein he debated with other men, and would hear them again graciously, to say their opinions, what would ensue thereof he "would be right sorry for, and his Grace would have cause "to repent. For no man would dare to speak to him what "he thought, though it were never so necessary. And that "would be dangerous for himself in the end. And that a "king, that should give occasion of discouragement to his "counsellors to say their opinions frankly, received thereby "great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great "authority, as his Grace was, using such choleric fashion, "was like to fall into great danger and peril of his own "person, besides that of the commonwealth." The Duke seemed but lately to have taken up this passionate way, perhaps in imitation of, or too much converse with his master King Henry, who did use in very hasty manner to treat those that were about him.

Courts the populacy.

And as this roughness to the gentry was one of the Duke's errors, so it was thought another, that he so much courted the populacy, and used himself with so much condescension towards them, that they stood in no fear of him. For this the said Secretary blamed him in a letter wrote to him in July, when the rebellion was now broke out, and men opened their mouths broadly against the government. It was a long expostulatory letter, full of freedom and as great wisdom. He protested that he wrote it in such perplexity as he knew not what to do, and that his heart bled, and his eyes distilled down with weeping. For he saw at hand that coming, as he said, which he feared of long time, *viz.* the destruction of that good young child his sovereign Lord, the subversion of his noble realm, and the ruin of his Grace. And hence he took occasion to tell him at large of his imperfections in government, and particularly his too much gentleness and his too good nature, and his kindness to the

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common sort, which had animated them to disobedience: "his lenity, his softness, his opinion to be good to the "poor, and affectation of the good word of the commons, "who cried out, Oh Sir! there was never a man had the "hearts of the commons as you have. The commons pray "for you, and say, God save your life." To which Paget subjoins, "that he knew right well the Duke's gentle heart, "and that his meaning was good and godly. Though some "there were, he said, that prated otherwise, and that he "had some greater enterprize in his head, who leaned so "much to the multitude. But he knew his Grace's meaning an honest virtue. But still he insisted, that that evil "then happening in the land, had been occasioned by his "too much gentleness to the vulgar."

Paget's rebuke of him for this.

And then as to his disobliging behaviour towards the Counsellors, he shewed him, how he would sometimes oppose himself to the whole Council; and when they joined all in a matter, he would out-reason them, and think by his authority to make them bow to his opinion. And again, how he would first deliver his opinion in a matter, and then ask theirs: which the awe they had of him would make them incline to allow of, however inwardly they disliked it.

Would oppose the whole Council.

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The Protector also raised against himself much hard speech for that Court of Requests he set up within his own house; the good intent whereof was to hear poor men's petitions and suits. And here oftentimes upon examination of their cases, and upon the compassion he took of their oppressions, if he ended not their businesses, he would send his letters to the Chancery in their favour: which some judged to be a stopping the course of the courts, and endeavouring to warp the Judges, with whom his letters, they said, would be apt to weigh much. In the Cotton library there be two letters of Paget, whence these things above related are taken: wherein much of the true state of affairs at this juncture may be seen, and the slips of the Protector, and likewise the temper, wisdom, and great abilities of that statesman the writer. See them in the Repository.

His Court of Requests disliked.

Titus, F. 3.

GG. HH.

Yet Paget's temper naturally disposed to severity, and

The Duke's mild government vindicated;

confirmed therein by the methods he had observed in Bishop Gardiner, under whom he had been bred, led him to principles of government perhaps too rigorous, and by some wise men in those days disliked; as thinking it not safe to hold such a strict hand over the commons, and to press and keep them under, in a kind of slavery; which English spirits would not nor could digest. And therefore Somerset's milder courses in his managery of public affairs were not to be thought so impolitic, however condemned by the said Paget, and some other of the lofty domineering nobles and gentlemen, whose covetousness made them afflict and oppress the inferior sort. And as for his Court of Requests, surely it deserved no such hard censure; serving as some check to the rigorous and unjust dealings of the rich and the mighty exercised upon the poor, who were not able to contend with them at law, by reason of their countenance and wealth, whatsoever great wrongs were done them; which at this Court might easily and cheaply be shewn and complained of by way of request and petition. Here many controversies were made up, and restraints laid upon the destructive designs of the rich against the poor, and according to the cognizance of the causes brought before the Duke, he would sometimes send his letters to the Judges that were to hear them, not to warp their judgments, but to incline them to do justice impartially, and not to favour the great in their extortions upon those of meaner rank and degree: sometimes he would appoint intelligent and honest men as arbitrators, to consider the complaints preferred to him, and with speed to make a just determination and conclusion between party and party, without the long expensive formality of law. Such an order, for example sake, did the Protector send to Francis None, and Owen Hopton, Esquires, the last year. His letter I will insert for the giving the more light to this Court.

And his Court of Requests.

MSS. penes me.

His letter from that Court.

"After our hartie commendations: We send unto you "the supplication here inclosed; wherin we minding di-"rection by right; wherefore (knowing your wisdoms and

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"upright dexterities) we will and require you by vertue "hereof, calling all such parties before you, as you shall "think mete for the better knowledge of the truith therin, "to hear and examine the same. And upon due know-"ledge of the case, to proceed, without furder tract of time, "unto the final determination therof, as to right, equity, "and conscience shall apperteyne. So as the party com-"plainant may receive and enjoy th'ole that in conscience "he ought to have by your order; being you, by the tenor "hereof, authorized thereunto, without further cause here-"after eftsones to molest us in this behalf with complaint. "Thus not doubting that you will not frustrate this the "good opinion we have conceyved in you, we bidde you "farewel. From Somerset Place the 11. of March, an. "1548.

"Your louing freende,
"E. Somerset."

The Lords, the Duke's enemies, summon the counties to send up forces.

I need not enter into any further relation of these troubles raised against the Duke; our histories discover them at large. Yet to shew in part the course the Lords, the Duke's enemies, took against him. They summoned armed men, horse and foot, to repair to them from every county, to oppose the Duke and his men: giving out to the gentry the great dangers the King's person was in, and the necessity of rescuing him out of the Duke's hands: whose doings they called *traitorcus and false*, and his proceedings *devilish*. But upon the Duke's submission and surrendering the King's person, the Lords despatched another letter, dated from London, October 11, to forbear the sending up of the forces they required in their last. Whose letter ran in this strain:

Their letter. Titus, B.

"After our harty commendations. Where we have here-"tofore addressed our letters unto sundry gentlemen, of "that the King's Majesty's county of ——— for their "coming or sending towards us such and as great num-"bers of hable men, both horsemen and footmen, as they

Anno 1549. "might furnish, to join with us for the deliverance of the "King's Majesty's most royal person from the imminent "danger the same was in, through the traitorous doings "and false practices of the Duke of Somerset: forasmuch "as it hath now pleased Almighty God of his infinite "goodness and mercy so to provide, that his Majesty is "delivered from those dangers; and the forces also assembled by the said Duke for maintenance of his naughty "and devilish proceedings, clearly also dispersed; we have "thought good both to advertise both of this great goodness of God, requiring you to give him humble thanks "for the same: and also to pray you, to give notice by proclamation and otherwise, as you shall think good, to all "such gentlemen of that county, to whom any such letters "have been addressed from us, as is aforesaid, to stay "themselves with their men at home; taking good heed to "the common peace, quiet, and good order of the shire, according to the King's Majesty's laws: giving them his "Majesty's most harty thanks for their readiness to serve "at this time. And so we bid you right hartily farewel. "From London, this 11. of Octob. 1549.

"Your loving friends."

185 The Duke's authority of Governor and Protector revoked.

Two days after, *viz.* October 13, a revocation was made by letters patent, of the authority of Governor of the King's person and protectorship granted to the Duke of Somerset, December 24, anno 1 Edw. VI. for the ill government, rule, and direction of his person: "whereby it was brought in "great danger; the subjects by civil dissension much annoyed, and the laws subverted, and his realms and dominions brought to great peril of utter ruin;" as the instrument ran.

The Parliament constitute laws for religion.

The Parliament that had been prorogued began to sit this year, November 4, and continued sitting till February 1. following. In this session some further considerable steps were made in the reformation of religion, and abandoning the old superstitions out of the Church, which stuck still full close to it. For as yet images in many churches, set up

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The act for taking away popish service books.

for religious worship, remained, or else were in the keeping of private men, priests and others. And the old popish service books were still preserved and used by Curates, as they stood affected. Of which there were divers and sundry sorts, according to the various religious offices; such as antiphonals, missals, grails, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, primers, couchers, journals, ordinals. As to these, both books and images, it was decreed, that they should be abolished totally, and kept no longer in the kingdom; the images to be broken and defaced; and the books to be brought to the Mayor, or other officer in each parish, before the end of 30th of June next. And this under a penalty of money first, and then of imprisonment. And such officers were upon pain of 40*l.* to bring those books, which they received, within three months to the Bishop of the diocese, his chancellor or commissary. And he was to cause them openly to be burnt, or otherwise to be defaced or destroyed, upon pain likewise of 40*l.* But King Henry's Primer was particularly excepted; which indeed contained many good and wholesome instructions and devotions; that book therefore might be retained, only striking out the sentences of invocation and prayer to saints. Neither were images and pictures belonging to tombs and monuments to be meddled withal, but to remain and stand, if the persons for whom those monuments were erected, were not reputed for saints, and so their pictures in danger to be abused to idolatry.

Which frustrated the good ends of the Common Prayer Book.

The evil and inconvenience of the books aforesaid, hitherto not called in, but remaining in churches, or otherwise preserved, was, that it was found to frustrate the good ends intended by the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth; which was, *for an uniform, quiet, and godly order of common and open prayer.* "The use of which book, as the preamble set forth, was agreeable to the order of the primitive Church, and much more comfortable unto the King's subjects, than other diversity of service, as heretofore of long time had been used; nothing being ordered in the

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"same book to be read but the very pure word of God, or "which was evidently grounded upon the same. Whereas "in the other were things corrupt, untrue, vain, and superstitious, and as it were a preparation for superstition. "And which still remaining gave occasion to divers persons, as impugned the order and good meaning of the "King's said Book of Common Prayer, to continue in their "old accustomed superstitious service, and also ministered "occasion to diversity of opinions, rites, ceremonies, and "services." Many of these books upon this act were 186 brought in; but very many more were not, but carefully concealed by those that affected them, in secret places: which were produced again and came to light under Queen Mary.

An act for making ecclesiastical laws.

Another good law made this Parliament for amending the corrupt state of the Church, was that whereby the King was empowered to appoint thirty-two learned men, to peruse and examine the old ecclesiastical laws; and to gather, order, and compile such laws ecclesiastical, as should be thought to the King and his Council convenient to be used, practised, and set forth within the realm, in all spiritual or ecclesiastical courts. And that such laws so made should be taken and put in ure for the King's ecclesiastical laws.

An act for authorizing a new book of ordination.

Also, the old Ordinal being full of superstition, a new office of ordination of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other ministers, was allowed of; which had been or should be suddenly framed and devised by six Prelates, and six other learned in God's law, to be appointed by the King, or the greatest number of them; and by them to be set forth before the first day of April next. And this was enacted to be exercised and used, and none else.

An act of pardon.

This sessions of Parliament ended with an act of grace and general pardon, designed as well for the ease of such as had been concerned in the late rebellion, as other offenders against the laws. There was in this act a proviso, whereby persons that held certain opinions were excluded

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Anabaptists excepted out of it.

the benefit of this pardon: which are set down expressly; *viz.* that infants were not to be baptized; and if they were baptized, that they ought to be rebaptized when they came to lawful age. That it was not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the commonwealth. That no men's laws ought to be obeyed. That it was not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath before any Judge. That Christ took no bodily substance of our blessed Lady. That sinners after baptism could not be restored by repentance. That all things be or ought to be common, and nothing several. The persons that held these doctrines might well have a note set upon them, being not consistent with a Christian commonweal. For if these should be believed and practised, it were not able to subsist. And they who held these tenets, were those they called Anabaptists; whereof several were now in prison: who were not thought fit to have the benefit of this act. But some of them were brought to recant. Two suffered death, *viz.* Van Paris and Joan of Kent.

Private acts.

In this Parliament, besides the public acts, which may be seen in the ordinary printed statute books, were made several private acts, never printed: which may not be unuseful nor unacceptableto mention, *viz.*

An act for dividends and quotidians in Wells.

Lord de la War.

An act for disinheriting William West during his life. The reason whereof was, for designing to kill his uncle, the Lord La Ware, by poison, that he might the sooner enjoy his estate, and succeed to the honour of Baron La Ware. This William, whom Queen Elizabeth afterwards had created a Baron anew, lived throughout the best part of that Queen's reign. And his son Thomas was called to a Parliament sitting in the year 1597, and was presented to the ancient place of his forefathers, Lords La Ware, taking precedency, as his ancestors had done, which his father, by reason of his 187 late creation, had not enjoyed.

An act for the restitution of Thomas Islely, Esq.

An act for the restitution of Sir William Hussey, Knight.

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The Duke of Somerset.

An act touching the fine and ransom of the Duke of Somerset. That is, for the punishment of his late misdemeanours, he was fined 2000*l.* a year, of land, and lost all his goods and offices.

CHAP. XXIII.

An embassy to the Emperor. The Emperor's requests. The Pope's death. Peace with France; by the means of Guidot, an Italian merchant: rewarded.

Cheyne goes ambassador to the Emperor.

IN the month of November, the King and Lords of his Council (after the Duke was deposed of the protectorship) sent again an ambassador to the Emperor, *viz.* Sir Thomas Cheyne, treasurer of the King's chamber, to continue the good understanding between him and the Emperor, and to acquaint him with the present state of England, with particular respect to the late disorders about Somerset; but chiefly to levy more soldiers out of his dominions, for the King's wars. He arrived at Brussels, Nov. 6. The morrow after his arrival, the Emperor sent a gentleman of his chamber, Don John Manrique, brother to the Duke of Naiara, to welcome him: which Manrique was one of the chief officers of the Emperor's household, and in right good estimation with him. Cheyne, having admission to the Emperor's presence, signified to him, that a great end of his coming was to inform him of the late disorders in the kingdom about the Duke of Somerset. And some alterations touching the order of the government, having lately happened, that the Lords of the Council thought good to give him in commandment to declare the truth and ground thereof unto his Majesty. And here Cheyne rehearsed unto him, from point to point, the whole discourse of the Duke of Somerset's proceedings, until the time of his apprehension, following therein as near as he could the very substance in effect of their Lordships' instructions. He subjoined, "that "albeit the King's Majesty's affairs, as well at home as

" abroad, were presently, by reason of the said Duke's " wilful and evil government, in some declination, yet would " the Lords, as much as in them lay, travail by all means " possible to redub and restore the same again to their former estate and estimation. For the furtherance whereof, " he said, they doubted nothing of his Majesty's wonted " good-will and affection. And that seeing Bologn remained " presently, by the forenamed occasion, in such strait terms, " there was now no other way to preserve it, but the repulse of the enemy from the siege, by force of men. That " the Lord Clinton, the King's deputy there, had made a " motion to Mons. Chastilion, the French King's lieutenant, 188 " to bring things to some composition. But that they refused to stand to the former treaties, and seemed in the " rest to be over-meager, and little conformable to reason. " And therefore that matter was broken off again; and no " hope of any appointment that ways, unless some other " occasion should be ministered on their part. Which, if it " should be offered, they would communicate to his Majesty.

Desires leave to raise men.

" And that therefore seeing there was now no other " means to save that piece, but only by force of men, the " King, as it was his will these matters should be discoursed " at length unto him, [the Emperor,] as to his most loving " father and very friend, so, by the advice of his Lords, did " most heartily pray him to grant him for his money the " number of two thousand horsemen, and four thousand foot, " to be levied within his countries, with such furniture of " armour, and other ammunition, as should be necessary."

The Emperor's answer.

The Emperor made this answer: " Mons. l'Ambassador, " I must confess to have had both now, and at sundry other " times, large experience of the faithful love and friendly " affiance, that the King my good brother, and his Council, " have reposed in me, as well by sundry other arguments, " as by their particular communicating unto me from time " to time the estate of their affairs. And like as I am sorry " to hear of the trouble and business that hath been lately " among them, so am I very glad to perceive it is at the

Anno 1549. "last grown to so good and quiet an end, and in so good "likelihood of continuance, which I hope, through the good "and prudent governance of those grave and wise counsellors, the King my good brother, his estate and person "shall henceforth be in good surety, his realms quietlier "governed, and his enemies better encountered, than they "have been hitherto. Whereto, for my good brother's "sake, I wish as good success, as I would to mine own "proper affairs.

"As to the estate of Boloign, albeit it standeth, as ye "say, in very weak terms, yet am I of opinion, that the "French are able for this winter time to work no manner "of displeasure that way. Wherein, and in the rest of my "good brother's affairs, I have heretofore at good length "declared mine advice and counsel unto Mons. l'Ambassador here then: to which I have not presently any "other thing to add. But as to the numbers of men "that my good brother requireth at my hands, in good "faith, as well because his father was during his lifetime "my very friend, and almost another father, as also because his Majesty, being yet under years, hath therefore "need of his friend's assistance, I would even with all my "heart shew him as much pleasure as in me lieth, and do "for him as much as for my own child, my honour reserved: but yet can I not, without some touch of my "estimation, and breach of my league with France, satisfy "the request herein presently. And if I were disposed, or "might agree thereto, yet to speak plainly as I think, I assure you it should in my mind rather hinder than further "my good brother's affairs, for divers respects; and namely, "because the French, how closely soever the matter were "gone about, might have commodity enough also to levy "such numbers of men as they should think good. Glad
189 "would I be to shew my good brother pleasure, and very "loath either to do any thing against mine own honour, or "hinder my good brother's affairs. On the other side, I "remember I am bound to observe my treaties with France, "which I cannot violate without some touch of mine ho-

"nour." And so he concluded, praying the Ambassador to common with Mons. d'Arras, who should further declare unto him his mind, and devise such means herein as should be thought most indifferent and meetest for both parts. And so, after leave taken, they departed.

Some foot and horse granted.

Yet was not this embassy wholly ineffectual, as obtaining nothing but good words. For in Cheyne's and Hoby's conference with D'Arras, he told them, that the Emperor was willing to grant the levying of five or six thousand footmen, so as they had them from about Freezland, and the seacoasts thereabouts, where they had at other times been accustomed to levy their men; and with condition only, that they were conveyed thence by sea, and none otherwise. He said further, that for the horsemen which they demanded, the Emperor thought they should not have occasion to make any such great preparation against the French, as well because they were presently, for want of provision of victuals and other necessaries, unable to bring down toward Boloign any great number of men of arms, as also for that the time of the year was now very late. Yet to satisfy, as much as he might, the King his good brother, he could be content they should have out of the country of Cleves five or six hundred horsemen to pass by land, by ten and twenty *file à file.* But as for the carriage, provision, and victuals they required, the Emperor could in no wise grant thereto: as well because the matter would be over-manifest to the world, and quite against the treaties with France; as also for that his subjects in like case had been at other times ill entreated by the English, whereof they had heretofore made sundry complaints, and rested so ill satisfied, that they could never be brought to serve herein, without they were by the Emperor's express command, yea, and with threatening of punishment, compelled thereto: which should too much open the matter to the world, and be almost a plain publication of war with France. And lastly, the scarcity of victuals in those parts presently was such, that he could not, without his subjects great prejudice and hinderance, grant liberty for the conveyance of any away.

Anno 1549. Certain requests of the Emperor to the King.

This business of King Edward with the Emperor being thus answered, the Emperor had some business also with King Edward: which D'Arras at this meeting reported to the ambassadors, Cheyne and Hoby: whereof one was this. Certain French letters were lately intercepted by the English near about Boloign, which treated concerning certain practices of Nece and Dragute Rayes, two infidels, sea commanders, that governed a fleet of ships belonging to the Turk; which the French King had procured of the great Turk, for his service against the Emperor. A duplicate of these letters the King had sent to Hoby to deliver to the Emperor, for his behoof and service. D'Arras shewed that it was his master's desire, that the King would communicate to him the original letters, in case it might not turn to the hinderance of the King's proceedings, for the better proof and trial thereof: which might, he said, stand the Emperor in good stead, and would be an acceptable pleasure to him.

The French calls in the Turk.

190 Secondly, He desired, that whereas one Sebastian Gabote, or Cabote, grand pilot of the Emperor's Indias, was then in England, forasmuch as he could not stand the King in any great stead, seeing he had but small practice in these seas, and was a very necessary man for the Emperor, whose servant he was, and had a pension of him; that some order might be taken for his sending over in such sort as the Emperor should at better length declare unto the King's Council. Notwithstanding I suspect Gabote still abode in England at Bristow, (for there he lived,) having two or three years after set on foot a famous voyage hence, as we shall mention in due place.

Sebastian Cabote.

Thirdly, There was a bulwark lately made by the English, as it seems, in Boloignois, towards the Emperor's frontiers, and built, as they asserted, upon part of his territories; this had been sundry times declared unto the King's ambassadors, and redress required. Wherefore now the Emperor desired commissioners to be appointed on either

A bulwark built upon the Emperor's territories.

party for the determination thereof, as soon as might be. For he thought he had great wrong done herein. But to this Sir Philip Hoby answered, that he was informed, the ground whereon this bulwark was built, was indeed within the King's territories, and so proved by the confession of one of the Emperor's own subjects. But D'Arras said, some of the officers there denied it.

The match between the Lady Mary and the Infant of Portugal moved.

Lastly, Whereas at Paget's being ambassador there, Somerset being then Lord Protector, motion was made on the King's behalf for a marriage between the Infant of Portugal and the Lady Mary, because the matter rested then upon the knowledge of the Infant's estate, and what dower he could be able to assure unto the said Lady, with certain other points desired to be cleared; the Emperor had since sent into Portugal, to treat upon this matter, and to know the certainty hereof. And therefore he would gladly know, whether upon answer received from thence, the King and his Council minded to proceed any further herein, and stand to the motion made in the Protector's time.

The Emperor recommends religion to the King.

When Cheyne took his leave of the Emperor in order to his return home, the Emperor used these words to him at parting: "I shall pray you, said he, after my most hearty "commendations to the King and his Council, to desire "both him and his Council to have matters of religion first "recommended; to the end we may be at the length all of "one opinion. Till when, to speak plain unto you as I "think, I can neither so earnestly, nor so thoroughly assist "my good brother, as my desire is."

The Pope dies.

The Pope dying in this month of November, while these two ambassadors were at Brussels, they gave the Court the news of it, and of the canvassing that followed for a successor. And because an English cardinal was nominated among the rest as likely to wear the triple crown, I will set down this part of their letter. "The Bishop of Rome being "dead, about the 9th of this instant, the Cardinal Farneze "sent word shortly after to the Emperor, that he would get "him, if it were his pleasure, one and twenty voices with "his own, for whomsoever he would have Pope. The Em-

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" peror made answer, that he would do herein as God " should put in his head; and, as it is said, he counselled " him to do the like. Here are sundry opinions about the " new Bishop elect. For some think the Emperor himself " will be Pope, if he may: others think he will procure 191 " his brother Ferdinando to be Pope; and some suppose " the Duke of Savoy: others name the Cardinal Pole; " others the Cardinal of Trent; and many, the Cardinal " Carpi or Veruli, who are good Imperials. On the other " side, there are also said to be in the election the Cardinal " Salviati, and the Cardinal Ridolphi, who are both good " French."

The beginning of the treaty between England and France. Occasioned by Guidot.

The year declining, and martial achievements being hindered by the long nights and ill weather, it became a proper season for treaty between England and France: which began upon a pretty strange occasion. One Anthony Guidot, a foreign merchant residing here, of his own head, for ought appeared, (though he pretended he had his order from France,) made several journeys in the month of December to and fro, to propound a treaty: which at last by his industry had the intended effect, though at first there was but little appearance thereof. The inkling thereof soon came to the Emperor's court; who hearing of it, desired by Hoby, the English ambassador, to know the truth. By a letter of the 13th of December the said Ambassador advertised it over into England to the Council, with his advice thereupon. They, December 31, wrote back to him their thanks, and " how they perceived the bruit that was in the " Emperor's court, concerning the communication of peace " between the two realms. But that he might be assured " they had not forgotten what they had before written to " him, namely, that in case they proceeded towards a con- " clusion of peace with the French, they would cause the " Emperor to be made privy to it. And that so they in- " tended to do indeed. But that as for the practice entered " by Anthony Guidot, it was a thing begun of his own mind. " And that because as yet there was no great likelihood it " should take any effect, seeing there was neither time,

" place, nor meeting of commissioners appointed thereunto; " therefore they thought it not necessary to write of a thing " as yet so uncertain and doubtful. But that if they per- " ceived, if by that means, or any other, there should be " any towardness of a meeting for that purpose like to take " any good effect, they would certify him of it, to the intent " the Emperor might by him be made privy to it. And " that one thing he might be assured of, that in case they " entered into any such communication with France, yet " nevertheless they would do nothing, that should by any " means be prejudicial to the treaty between the King's " Highness and the Emperor his good brother."

Commissioners appointed on both sides.

But in January, by the pains of Guidot, the matter began to ripen, and come to some further effect. For now, in good earnest, commissioners were appointed on both sides, to treat. For, as the Council wrote to the said Ambassador, January 16, Anthony Guidot came out of France, and brought word, that the French King desired to have a meeting to treat upon a peace, and for that purpose had named for his part Mons. de Rochepot, Mons. de Chastilion, Mons. de Mortier, and Mons. de Sassie, otherwise called the Secretary Boucheter. And perceiving the good inclination to peace, which the French shewed to have, they thought it not unmeet for the public wealth and quietness of Christendom, that the King's Highness for his part should give ear unto it. And so he had appointed the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Paget, Sir William Peters, and Sir John Mason, as commissioners for his Majesty, to meet with the said French commissioners upon the frontiers, about the 25th or 26th of this present. And they gave the Ambassador to know, moreover, that if upon their conference there ap- 192 peared any towardness of a good conclusion, he should be certified of it, to the intent he might advertise the Emperor.

The French's offers and brags.

The business, now lying before the English commissioners, was to demand payment of an annual pension due to England, as a debt owned by the former French King; and to hear what the French commissioners would offer concerning Boloign. But to know how matters went between the commissioners, and how intolerably insolent and insulting the French were, and lastly, to understand the present condition of things at home, a letter from the Lord II. Paget, one of the commissioners on the English side, to the Earl of Warwick, lord great master, will abundantly show. Whereby it appeared, that the French carried themselves loftily in all their proceedings. And the knowledge of the present juncture increased their courage. They told our commissioners, they would have Bologn by fair means or by foul. And as for the pension, they would, they said, be no longer tributaries. They extolled the power of their King, and spake but meanly of ours, with such bragging and braving terms and countenances, (which especially appeared in Rochepot,) that one would have judged him a man, said the Lord Paget, more fit to make of peace a war, than of war a peace. They would recognize no debts. For, they said, the English had made them spend, and had taken upon the seas, ten times as much as the debt came to. They said, the pension was granted, but the times were turned. That it was granted by the French King that was dead, to a King of England that was dead. And that the King of France could not by his simple grant, without confirmation of Parliament, bind his successors. That King Henry made his bargain at that time, when he had the cages in his hand, namely, the French King and the Emperor at one time, and so might make his bargain himself, as he listed. But his ministers took not heed to knit it surely up by Parliament. They said therefore, they would use time as King Henry did, when his time served. For they said, they knew their state, and that the English were not able to war with them. And in fine, all that they offered was, that the English commissioners should wipe away all pretences that they made to France, and ask a reasonable sum for Boloign, and they would make a reasonable answer. Or, if they would not, in respect of their master's young age, acquit his pretence, they required Boloign, and they would agree with them for a sum; and they might reserve to their master his *droits*, that he pretended to; and to them [the French]

See the Repository.

their defences for the same. But Rochepot said, they would have Boloign, whosoever said nay; and that the English were in poverty and mutiny at home, beset all about with enemies, having no friend to succour them, destitute of money to furnish them, and so far in debt, as hardly they could find any creditors. This language angered the English extremely, but they could not well tell how to help themselves.

A peace concluded.

In short, it was thought the best way to sell Boloign, a very chargeable place, and in danger to be lost, on the best terms they could. In March this produced a peace, and Boloign was sold. For what, and the conditions, let other historians relate.

The Emperor acquainted with it by the Ambassador.

This the Lord Russel, Earl of Bedford, the Lord Paget, and the other commissioners signified to the Ambassador at the Emperor's court, with commission to him to open the same, on the King and Council's behalf, to the Emperor. Upon the receipt whereof he demanded audience, when at 193 his coming to the Emperor's presence, which was March 22, he said, "That whereas the King's Highness, by advice of his "Lords, had lately, for the better quietness of Christendom, "and such other grounds and considerations as had been "heretofore by him, the Ambassador, declared to him and "his ministers, entered to treat of peace with France; and "having now at length, after some time spent in debating "the matter, grown finally to an end, and concluded a peace "with the French King; the King his master had com"manded him to open and declare the same unto him. "The sum whereof, he said, was, that for a certain sum of "money to be paid to the King's Majesty, partly in hand, "and partly at days, Boloign, with the members thereto "adjoining, and the other pieces of the new conquest, were "to be restored to the French King; and certain pieces "which the King had fortified in the midst of Scotland, to "the Scots, who were comprehended with the French King "in this treaty, in such sort as the form of their compre"hension should appear to his Majesty.

"And this, Sir, (as he proceeded,) is the effect of this

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"agreement. Wherein such consideration and respect hath "been had to your Majesty's amity and friendship, as to "the strait league that is between you and the King my "master appertaineth; as by this copy of those parts of "the treaty that concern this matter, may more plainly ap"pear to your Majesty." And here he delivered unto the Emperor a note containing two or three clauses of the treaty sent him by the Earl of Bedford and his colleagues: which the Emperor received, and said, he would cause it to be overlooked. The Ambassador went on, shewing the Emperor, "that the King trusted to find at his hands no less "continuance of friendship, than he and his Council minded "towards him; wherein he should find no lack in them to "the uttermost that by the treaty could be required. Not "doubting but his Majesty, as a prince of such wisdom "and experience, and knowing as he did the state of the "King his master's realm, and what great charges Boloign "did put his Highness and realm unto, did well enough "remember, that after eight years wars with the Scots, and "six years wars with the French King, wanting the assist"ance of either friend, neighbour, or ally, the French and "the Scots being in the mean time joined together, and "having to do no where else with any other; it was more "than necessary for his Highness to grow to agreement "and peace, as he had done. Nevertheless he remained, as "he had done always, his Majesty's assured friend, in any "thing that he could or ought to do him pleasure in: in "hope, assuredly, to receive the semblable correspondence "of friendship at his hands, whom he reputed his best bro"ther and perpetual ally."

The Emperor's answer.

The Emperor perceiving the Ambassador to come to an end of his talk, after a little pause, and having with sundry words of ceremony willed the Ambassador to render his most hearty commendations unto the King's Majesty, with like thanks unto his Majesty, and the Lords for this respect that they shewed him, said, "Mons. l'Ambassador, I am "right glad, and do rejoice even with all my heart to "understand, that the King my good brother is now at the

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" last fallen to agreement and peace with France. And " surely, I have long coveted to see him in these his tender " years at quiet, and at concord with his neighbours. " Which being now come to pass, I mistrust not, but both " he for his own commodity, and we his friends for his " sake, shall have cause to rejoice thereat. For the regard " that my good brother and the Lords of his Council have " had, in this their conclusion with France, towards me, " and the amity and league that is between us, I pray you " render unto them my most hearty thanks; assuring the " King my good brother, that like as I have always hitherto " looked for no less at his hands, so shall he be sure to find " the reciproque thereof at mine, in the sure observation of " the league that is between us to the uttermost jot, or in " any other thing that I may shew him pleasure in, to the " best of my power. And truly, I cannot but confess to " have perceived the earnest affection and good-will, that " the King my good brother and his Council have borne always towards me, in the communicating to me from time " to time the estate of his affairs. Whereby indeed I have " perceived, as ye say, how necessary it hath been for them " to grow to peace; especially in respect of my good brother's younger years. And like as they have not hitherto " wanted (although in respect of their wisdom they have " had little need thereof) such friendly advice and counsel, " when they have required it at my hands, as I could give " them; no more shall my good brother find me unready " to continue and increase the amity and friendship that " hath thus long continued between us and our houses, to " the uttermost that I may. The reciproque whereof I " doubt not to find at his and his minister's hands, whensoever opportunity shall be thereto administered." And to this tenor the Emperor most obligingly concluded.

Guidot rewarded.

Anthony Guidot was well rewarded for his pains. For whatsoever favours he received from France for this service, King Edward soon after the peace gratified him with a thousand crowns, and a thousand crowns pension, and made him a knight, and his son had a pension of two hundred and fifty crowns, as the King makes a memorial of it in his journal. But this was not all; for as I find elsewhere, the King, about a year after, seemed to make him his merchant, and granted him a licence, under the name of Sir Anthony Guidot, his factors and attorneys, to transport and carry over beyond seas woollen cloths and kersies, lead, tin, and all other merchandizes of this realm, being not of the staple of Calais, neither prohibited by the laws of the land: and also to bring in velvet, cloth of gold, and other merchandizes, as sweet wines, and oils, paying for the customs and subsidies as the merchants of England did. The grant also of 250*l.* yearly (answering to the thousand crowns mentioned in the journal) during life, is also here set down; to be received by the King's order of the Duke of Florence, who owed to the King and his successors 500*l.* a year for certain years.

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Warr. Book.

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CHAP. XXIV.

A fire in the palace. Earl of Arundel confined. Books published this year; by Cheke, P. Martyr, Hooper, Ochin, Will. Thomas. The Holy Bible: Beck, Bale, &c. New Book of Ordination. The state of the realm. Sir Stephen, curate of Cree church.

A fire at Court.

NOW from more public affairs of state, let us descend to more private matters. At Christmas a fire happened at the King's palace at Westminster; the effect, as it seems, of the great feasting there. For it fell chiefly in the kitchen and office adjoining, as the scullery. Whereby, beside other damage, much of the King's plate was spoiled and consumed. So that the charge only of recruiting his plate, partly occasioned by this fire, cost a good round sum. As appears in the Warrant Book, where a warrant is mentioned to the exchequer, to pay to certain persons for plate bought of them for the King's use, and for new making and gilding certain vessels burnt there at the feast of Christmas, together with mending of plate, the sum of 1687*l.* 16*s.* 11*q.*

In January was the Earl of Arundel for certain misde-

The Earl of Arundel confined: and others.

meanours sequestered to his house; as likewise, for certain considerations, were Thomas Arundel and Mr. Rogers, of the privy chamber. Rumours likewise blew about, that the Earl of Southampton also was sequestered to his house: which indeed was not so. But he might go at his pleasure whither him listed. This news the Council imparted in their letters to Hoby their ambassador. What those misdemeanours of the Earl of Arundel were, King Edward in his Journal relates, *viz.* plucking down locks and bolts at Westminster, and giving away the King's stuff, &c. Whence arose great suspicion of him. And he was fined 12000*l.* Of which yet he was afterwards pardoned. We shall hear of him again under the next year.

I have little more to add concerning this year; only to mention some books that were now published, and to give some prospect of the state of the nation at this juncture.

Cheke's book against the rebellion.

This year Mr. Cheke, the King's schoolmaster, and one of his bedchamber, (but retired this summer to his old mother Cambridge,) put forth a book against the rebellion, entitled, *The Hurt of Sedition, how grievous it is to a Commonwealth.* On the reverse of the title-page is the picture of Absalom hanging in the tree, thrust through by Joab, with this motto, *The reward of Absalom the rebel.* The running title is, *The true subject to the rebel.* It was printed by John Day dwelling at Aldersgate, and William Seres dwelling in Peter-college, and were to be sold at the new shop in the little conduit in Cheapside. This discourse carried an admirable strain of rhetoric and persuasion, and was close and 196 piercing, like an oration of Demosthenes, with whom Cheke was very conversant, and of whom he was master. It began,

"Among so many and notable benefits, wherewith God "hath already so plentifully endued us, there is nothing "more beneficial, than that we have by his grace kept us "quiet from rebellion at this time. For we see such mise"ries hang over the whole state of the commonwealth "through the great misorder of your sedition, that it maketh "us much to rejoice, that we have been neither partakers "of your doings, nor conspirers of your councils. For even

Anno 1549. "as the Lacedemonians, for the avoiding of drunkenness, "did cause their sons to behold their servants when they "were drunk, that by beholding their beastliness, they "might avoid the like vice; even so hath God like a merciful father stayed us from your wickedness, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we may justly for offence "abhor the like rebels, whom else by nature we love like "Englishmen. And so for ourselves, we have great cause "to thank God, by whose religion and holy word daily "taught us, we learn not only to fear him truly, but also "to obey our King faithfully, and to serve in our own vocation honestly. And as for you, we have surely just cause "to lament you as brethren, and yet juster cause to rise "against you as enemies, and most just cause to overthrow "you as rebels." And a little after, "How do ye take in "hand to reform? Be ye kings? By what authority? or "by what occasion? Be ye the king's officers? By what commission? Be ye called of God? By what token declare "ye that? God's word teacheth us, that no man should take "in hand any office, but he that is called of God, like Aaron. . . . . . Ye rise for religion. What religion taught "that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye ought "to fly. So Christ teacheth you, and yet you intend to "fight. . . . . . Why rise ye for religion? Have ye any thing "contrary to God's book? Yea, have you not all things "agreeable to God's word?" Thus went he on, answering all their objections and demands, with an easy plainness and convincing evidence. This whole treatise is transcribed and preserved in Holingshed's History. Pag. 1042.

P. Martyr's book of the Eucharist.

Now also came forth the readings of Peter Martyr, public Professor of Divinity in Oxford, about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in quarto, entitled, *Tractatio de Sacramento Eucharistiæ; habita publicè Oxonii, per D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium Florentinum, in ea Academia sacræ Theologiæ publicum et Regium Professorem: cum jam absolvisset interpretationem* xi. *capitis prioris Epistolæ ad Corinthios.* This book the learned Professor dedicated to Archbishop Cranmer in a large epistle. The reason whereof he gave was, "Since he could not find a defender both of "evangelical truth, and also of this eucharistical Sacrament, "*sanctior, doctior, et firmior; i. e.* more holy, more learned, "and more steady than he. And that his Grace had so "great knowledge concerning this controversy, as he [P. "Martyr] well knew, that it was hard to find the like in "any one beside. That there was none of the fathers, "whom he had not very diligently made his observations "of; nor any book either of ancient or modern writers, "which I have not myself (as Martyr told him) with these "eyes seen, noted with his own hand, whatever belonged to "that whole disputation." He went on in his character of this great Archbishop and martyr: "That councils, "canons, popes, decrees, which pertained thereunto, he 197 "had digested with so great labour into particular distinct "heads, that, unless he [P. Martyr] had not been an eyewitness himself, he should scarcely ever have believed it "upon the relation of others. Nor had he [the Archbishop] "taken such pains, study, and labour in this subject only, "of the Eucharist, but that he had observed, how he [the "said Archbishop] had done the same almost in all other "doctrines, which were chiefly controverted in that age.... "That he had both publicly and privately conflicted with the "adversaries, and with admirable strength of learning, sharpness of wit, and dexterity of performance, asserted what "he knew to be true, from the thorny and intricate cavils "of sophisters.... That he [P. Martyr] saw it necessary to "fly to the authority of his name, since he had need of some "powerful ὑπερασπιστῆς, [defender,] under whom he might "be protected from those, who had been detracting, tearing, "and traducing his name every where, with most shameless "lies: and such men as he thought could never have been, "had he not found them."

In this work he disposed the order and method of his discourse under these four heads. First, of that conjunction, whereby it is commonly said, the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. Next, to examine another opinion, which makes the bread and wine indeed, as to their entire and true natures, to be retained in the Sacrament; and so to be retained, that they have *adjoinedly*, *naturally*, (as they speak,) *corporally*, *and really*, the true body and blood of Christ. In the third place, should be weighed what others also said, that they are not at all joined together any other way, than *sacramental;* that is, by signification and representation. And then, lastly, it should be shewn, how the second and third opinions, and what belongeth to them, do more tend to piety in this sacramental affair.

This book was printed again at Zuric, in the year 1552, by Johannes Wolphius, a learned minister there; and dedicated by him to one John Butler, a gentleman of a considerable family in England, and a great friend and benefactor to the said Wolphius: with whom he became acquainted, assisting him in his studies; now settled at Zuric, after his travels into Germany, France, and Italy. At the beginning of this second edition of this book of Peter Martyr's are added, (for the fuller understanding the different opinions of the Sacrament,) I. *Papæ de Eucharistiâ quæ sit sententia.* II. *Martini Lutheri de Eucharistiæ sacramento, quæ sententia.* III. *Hulderichi Zuinglii sententia de Christi in sacra cœna præsentia.*

Hoper's oration against purgatory.

John Hoper did this year publish a funeral oration, made Jan. 14, against purgatory; upon that text, *I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, streightway, so saith the Sprete*, &c. Beginning with this preface, "The death of a man's frend is "paynful for two consyderations. The one, because he that "lyveth is forsaken and destytute of the famylyarity and "frendship of him that is dead. The other, that the lyving "doubteth where the soul of his friend departed is become: whether it be in heaven or in hell. Both these "ills may be redressed with one good, that is, to wit, if he "that lyveth be assured by the word of God, that his frend
198 "departed is by mortal death entred in Christ into eternal "lyfe. But now in this standeth all the doubt, how the "living may know in what state the souls departed stand.

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"This doubt cannot the Gentile dissolve, the wisemen of the "world, nor the common sort of soche as beareth the name "of Christianity. Namely, for this, that they ymagin their "frends souls to be broiled and rosted in the fyre of purgatory. Wherfore even as they fear they wotte not what, "so seek they their remedy they know not how. Wyth "masse, *dirige*, and such other. These pains by the lyving "presupposed of the dead. Who can justly reprehend the "mysbelyving lyving for the state of the dead, that more "than nede is, payneth themselves, and more than profyt "is, redemeth the prayers of other?

"But what may the trueth conclude? Is there any certaynty that puttyth all out of dowte, our frends souls to "depart from the earth straight unto eternal lyfe? Truly, "after the judgment of the flesh, there is no knowledge. For the flesh in thys case either wyl playnly dispayre for the horrour and gretness of synne, or else dowte "of the means, how it may be remedyed. Only therfore "the certaynty is known by the Scripture of God. Gyve "therefore hede what in thy case the word of God certifieth "us of the dead. *I heard a voice from heaven, saying* "*unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord,* "*straightway*," &c. This sermon was printed by Edward Whitchurch at the sign of the Sun in Fleet-street.

Ochin's Dialogues against the Pope's Primacy.

Now came forth a book in quarto, writ against the Pope by Barnardin Ochin, a learned Italian, and companion of Peter Martyr into this land: both which were received with much respect by Archbishop Cranmer into his family. This book was writ in Latin by the author, but said to be translated into English by Mr. John Ponet, D. D. and never printed before in any language, and was dedicated by the said Ochin to King Edward VI. beginning thus, "Although "God of his mere goodness hath given to your Majesty "rich treasures, most large kingdoms, special grace and love "of all people, most high nobility of blood, most singular "ornaments both of the body and of the mind; partly "coming only of God, and partly through his favour obtained also by your industry: besides other innumerable

Anno 1549. "graces, which it hath pleased God to endue your Highness "withal: yet notwithstanding, all these things ought not "or cannot be compared to that benefit which he hath "shewed unto you, in giving you in such a dark world and "so tender age, such clear light of Christ," &c. It was called *A Tragedy, or Dialogue of the unjust usurped Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and of all the just abolishing of the same.* This book consisted of nine dialogues. And the parties that spake in each of them were, in the first, Lucifer and Beelzebub. In the second, Boniface III. and Dr. Sapience, secretary to the Emperor. In the third, the people of Rome and the Church of Rome. In the fourth, the Pope and man's judgment, and the people of Rome. In the fifth, Thomas Massuccius, the master of his horse, and Lepidus the Pope's chamberlain. In the sixth, Lucifer and Beelzebub. In the seventh, Christ, and Michael and Gabriel, archangels. In the eighth, King Henry VIII. and Papista, and Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. And in the ninth, King Edward VI. and the Lord Protector. This book was printed at London for Gualter Lynne, dwelling on Summer-key by Billinsgate.

199 A book of prophecies of the Pope. To which is subjoined another book, and of the same subject, and printed by the same stationer, which therefore I conclude came out also this year, entitled, *The Beginning and End of all Popery and Popish Kingdoms.* The epistle is writ by Gualter Lynne, the printer to King Edward VI. "It is said to be taken out of all prophecies for more than "three hundred years ago, ... to the amendment of "this present world. Set forth out of high Almayn, by "Gualter Lynne." It hath a great many figures and pictures of the Pope and the beasts, and sometimes of Beelzebub, resembling the visions in the Revelation. Of which thus in the epistle. "Because it is so secret a mystery, that cannot "well be opened without plain demonstration, the author "of this book hath most plainly set forth by figures, the "state that this Antichrist is in, hath been in, or shall be in, "even to the day of his utter destruction." He added also, "that these figures were not of the author's own invention,

"but they were found in ancient libraries above three hundred years since: and that there was at that present day "remaining in the abbey of St. Laurence in Luyke, a table "of great antiquity, containing pourtraicture of like matter. "Whereby, he said, it was manifest, that the fathers of antient time saw in the papacy the things that they durst not "utter, either by word or writing; but trusting that the "time would come, when men might be bold to speak it, they "did in the mean time keep it in painting and portraiture."

Thomas's book of Italy.

About September, came forth an ingenious book, made by William Thomas, clerk of the Council. It was an history of Italy, in English; treating of the estate of many and divers commonwealths, how they had been, and at that present were governed. Here he gave, first, a description of Italy: then, of the estate of it in general: then, an abridgment of the state thereof from the beginning, until the Roman empire was utterly divided: next, the description of Rome, and the marvellous antiquities there: then, of the present estate of Rome: an abridgment of the lives of the Roman Bishops: the Venetian estate, and the order of their commonwealth: the description of Naples, and the history thereof: the description of Florence, and its estate: the description of Genoa, and the estate thereof: the description of Milain, and its estate: also, the estates of Mantua, Ferrara, Placentia, Parma, and Urbin. In writing this, the author was much assisted from his own experience and long travels in those parts. He dedicated his book to the Earl of Warwick, Viscount Lisle, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain, and High Admiral of England. In his epistle he shewed the profit he designed by his book, *viz.* "that setting forth in our mother tongue "the doings of strangers, and especially the Italian nation, "which seemed to flourish in civility, most of all other at "this day, his own countrymen might see upon what little "beginnings many great estates have risen; and how they "that have had the power to rule, by using their authorities "well and prudently, have merited immortal fame of honour "and praise; and using tyranny and evil government, have "contrariwise borne eternal slander and shame. Likewise to "shew, how mutable fortune is, and how that which hath "been gotten with extreme pains, unmeasurable expences, "and unreasonable effusion of blood, hath been lost in a 200 "moment. And that commonly he that hath conquered "most in war, at the best is yet a loser. And finally, how "by division either among the nobility or the commons, "there ensueth utter destruction of realms, and subversion "of commonwealths. Whereunto there is none so great "a minister as the alteration of ancient laws and customs.

"These and infinite more such like things, being set "forth to the eyes of princes, their hearts would be more "inclined with peace and justice to enrich their subjects, "and thereby procure themselves glory, than by murdering of innocents, ravishing of honest wives and maidens, "burning, spoiling, and destruction of countries, (which are "the effects of war,) to make themselves conquerors of that "they cannot long enjoy. For surely, said he, more praise "shall the prince deserve that leaveth his realm quiet and "wealthy unto his successors, than he that, for the conquest "of other countries, impoverisheth and disturbeth his own. "He wished all noblemen therefore to read his book, to the "end they might thereof take occasion so honourably to "spend their life-time, that after their death they might "shine in fame for ever. The reason he assigned of the dedication of this his travail to this great lord was, for his "excellent feats of chivalry, both by sea and land; and "being such an one as he was, able to judge whether his "[the author's] opinion were good or not. As his wonderful knowledge in civil orders made him worthy to be no "less esteemed excellent in council, as he had been tried "a most excellent captain in the wars." This dedication was Sept. 20.

The Bible printed this year.

Now also came forth the holy Bible of Tindal's translation, revised by Coverdale. It bore this title, *The Bible, that is to say, all the holy Scripture, in which are contained the Old and New Testament, truly and purely translated into English: and now lately with great industry and di-*

ligence recognized. Es. i. *Hearken O heavens, and thou earth give ear: for the Lord speaketh. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling at Aldersgate, and William Seres, dwelling in Peter college. Cum gratia et privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 17th day of Aug.* MDXLIX. These things ensuing are joined with the present volume of the Bible. I. A calendar with an almanac. II. A description and succession of the Kings of Judah and Jerusalem; declaring when, and under what kings, every prophet lived, and what notable things happened in their times. III. An exhortation to the study of the holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament. IV. A table to find many of the chief and principal matters contained in the Bible. A supputation of the years from Adam to Christ, collected by Edm. Beck. VI. A prologue, shewing the use of the Scripture. VII. The names of all the books of the Bible, and the contents of the chapters of every book. VIII. A register, or brief rehearsal of the names of the most famous and notable persons mentioned in the Bible. There be also prologues to the five books of Moses, and before the prophet Jonas, and to every of the four Evangelists, and before every epistle of the New Testament, and after every chapter of the book, are added many plain annotations and expositions of such places as unto the simple and unlearned seem hard to understand: which were done by Coverdale.

The same Edmund Beck, who was ordained Deacon by 201 Bishop Ridley, anno 1551, either this year, or not far from it, published two dialogues, written in Latin by the famous clerk, D. Erasmus of Rotterdam. One called *Polyphemus*, or the Gospeller; the other, *Disposing of Things and Names*, translated into English. Printed at Canterbury, in St. Paul's Churchyard, by John Michel.

Bale publishes Leland's New-year's gift. Dedicates it to King Edward.

Mr. Bale also, this year, 1549, set forth the *New-year's Gift* of John Leland to King Henry VIII. Being some account of his journey in the search of England's antiquities; setting a dedication before it to King Edward VI.

Anno 1549. And his own declaration upon it, paragraph by paragraph. In his epistle to the young King, he excited him "to the "love of English history; hinting to him the profit that "arose by reading of ancient stories, (after the necessary "search of the Bible,) which that treatise of Leland, he "said, would plenteously declare. They would teach him "what is in each commonwealth to be followed, and what "to be eschewed; what caused a realm to flourish, and "what diminished the state thereof. He took this occasion "to reprehend Papists, who dissuaded Christian princes "from the study of the Scriptures and chronicles. Both "which sorts of knowledge he exhorted the Prince to; but "especially to know the laws of God. He shewed him "from Solomon, that the honour of a king stood not in "strength and riches, but in the search of wholesome doc-"trine, to divide the dross from the silver, and to follow "God's holy commandments." Then he armed the King against some sayings, that were then bruited abroad, as maxims for princes: as, "that the doctrine of Christ was "the cause of the decay of the commonwealth. Which he "shewed was a saying eleven hundred and thirty years "ago, when Paulus Orosius was a writer; against which "saying the author wrote seven notable books, as a confu-"tation of that pernicious error. Yet, said Bale, is that "unhappy and devilish opinion now raised up again from "hell, and brought here into England by a great number "of Papists. Another ordinary saying among them was, "that if any plague or punishment for sin happened upon "the nation, then was the Gospel wrongfully abused and "noted, and to be the chief cause and stirrer up thereof, "when indeed it was rather their own fornication, bribery, "and a thousand evils more. He observed also to the "King, how they would usually say, *It was never good* "*world since this new learning came in, neither are we* "*like to have it till it be banished again.* The true reason "of which speech, he said, Christ shewed, namely, *Every* "*one that worketh wickedness doth abhor the light, because*

" *they will not their mischiefs thereby to be known.* For " that light manifesteth to the world their foul and naughty " doings."

He added, " that these and other detestable abuses, " whose reformation chiefly belonged to a king, might, as " in a clear mirror, be seen in Scripture and chronicles. " In them it might be seen, whereof they arose, and how " they might well by good order be abolished. And there- " fore he reckoned, as he said, the continual search of them " to a Christian governor most necessary."

He proceeded to praise the King, " that in his princely " beginning he appeared unto his people a very Josias, " both in his tender youth and virtuous education; and " how their special hope was, that in his daily proceedings 202 " he would still persevere in the same; and that the likeli- " hoods were very apparent. For by his commandment " had been taken away the abominations of the ungodly; " which was a plain token, he said, that the King had di- " rected his noble heart to the living Lord, intending to " set up his true worship; that being delivered out of the " cruel hands of their enemies, they might serve him from " henceforth without fear all the days of their life. That " these godly principles refreshed his Christian subjects, " and so greatly delighted their obedient hearts, that the " only remembrance of his Majesty's name was to them " more pleasant, sweet, and delicious, than any other worldly " pleasures, like as was the name of the first Josias to the " people of that age." Thus, by frequent inculcation of good counsel, encouragement, and commendation, good men, in books dedicated to him, spurred him on in the courses of good literature and pure religion.

Ecclus. xlix.

Hoper's declaration of the Ten Commandments.

In November 1549, John Hoper set forth an exposition of the Decalogue, (though printed, as it seems, beyond sea the year before,) entitled, *A Declaration of the Ten holy Commandments of Almighty God, wroten Exod.* xx. *Deut.* v. *Collected out of the Scripture Canonical.* In octavo. Before it was a preface to the reader, made by the author; wherein he treated concerning the *covenant* (which he called the

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alliance and *confederacy*) between God and man, in Adam and in Christ. Whence I shall excerp some passages, shewing that reverend man's way of explaining certain abstruse and controverted points in divinity, somewhat different from other Divines. He writ, "that as God accounted in Adam's sin, all mankind, being in his loins, "worthy death, so he counted in Christ all to be saved "from death; as Adam declared by the name of his wife, "called *Heva*, the *mother of the living*, and not of the "dead......And as far extendeth the virtue and strength "of God's promise to save men, as the rigour and justice "of the law for sin to damn men......And that the promise of grace appertaineth to every sort of men in the "world, and comprehendeth them all; howbeit, within "certain limits and bounds; the which if men neglect or "pass over, they exclude themselves from the promise in "Christ. As Cain was no more excluded, till he excluded "himself, than Abel, Saul than David, Judas than Peter, "Esau than Jacob; though by Mal. ii. and Rom. ix. it seemeth, that the sentence of God was given to save the one, "and to damn the other, before the one loved God, or the "other hated God. Howbeit these threatenings of God "against Esau, if he had not of his wilful malice excluded "himself from the promise of grace, should no more have "hindered his salvation, than God's threatenings against "Nineveh, Jon. i. Which, notwithstanding that God had "said should be destroyed within forty days, stood a great "time after, and did penance. Esau was circumcised, and "presented unto the Church of God by his father Isaac, in "all external ceremonies, as well as Jacob. And that his "life and conversation was not as agreeable unto justice "and equity as Jacob's, the sentence of God unto Rebecca, "Gen. xxv. was not in the fault, but his own malice. For "there is mentioned nothing at all in that place, Gen. xxv. "that Esau was disherited of eternal life; but that he "should be inferior unto his brother Jacob in this world. "Which prophecy was fulfilled in their posterities, and not "in the persons themselves," &c.

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And again, "St. Paul, Rom. ix. useth this example of "Jacob and Esau for none other purpose, but to take away "from the Jews the thing that they most put their trust "in, *viz.* the vain hope they had in the carnal lineage and "natural descent from the family and household of Abra-"ham; and likewise their false confidence that they had in "the keeping of the law of Moses. Paul's whole purpose "is in that epistle, to bring man unto the knowledge of "his sin, and to shew him how it may be remitted; and "with many testimonies and examples of Scripture, he "proveth man to be saved only by mercy, for the merits of "Christ; which is apprehended and received by faith." And a little after, "It is our office therefore to see we exclude "not ourselves from the general grace promised to all men. "It is not a Christian's part to attribute his salvation to his "own freewill with the Pelagian; and extenuate original "sin, nor to make God the author of evil, or our damna-"tion, with the Manichee: nor yet to say, God hath wrote "fatal laws, as the Stoics; and with necessity of destiny "violently pulleth one by the hair into heaven, and thrust-"eth the other headlong into hell. But ascertain thyself "by Scripture, what be the causes of reprobation, and "what of election. The cause of rejection or damnation is "sin in man, which will not hear nor receive the promise "of the Gospel; or else, after he hath received it, by ac-"customed doing of evil, he falleth either in a contempt of "the Gospel, will not study to live thereafter; or else "hateth the Gospel, because it condemneth his ungodly "life, and would there were neither God nor Gospel to pu-"nish him for doing of evil.

"This sentence is true, howsoever men judge of *pre-"destination*; God is not the cause of sin, nor would not "have men sin, &c. The cause of our election is the "mercy of God in Christ. Howbeit, he that will be par-"taker of this *election* must receive the promise in Christ "by faith. For therefore we be elected, because afterward "we are made the members of Christ, &c. So we judge of "election by the event or success that happeneth in the life "of man." This was the sum of the preface.

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His method propounded in the declaration of the Commandments, was, I. To shew what this word, *law*, or *commandment*, meaneth. II. How the law should be used. III. To prepare the reader's mind, that he may always read and hear these commandments with fruit and commodity. IV. To interpret every commandment severally, that the reader may perceive what God the giver of the law requireth of every man that professeth his name. V. To answer certain objections that keep men from the obedience of God's law.

Omphalius de Usurpatione Legum.

Jacobus Omphalius dedicated a book to King Edward, printed at Basil, 1550, but the dedication bears date, *cal. Jul.* 1549, *Coloniæ Agrippinæ.* The title of the book was, *De Usurpatione Legum, et eorum Studiis, qui Jurisprudentiæ Professionem sibi sumunt.* This Omphalius was a learned civilian and dependent upon Herman, the late pious Archbishop and Elector of Colen; and who was sent his agent into England.

The new book of ordination.

Let me add, lastly, to the rest, that now first came forth the reformed order for ordination, entitled, *The Form and Manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* Where I observe this difference in the ordination of Bishops. That the Archbishop laid the Bible upon the neck of the ordained Bishop, using these
204 words, *Give heed to reading*, &c. Whereas now the book is only delivered to him with those words. And then the Archbishop put the pastoral staff into his hand, saying, *Be thou to the flock of Christ a shepherd*, &c. Which are words still in use, but the ceremony of the staff laid aside.

The ill state of the realm.

And now to turn back our eyes, and take a prospect of this year, we may perceive the condition of this land to have now been very ill, by reason of the rebellions, the imprisonment of the good Duke, and the courtiers, that sought themselves more than they took care of the public: beset with enemies abroad, and the King young; idleness and grudging among the people, who talked high, and were disposed to imagine and invent novelties, and devised mending this and that: base money was fain to go current; for the nation wanted money extremely, and provisions very dear at home, occasioned by the wars abroad in France, for the keeping of Bulloign. Of which place the Lord Clynton was deputy; as the Lord John Grey was of Newhaven, and the Lord Cobham of Calais.

The French boast.

The French knew well enough the present condition of England, and boasted excessively to the Lord Paget, and the other English commissioners, as was shewn before.

Priests comply outwardly only.

And to the rest of the calamities of the nation at this time we add the popish clergy; who were great underminers of the Gospel. For they outwardly conformed themselves unto the King's proceedings, unto the English communion book, and the King's injunctions; but inwardly preserved their good-will to their superstitions. There was one of the Bishops that said, "Laws must be obeyed, and "civil ordinances I will follow; but my heart in religion is "free to think as I will." And the state thought convenient now to wink at them and their doings, and to continue them still in their places, lest they should remain void for want of better to supply their rooms. But many that favoured the Gospel were for putting them out, as many as the visitors should find negligent and faulty in their duties, and to ordain sober laymen to succeed into their livings. "Out with them," said Latimer to the King, "I re"quire it in God's behalf. Make them *quondams*, all the "pack of them." He then told the King, that his Majesty had divers of his Chaplains well learned men, and of good knowledge to put in their rooms. And in case they were not enough to fill all the vacancies, and that neither his Chaplains nor the Protector's sufficed, to furnish their places, he advised, that since there were a great sight of laymen well learned in the Scripture, and of a virtuous and godly conversation, better learned than a great many of the Clergy, them he would have to be placed in the Church.

Latimer's second sermon before the King.

Laymen to be ordained Ministers.

And he said he knew a great number, that were and would be glad, he dared to say, to minister the function, if called. He told the King, he moved it to him in conscience. Let them, said he, be called to it orderly. Let them have institution; and give them the name of the clergy.—But this belongs rather to the year before.

An ignorant preacher at Paul's Cross, called Sir Stephen. Stow's Survey.

And on the other hand, there were some great pretenders to the Gospel, whose mixture of zeal and ignorance did true religion no service at all: which two things would betray themselves in their public sermons, even at Paul's Cross. For whatever care was taken that that place should be supplied with able men, yet the realm was not yet so well furnished with good preachers, but that sometimes weak 205 men got turns there. There was one more bold and hot than wise and learned, named Sir Stephen, curate at Cree church, London, came up at the Cross this year; who in his sermon fell foul upon the name of that parish church dedicated to St. Andrew, because it was surnamed Undershaft: so called, by reason of a vast long *shaft*, or pole, that formerly used to be erected on May-days in the street before the south door of that church, which reached higher than the steeple. And so St. Andrew was *under the shaft.* But the preacher, perhaps ignorant of this cause of St. Andrew's being thus called, cried out, that this *shaft* was made an idol of, as though it were preferred before St. Andrew himself. Hence he proceeded to advise, that the names of churches should be altered. And further, that the names of the days of the week might be changed. And that there might be a thorough reformation indeed, he was for having the fish-days kept any days but Fridays and Saturdays; and the Lent any time in the year, save only between Shrovetide and Easter. To give some further account of this reformer; he would often forsake his pulpit, and go into the churchyard, and preach out of an high elm that grew there. And then entering the church to perform the rest of the service, as was appointed in the English communion book, he would not go to the altar, where it was ever said, but would go and sing it upon a certain tomb of the dead that stood toward the north. And so we are told by one that lived at that time, and near the place.

CHAP. XXV.

The good service of learned foreigners in the business of religion. Disputations in the Universities about religion.

Divers learned foreigners in England.

BUT it forwarded religion not a little, the help that divers very learned and godly foreigners, now in the realm, brought by their readings and studies. For many leading professors and defenders of true religion were cherished here, chiefly by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as he encouraged them to come over, so was their great patron and harbourer. The chief of these were Peter Martyr, Peter Alexander, Bernardin Ochin, Immanuel Tremellius, Italians; Bucer and Fagius, Germans. All whom he made serviceable, by the direction of their learnings, some way or other, to the furtherance of religion.

Peter Alexander.

And first, as for Alexander he was much about the Archbishop; and his clear head, and great industry withal, made him dear unto him. He was entertained in his family from the year 1547, and so forward for some years, until he became a Prebendary of Canterbury, and had also the living of Alhallows, Lumbard-street, conferred upon him by the said Archbishop. By whose advice and exhortation he diligently read over the most ancient Fathers, and faithfully collected thence plenty of proper sentences, expressive of their sense concerning the various doctrines of religion; and parti- 206
cularly such as wherein consisted the modern controversies. One folio volume of these collections, taken out of Dionysius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, he presented this year to the Archbishop: which he took in very good part at his hands, approving and commending his diligence therein, as tending to the profit of the Church, and the benefit of the studious: which encouraged the said Peter to

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go on in the same method with the ecclesiastical writers, next in order of time to them. So that by April 1550, he presented the Archbishop with another great folio of notes, extracted out of the works of Origen, Athanasius, and Epiphanius; before which he set an epistle dedicatory to the same, dated from Lambeth, which hath this conclusion: *Accipe igitur, reverendissime Præsul, nostri Origenis Adamantii, Athanasii, et Epiphanii sinceræ theologiæ compendium; et hunc nostrum quencunque laborem æqui bonique consule, nostrumque conatum grato animo persequere. Lambethi*, 28. *Aprilis*, 1550.

E MSS. Rev. Patr. D. Joh. Ep. Elien.

T. G. deditissimus Petrus Alexander.

Which volume is among the rare collection of MSS. belonging to the right reverend Dr. More, late Bishop of Ely.

Becomes Minister of the French church at Strasburgh.

If any would know what became of this man afterwards: being married, in the beginning of Queen Mary's hard times he was unwillingly divorced from his wife by certain of that Queen's commissioners, and soon after fled over to Strasburgh. Of whom Peter Martyr, in a letter to Utenhovius, dated from Strasburgh, June the 7th, 1556, writ, that he succeeded Garnerius in the French Church there, and boldly taught the pure doctrine of the sacrament, which Martyr and others of his mind professed.

We have seen how the Archbishop employed and rewarded him. All the rest had their employments in order to the promoting of truth and learning, some in the Church, others in the Universities. Ochin wrote and published some books. The two learned Germans were this year at Cambridge, Bucer the King's Reader of Divinity, and Fagius. But Fagius died there but a few weeks after his coming; who being appointed the King's Reader of Hebrew, by his deep skill and ability therein, might have vastly improved the students of divinity there in the knowledge of the sacred writings of the Old Testament; which are so necessary for the understanding of the New: a sort of learning then hardly known in England.

Fagius dies at Cambridge.

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Tremellius succeeds him.

But upon his death, Tremellius succeeded him in the same place. He fled from Italy when Peter Martyr his countryman did, and was one of those the Archbishop gave lodging and board unto. His father being a Jew, he was brought up in Jewish learning, and had attained to great perfection in it. Tremellius now solicited at the Court; (I suppose, for his patent or salary;) Cecyl saw him, and took particular friendly notice of him, and undertook the care of his business. He was at this time mightily intent upon his study, employed therein from morning till night, to prepare for his readings. And therefore, lest his affairs might not be despatched by his not attending them himself, he wrote a letter to Cecyl to remember them, in these words:

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Tremellius to the Secretary. MSS. penes me.

Etsi non dubitem, clarissime Domine, ac patrone humanissime, te semper gravissimis negotiis occupari ac pœne obrui, confisus nihilominus charitati tuæ, qua totum te perpetuò fidelibus Christi impendis, ac singulari tuæ erga me benevolentiæ, quam nuper mihi in aula demonstrasti, hoc mihi nunc sumpsi, ut te rogarem, ne mei ob alia negotia curam remittas. Quin potius, quo me major premit necessitas, quoque minus valeo peregrinus, a mane ad vesperem, museo inclusus, mea in aula curare, eo te magis teneat memoria mei. Dominus, qui omnia videt, tibi cumulatissimè rependet. Quem oro, ut diutissime tuam humanitatem cum tota familia felicissime conservet.

Tuæ humanitati addictissimus famulus,

Immanuel Tremellius.

Clarissimo Domino Dno. Sicilo, serenissimi Regis Angliæ Secretario, et patrono meo humanissimo. In aula.

Cavelarius reads Hebrew in Cambridge.

Rafe Cavelarius, or Cavalier, another stranger, native of France, (to lay these matters together,) in the year 1552, (if not before,) did not so much succeed, as assist Tremellius in reading Hebrew in that University. For which he was gratified by the state, in a grant to be free denizen, and in the same patent to enjoy the advowson of a prebend

Warr. Book.

in Canterbury, in consideration of reading the Hebrew lecture freely in Cambridge. This was dated in August 1552.

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A prebend to Tremellius.

Warr. Book.

In October the same year, I find a grant to the said Tremellius, under the name of John Emanuel Tremelio, Professor of the Hebrew tongue, of the prebend of Carlisle, which William Perry deceased, late had. And the same month another grant of a free denizenship for Emanuel Italo [as Tremellius is there styled] and Elizabeth his wife.

Peter Martyr at Oxon.

The Italian stranger, Peter Martyr, was designed to read divinity in Oxford; whither he repaired from the Archbishop's, fortified by the King's authority: but after a little time very rudely treated and opposed there by a Popish party.

Martyr's sermon of fasting.

Vit. Juell.

Yet notwithstanding these oppositions and discouragements of Peter Martyr, the King's learned Professor here at Oxford, he steadily went on in the business committed to his trust. And besides his public lectures, he sometimes preached at St. Mary's, and had his private lectures, and his private sermons in Italian at his house: whereunto resorted many auditors, and Harding one of the chief, however he revolted in Queen Mary's days. On one Ash-Wednesday he preached a public and seasonable sermon concerning *fasting*. Wherein he first defined a fast: then divided it into his parts; distinguished all the kinds of fasting; shewed the necessity of it; unfolded the causes; taught the effects and benefits of it: and then excited the auditors most earnestly "to the keeping a true Christan fast; and accused "and blamed in many respects the *pharisaical* and *papistical* fasting; whereby God was but superstitiously worshipped, a snare cast upon the consciences of the weak, "and death, damnation, and the torments of hell denounced, "if any did not observe their frigid and pitiful constitutions; and if without their leave and licence any ate flesh "and milk-meats, God's clean creatures, however moderately they did it, and soberly, with thanksgiving, and sanctification of God's word, according to the Apostles rule. "Then he prayed and beseeched them to stand fast in the 208 "liberty to which Christ had called them, and that none "should judge others in meats and drinks; that being redeemed from the weak and beggarly elements of the world, they became not the servants of men. And then "in a sad voice he cried out, *Parcite sanguini Christi*, "*parcite animabus vestris*, *i. e.* O spare the blood of Christ! "spare your own souls!" And so came off with great applause and admiration of many, and among the rest of Dr. Henry Cole of New college, that was almost in an ecstasy at the hearing: yet one of the starters aside afterwards.

Parkhurst, a friend of Martyr.

Parkhurst, a Fellow of Merton, and an earnest professor of the Gospel, (afterwards Bishop of Norwich,) was one of Martyr's great friends and acquaintance, and whom Parkhurst loved as his father. He, being removed from the University to the rich rectory of Cleve in Glocestershire, often invited him to come to his house to refresh himself: but Martyr could never find time to do it. There was a certain liquor made of rough pears, called *perry*, used much in the counties of Glocester and Worcester, which the reverend man loved to drink when he was hot or feverish. This his friend Parkhurst used to supply him with.

Martyr and Bucer how they differed in the sacrament.

Upon a challenge rudely given this Professor, he entered the public lists in St. Mary's: the account whereof let other histories relate. But Martyr, June 15, wrote to Bucer concerning this his public disputation. Bucer five days after wrote again to him a letter in answer, dated from Canterbury, where he was with the Archbishop, I suppose. By which letter may be judged, that there was some difference between Martyr's and Bucer's opinion in the matter of the Eucharist; and what that difference was. For Martyr gave his questions thus:

I. *In sacramento Eucharistiæ non est panis et vini transubstantiatio in corpus et sanguinem Christi.*

II. *Corpus et sanguis Christi non est carnaliter aut corporaliter in pane et vino; nec, ut alii dicunt, sub speciebus panis et vini.*

III. *Corpus et sanguis Christi uniuntur pani et vino sacramentaliter.*

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Now Bucer in his letter signified, that he could have been glad Martyr had proposed his second question thus:

Corpus Christi non continetur localiter in pane et vino, nec iis rebus affixum aut adjunctum est ulla mundi ratione.

And to the third, Bucer wished had been added,

Ita ut credentibus Christus hic vere exhibeatur; fide tamen, nullo vel sensu, vel ratione hujus seculi, intuendus.

A disputation in Christ's Church, Oxon.

Ex libr. De Cœlib. per Ric. Smith. Lut. Paris. 1550. p. 45.

And as thus in the public schools, so privately in the colleges, disputations were held. This same year 1549, at Christ's Church, happened a solemn disputation concerning *purgatory*, and praying for the dead. Then Chrysostom was produced, and some other Fathers and learned writers, to assert, that this doctrine was upheld by the authority of the Apostles; and that it ought therefore to be sacred to pious men, and piously believed and observed by all Christians. But Dr. Cox, Dean of that college and church, replied, *Haud temerè subscribendum est iis*, &c. *i. e.* "That we "were not too hastily to subscribe to such things which "even the learnedest and most ancient authors deliver to "us, to have proceeded from the Apostles: nor therefore to "believe purgatory, because the Apostles taught, that we "should pray for the souls of the dead. And he proved it "thus: The Apostles, said he, delivered, that the souls of "the dead might be helped by our prayers, and were to be 209 "helped. Therefore there is a purgatory, or we must believe, that the prayers of the living are profitable unto "the dead. The conclusion is weak, since the Apostles, "added Cox, enjoined the Gentiles to abstain from blood, "and strangled, as their Acts do shew. And yet that de"cree of theirs doth not bind us, who are Gentiles, to ab"stain from these." This is produced as Cox's argument, as it is crudely, and, I suppose, disadvantageously and falsely set down by Dr. Richard Smith, the fickle Papist. Whereat he cries out, "O that man's blind mind, who yet would be "accounted an assertor of true doctrine, and a vindicator "of godliness! But how unworthy is he to be the chief of "that University!" For he was the Chancellor there.

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Bucer disputes publicly at Cambridge.

Bucer also this year took his share of responding in a public disputation in Cambridge, in behalf of the truth, as Peter Martyr had done at Oxford. His questions were, concerning *the sufficiency of the holy Scriptures*, *of the fallibility of churches*, and *of justification by faith*. But Yong, one of Bucer's opponents, drew out the matter to a greater length; and a particular dispute was instituted between them afterwards, by a kind of challenge on Yong's side, as Smith of Oxford had done with Peter Martyr.

The controversy between Bucer and Yong.

Buceri Scrip. Anglic.

The controversy between Bucer and Yong was thus. One of Bucer's questions was, that *the good works which any seem to do before justification have the nature of sin.* Hereat Yong took great offence, and complained to the senate of the University against him, saying, that Bucer was in a grievous error. But in Bucer's presence Yong spake not so much, but more mildly after this sort, that he for his part agreed not with Bucer, because the Scripture and Fathers spake otherwise. But Bucer on the other hand said, that he confessed and believed what the King's Homilies taught of good works. The issue was, that Yong entered the lists of disputation with the reverend man against his tenent. When the disputation was over, Yong and his party laboured to make as bad representations of Bucer as they could, to run the stranger down. Both of them penned their disputations. But Yong's paper, as Bucer affirmed, contained many falsities; and when Bucer desired to have it, it was denied him. Whereas he offered his to all men to read and examine. The truth is, he was in some concern and fear, that misreports might be carried to the Court and elsewhere to his disadvantage. Therefore he sent a copy of his disputation to Cheke to communicate to Ridley, now Bishop of London: and in August 1550, wrote to Mr. Grindal, President of Pembroke hall, and Chaplain to the Bishop of London, "desiring him to acquaint the Bishop diligently with the truth of the case, "as he had wrote it, in the controversy between him and "Yong; and having read himself what he [Bucer] had "writ, to convey it safely to his Lordship. He appealed

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" to several his gravest auditors, and namely, Dr. Parker, " Dr. Sands, (who afterwards were both of them Bishops,) " men that would deal faithfully, [in their reports of his " disputation,] in like manner Dr. Busbe, the Vice-Chan" cellor. He applied himself to him, [Grindal,] who was, " he said, a chief member of Christ, and his colleague in " the most sacred office of ministering the word of God; " entreating him to write to the Bishop of London in his " matter, being visitor of the University, a doctor, a divine, " and one of their college; and to obtain of him his advice, 210 " what he [Bucer] should do: telling Grindal, that he fear" ed he might be misrepresented by the Papists. For, he " said, they did with marvellous art strive to derogate from " his ministry, wheresoever they could do it. And do it " they could, said he, with not a few, both gentlemen and " others." Yong and his party could not but acknowledge, that they were pressed hard with the King's Homilies; and so in effect, they confessed, they made for Bucer against them. And yet these very Homilies they had subscribed to. Whereat the pious man cried out, *O hominum religionem! O incogitantes divini judicii animos!* O the religion of these men! O minds little mindful of God's judgment! that will severely light upon such as lie and dissemble with him.

Disputation at Cambridge before the visitors.

Besides these disputations of Bucer, the King's commissioners, being at this University in a visitation, had the matter of *transubstantiation* largely discussed there before them by divers learned men on both sides. And after all, it was learnedly determined by Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, one of the visitors. Alban Langdale was one of the disputants in favour of the Popish opinion; who, for his zeal, became Archdeacon of Chichester under Queen Mary. This man composed a pretended confutation of Bishop Ridley's determination; and printed it at Paris. The *privilegium regium* to authorize the printing of it, was dated the vii. of the ides (that is, the seventh day) of February, 1553. But it was not printed till three years after, when Langdale was secure that Ridley could make no reply. His method was,

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that first Ridley's determination was set down, and then Langdale's confutation followed. The epistle dedicatory was to Sir Anthony Brown, wherein he pretended to give a particular account of the managing of this dispute. But Pilkington, then of St. John's, who was another of these disputants, (afterwards Bishop of Durham,) in a printed book of his, shewed how Ridley's determination at that time gave great satisfaction to the students. Where, giving account of this matter, he writes, "that Dr. Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, came in visitation to Cambridge, and because the "doctrine of the sacrament seemed then strange to many, "he propounded this proposition at that time to the whole "University to dispute upon, *that it could not be proved by* "*any ancient writer Greek or Latin*, which lived a thousand "years since, or within five hundred years after, Christ, that "the substance of the bread was changed in the sacrament to the substance of Christ's body. Disputation being ended, the Bishop made all things so clear in his determination, that they were so convinced, that some of "them would have turned Archbishop Cranmer's book of "that subject into Latin," &c.

N. Battely.

The King's letters for use of the Common Prayer.

The use of the Common Prayer in English, lately enacted by Parliament, was twice this year, 1549, pressed by special letters of the King and his Council upon the governors of the Church, to see it duly observed in all their churches. For it was not performed so universally nor regularly as it should have been. In the month of July this command was issued from the King, then at his manor of Richmond, to Thirleby, Bishop of Westminster; importing, "that "after great and serious debating and long conference of "sundry the Bishops, and other grave and well learned men "in the holy Scriptures, one uniform order for common "prayers and administration of the sacraments had been "and was most godly set forth, not only by the common "agreement and full assent of his nobility and commons 211 "in the late Parliament; but also by the like assent of the "Bishops in the same Parliament; and by all other learned "men of this realm in their synods and convocations

Registr. Thirl.

BOOK I.

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"provincial: like as it was much to his comfort to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken, "for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book; "whereby the true service and honour of Almighty God, "the right administration of the sacraments, being well and "truly set forth according to the Scriptures and use of the "primitive Church, much idolatry and vain superstition "was taken away: so it was no small occasion of sorrow to "him to understand, by the complaints and informations of "many, that our said book, so much travailed for, and so "sincerely set forth, &c. remained in many places of his "realm, either not known at all, or not used; or at least "very seldom, and in irreverent sort. As the people in "many places either had heard nothing, or if they heard, "they neither understood, or had that spiritual delectation "in the same, as to good Christians appertained."

And then the King proceeded to lay the fault of all this upon them, the Bishops and Priests, or some of them. And then, "that considering that by that and such like occasions "his loving subjects remained in their old blindness and superstitious errors; and in some places in an irreligious "forgetfulness of God; whereby his wrath might be provoked against him and them: and remembering withal, "that among other cures committed to his princely charge, "he thought this the greatest, to see his glory and true "service of him maintained and extolled; by whose clemency he acknowledged himself to have all that he had: "that he could not therefore, but by the consent and advice of his uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor "of his person, and Protector of his realms, &c. and the "rest of his Privy Council, admonish him [the Bishop] of "the premises: wherein, as it had been their offices to "have used an earnest diligence, and to have reformed the "same in all places within his diocese, as the case required; "so had he [the King] thought good to pray and require "him; and nevertheless straitly to charge and command "him, that from henceforth he should have an earnest and "special regard to the redoube of these things: so as the

" curates might do their duty oftener, and in more reverend " sort; and the people be occasioned by the good advices " and examples of them, their chancellors, archdeacons, and " other inferior ministers, to come with oftener and more " devotion to their said common prayer; to give thanks to " God, and be partakers of the most holy Communion. " Wherein, shewing themselves diligent, and giving good " example in their own persons, they should both discharge " their duties to the great Pastor, (to whom we must all " have to account,) and also do him [the King] good service.

" And of the other side, if he should hereafter, these his " letters and commandments notwithstanding, have eftsones " complaint, and find like faults in his diocese, he should " have just cause to impute thereof, and of all that should " ensue thereof, unto him: and consequently be occasioned " thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things: " whereof we would be sorry. And therefore we do eftsones " charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look " well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleasure. 212 " Yeven under our signet at our manor at Richmond, the " 23d of July, the 3d year of our reign."

This letter was directed, "To the right reverend Father " in God, our right trusty and wellbeloved, the Bishop of " Westminster." Mr. Fox in his Martyrology supposed this letter was writ only to Bishop Boner, reprimanding him for his negligence; but meeting with it in the register of another Bishop, I conclude it was a common letter to them all. In the same register it appears how obedient he was to the King's said will and pleasure.

The Bishop's order to his archdeacon upon the King's letters.

For accordingly he executed the said letters to his brother, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, and to his official, &c. certifying them of the said letters, and the import of them: " and that he was right well-willing and desiring, that the " said letters of the King should in all points be duly exe" cuted, according to the tenor and import of the same.... " Therefore charged him diligently, considering the effect " and words of the same letters, that from henceforth, with all " diligence, wisdom, and dexterity, to travail earnestly, as

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"well in his own person, for and concerning the due observing and accomplishing of the said letters, as also with "like diligence, wisdom, and dexterity, to monish and "command all persons, vicars, curates, church-wardens, to "observe and accomplish the same from time to time. And "charging them to make certificate therein to him, or his "chancellor; and also of the persons, or names of such as "henceforth should be found negligent in doing their duties "in the premises. Geven at his house at Henden, the 28. "of July, 1549."

His order to his apparitor. Regist. Thirlb.

The said Bishop of Westminster also appointed George Cragges his apparitor; "that whereas he, the Bishop, had "received the King's letters concerning the due observation "and uniform order of common prayer and ministration "of the sacraments, now of late most godly set forth; and "desiring the said letters should in all things be executed: "therefore to monish and command all persons and vicars "and church-wardens, to appear personally before him, or "his chancellor, or his deputy, in the cathedral church of "St. Peter's Westminster, and in the consistory place there, "on the first of August next; to see and hear the contents "and purposes of the said letter; to be further opened and "effectually declared unto them. And further to do and "receive, for the due accomplishing and observing of the "same." Thus did Bishop Thirleby go along with the reformation in King Edward's reign.

The King again to the Bishops, for the use of the Common Prayer.

Again, five months after, in the month of December, the King sent his letters to this Bishop, as well as to the rest; urging again the strict observation of the Common Prayer: and that upon a particular occasion. The troubles that now the good Duke of Somerset, the Protector, fell into, gave great hopes to the popishly affected subjects, that the old Mass would come into use again, and the Common Prayer be cast off; as depending chiefly (as they supposed) upon the authority and sway of the Protector, the main ruling cause of bringing it into the Church. Therefore the King in his letter thought fit to take notice of it: namely, "how "some persons, upon the apprehension of the Duke, had

" noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again " their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, " with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies: as though " the setting forth of the latter Book of Common Prayer " had been the only act of the forenamed Duke.

" Therefore by the advice of the body and state of his 213 " Privy Council, not only considering the said book to be " his own act, and the act of the whole state of the realm; " but also the same to be grounded upon holy Scripture, " according to the order of the primitive Church, and tending much to the edifying of his subjects; to put away all " such vain expectation of having the public service, &c. " in the Latin tongue, which were a preferring of ignorance " to knowledge, and darkness to light, &c. he [the King] " thought good to require him, [the Bishop,] and nevertheless to charge him, immediately upon the receipt hereof, " to command the Dean and Prebendaries of his cathedral " church, and the parson, vicar, and curate, and churchwarden of every parish, to deliver to him, or his deputy, " all antiphoners, missals, grails, processionals, manuals, &c. " after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford; " and all other books of service; the keeping whereof should " be a let to the usage of the Book of Common Prayer; " and those books to deface and abolish: that they never " after might serve to any such use as they were at first " provided; and be at any time a let to the godly uniform " order. And that if he [the Bishop] should find any person stubborn and disobedient in not bringing in the said " books, to commit them to ward, ... unto such time as " he should have certified him [the King] of his misbehaviour. He commanded further, that search should be " made from time to time, whether any such books were " withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these letters.

" And whereas divers froward and obstinate persons had " refused to pay for the finding of bread and wine for the " holy Communion; by reason whereof the holy Communion was many times omitted upon the Sunday; these letters willed and commanded him, the Bishop, to convent

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"such obstinate persons before him; and them to admonish to keep the order prescribed: and that if any refused, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, "or other censures of the Church. And not to fail thus "to do, as he would avoid his [the King's] displeasure. "Yeven under our signet at our palace of Westminster, "the third year of our reign." It was signed by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, R. Rich Lord Chancellor, and four others.

These letters I have shortened, because I find there is a copy of them taken out of another register, and entered into the History of the Reformation.

Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Col. p. 191.

The Bishop's orders hereupon.

Here again the Bishop of Westminster, to whom these letters were given, accordingly duly executed them by his letter to his archdeacon of Middlesex, Richard Eden. And further commanded all his Clergy to meet him or his chancellor at the cathedral church of St. Peter, to receive his commandment in that behalf. Dated the 28th of Decemb. 1549.

Bishopric of Westminster dissolved.

The conclusion of the registry of this Bishop is, "*Notandum est*, the first day of April, 1550. and the fourth of "the King, the episcopal see of Westminster was dissolved; "and restored, and united to the see of London."

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CHAP. XXVI.

Order for sermons. Joan of Kent promotes Arianism. The English Communion Book reformed.

Anno 1550.

Sermons appointed at Court.

IN the month of April 1550. it was ordered, that whosoever should have ecclesiastical benefices granted them by the King, should preach before him in or out of Lent: and that every Sunday, there should be a sermon made at Court.

Arianism now shewed itself so openly, and was in such danger of spreading farther, that it was thought necessary to suppress it by using more rugged methods than seemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the professors of the Gospel. One Joan Bocher or Knel, commonly called Joan

Joan of Kent's condemnation;

Anno 1550.

of Kent, being condemned for this heresy the latter end of the last year, a warrant, dated April 27, was issued by order of Council to the Lord Chancellor, to make out a writ to the Sheriff of London for her execution, [to be burned,] for certain detestable opinions of heresy. These are the words of the Council-Book. The Archbishop of Canterbury was not then present at the Council-board, the Bishop of Ely was. After her condemnation she was kept a great while, in hope to reclaim her. April 30. the Bishops of London and Ely were with her to persuade her, but she withstood them. And even at her execution, which was May 2. she reviled him that then preached, (who was Dr. Scory,) as the King writes in his journal.

Council-Book.

And execution.

If any be minded to hear more of this woman, he may be informed by Parsons, that she was at first a great disperser of Tindal's New Testaments, translated by him into English, and printed at Colen, and was a great reader of Scripture herself. Which books she also dispersed in the Court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was more particularly acquainted with Mrs. Anne Ascue. She used for the more secrecy to tie the books in strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into the Court. The said author writes, that she was openly reported to have been dishonest of her body with base fellows. Which I charitably suppose might be but a calumny, too common with Parsons.

Some account of this woman.

Ward Word p. 16.

When she was condemned to die for her denial of Christ's taking flesh of the blessed Virgin, she said to the Judges, "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was "not long ago since you burned Anne Ascue for a piece of "bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and "profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. "And now forsooth you will needs burn me for a piece of "flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, "when you have read the Scriptures, and understand them." When she came to die in Smithfield, and Dr. Scory endeavoured to convert her, she scoffed at him, and said, he lied like a rogue; and bade him, *Go, read the Scriptures.*

Her words to her judges.

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Putto does penance.

The day after this woman's condemnation, was one Putto, a tanner of Colchester, brought before the King's commissioners. He was either of her opinion, or an Anabaptist. For these commissioners were appointed to sit upon inquiry after these sectaries chiefly. But Putto recanted; and bare 215 a fagot at Paul's Cross, and after that at Colchester.

Alterations made in the English book.

For some remembrance of the book of public and Common Prayer, which about this time underwent a diligent inspection and reformation by some of the Bishops, take these short hints of it. In the calendar for the lessons were no proper lessons for Sundays and holydays, but only proper Psalms for the four great festivals, *viz.* Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Whit-Sunday. The book began with the Lord's Prayer, ushered in with this rubric, "The priest being in the quire, shall begin with a loud voice the Lord's "Prayer, or the *Pater noster*." The Confession and Absolution were first added in the revised edition; as the German Protestant churches had their Confession and Absolution. At the end of the former book were inserted several rules with this title, "Certain notes for the more plain "explication and decent ministration of things contained in "this book." One of these rules and notes is this: "If there "be a sermon, or for other great cause, the Curate by his "discretion may leave out the Litany, *Gloria in excelsis*, "the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation to the Com"munion." Another rule is, "That whensoever the Bishop "shall celebrate the holy Communion in the Church, or "execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon "him, beside his rochet, a surplice or alb, and a cope or "vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else "borne or holden by his chaplain." Another rule was, "As "touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knock"ing upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be left "or used, as every man's devotion seemeth, without blame." The last note is this: "And although it be read in ancient "writers, that the people many years past received at the "Priest's hands the sacrament of the body of Christ in their "own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the con-

"trary; yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the "same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversly abused "it to superstition and wickedness; lest any such thing "hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity "might be used throughout the whole realm; it is thought "convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament "of Christ's body in their mouths at the priest's hand." But this last and other things were thought fit to be altered afterwards.

For which the Papists upbraid the Protestants.

The Papists imagined they had a mighty advantage over the Protestants, for this reviewing, purging, and correcting the English book; upbraiding them with that which the good reformers took so much satisfaction in having done; that is, laying aside some needless ceremonies that escaped them before, and retrenching the book of such things as looked too like superstition, and which the times would not bear to be wholly taken away at once, or which perhaps at first were not so well perceived. And our reformers looked upon themselves as fallible men. Though even the first communion service and the first book of public prayers struck off abundance of superstitions, and reduced the service of God to the primitive pattern, and the rule of God's word; yet they never looked upon it so perfect, but that it might admit of amendment and improvement. But in this the Papists vainly triumphed, as though hereby they were inconsistent to themselves, and contradicted what they approved before. 216 Thus Dorman, in his book, wrote towards the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, fondly bespeaks Bishop Jewel: "Call to your remembrance the changing "and turning in and out of your Communion Book: how the "first was pressed for uniformity, to be agreeable to Christ's "institution, and the usage of the primitive Church. And "yet in how short a space, that being taken away, you "brought in a new, to the first in the principal points clean "contrary: to Christ's institution, and the order neverthe"less of the primitive Church, as agreeable just as was the "first. And yet that, whether it be in all points as ye mind "to have it squared and trimmed, yourselves and your com-

Proof. fo. 117. b.

Anno 1550. "panions perhaps can tell. Wise men, that know the nature of heresy, and have observed the practice and order of "your proceedings, think verily, no."

Communion in Paul's used with the superstition of the mass.

This book, by such great wisdom and learning devised and improved, and so intelligible and edifying, in comparison with the former Latin mass, yet could not as yet down every where. For even the old superstitions of the sacrament were much used in the administration of it. And even in St. Paul's, London, the communion was used as the mass. Whereof information and complaint was made to the Council.

And one impediment, why this godly office took not place more universally, was, because the old office books still remained. There were still the missals, manuals, pies, portuisses, primers, processionals, couchers, journals, and I cannot tell what other names of the old Popish services, remaining. And where the Priest stood affected that way, the books and offices being so near at hand, he would make use of them, and understanding perhaps better to mumble over that Latin, than to read the English book. Of which so much notice was taken, and so much offence given, that in the third and fourth of King Edward's reign, an act of Parliament commanded them all to be abolished and extinguished for ever: and accordingly were called in, as was shewed before.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ridley made Bishop of London. His exchange of lands with the King. Insurrections. A dearth. Prices set upon victuals.

Ridley translated to London. Registr. Ridley.

RIDLEY, Bishop of Rochester, was in the month of April this year translated to the see of London, by the King's letters patents; mentioning an act of Parliament, taking away the *congé d'élire*, and empowering the King to nominate any bishop by his letters patents to any see. In this letter is mentioned at large the dissolution of the bishopric of Westminster.

Installed.

217

Saturday, April the 12th, the said Bishop was installed and enthronized by proxy. His proxy was Richard Wilkes, clerk: before William May, Dean of St. Paul's; John Cardmaker, alias Taylor, present, now Vicar of St. Brigit's, Fleet-street; one of the commissaries for the expedition of the business of the installation. After the installation was sung the *Te Deum* in English, with organs playing, and the choir singing. Then Dean May sung some versicles, and then said this prayer in English: "O Lord, Almighty God, we beseech thee, grant to thy servant Nicolas, our Bishop, that by preaching and doing those "things which be godly, he may both instruct the minds of "his diocesans with true faith, and example of good works: "and, finally, receive of the most merciful Pastor the reward of eternal life: who liveth with thee and the Holy "Ghost, world without end. Amen."

An exchange of lands between the King and the Bishop of London.

In this fourth year of the King, Ridley, Bishop of London, April 12, (that is, but nine days after he had taken his oath for the bishopric,) was fain to alienate to the King divers lands and manors, belonging to his see, in exchange for others of the like value, which the King made over to him and his successors, by letters patents bearing date the same day and year. The lands which the said Bishop conveyed to the King were, the manors of Branktree and Southminster, and the advowson and right of patronage of the vicarage of Coggeshal, in the county of Essex; and the manors of Stebunheath and Hackney, and the marsh of Stebunheath, in the county of Middlesex. The lands which the King passed away to the Bishop in lieu hereof, were the manors of Greenford, Hanwel, and Drayton, in the county of Middlesex, lately parcels of the possessions of the bishopric of Westminster dissolved; and all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Uxbridge in the said county, parcels of the said bishopric: and all and singular the messuages, houses, edifices, tenements, gardens, shops, and hereditaments in the parishes of St. Leonard, Foster-lane, St. Michael in the Querne, and St. Dunstan's in the East, late parcels of the aforesaid possessions: and the manors of

Ashwel, Stevenage, Holwel, Todwel, and Dacheworth, and the rectory and church of Ashwel, in the county of Hertford; all parcels of the foresaid bishopric: and the manors of Fering, Kelvedon, and Fawnton; and the rectories and churches of Fering and Kelvedon, in the county of Essex, late parcels of the said bishopric: the manor of Knowl in the county of Warwick, parcel of the said bishopric: the manor, rectory, and church of Rickmansworth, in the county of Hertford, lately belonging to the monastery of St. Alban's: the manor of Paddington, in the county of Middlesex, lately belonging to the monastery of Westminster: the house commonly called *the convict prison of Westminster;* the advowsons, donations, and presentations of Hanwel, and the chapel of Brainford, and the vicarage of the church of St. Martin's near Charing Cross; and of divers other churches. Churches and lands being in Middlesex, London, Hertford, Essex, Warwick, Lincoln, Rutland, Oxon, Northampton, Huntingdon, Surrey, Glocester, Berks, and Wigorn. All which extended to the clear yearly value of 526. 19. 9*q*.

But the King made this exchange, not for himself, but to gratify certain of his courtiers. For April 16, that is, four days after the Bishop had granted his lands to the King, he again granted by his patents,

218 To Sir Thomas Darcy, Vice-chamberlain of his household, the manor of Southminster, of the value of - -	194	12	2
To Richard, Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor of England, the manor of Branktree, and the advowson of Coggeshal, of the value of - - - -	39	13	4
To Thomas, Lord Wentworth, Lord Chamberlain of the household, the manors of Stebunheath and Hackney, of the value of - - - -	245	18	3 *obq.*
	480	3	9 *obq.*

And in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, the aforesaid

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assurance, made by the Bishop to the King, was confirmed by act of Parliament; and also those lands by the said act were assured to the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Rich, and Sir Thomas Darcy, and their heirs. In this act it is expressed, "that the King being seized of the foresaid manors, lands, and tenements, in consideration of the said "gift, and for a full recompence, did give by his letters "patents unto the Bishop of London and his successors "for ever, other manors, lands, and tenements, to the "yearly value thereof, and more." And indeed the King's lands made over to the Bishop exceeded the lands made over by the Bishop to the King in forty-six pounds odd money. This may serve to stop their mouths that are apt to blame Bishop Ridley for parting with such fair manors as Stepney and Hackney from the see. And Stow, or some of his enlargers after him, to aggravate this gift, and make all people that read it the more ready to blame him, do set down all the particular streets, lanes, townships, and places within these manors, to make his gift seem the greater, and the wrong done to the bishopric the more heinous. Whereas neither the King nor the Bishop were to be blamed for this, the advantage of the exchange being considerably on the Bishop's side. And therefore to make an equivalent, certain rents, to the value of an hundred pounds, were reserved to the King.

Confirmation of them by act of Parliament.

In the further parts of Essex were many earnest gospellers. And for their better edification they procured preachers sometimes to preach to them on the week days. The report whereof came to the Court; and that, as it appears, by the information of the Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor, not so well affected to the religion then settled, however politicly he complied with the time; whose seats were at Lees and Rochford, and his estate lying thereabouts. These weekly meetings to hear sermons, the Council, (upon some suggestions, it is likely, of his, of the inconvenience thereof, as being an hinderance of the common people's necessary labours,) did forbid. And in order to that, a letter was addressed to the Bishop of London, to cause the same prac-

Weekly sermons forbid.

Anno 1550. tices to cease, and that the people should content themselves with hearing sermons on Sundays and holydays only. The letter was as follows:

By the Council's letter to the Bishop.

"To our very good Lord, the Bishop of London. After "our right hearty commendations unto your Lordship. Being advertised from the Lord Chancellor, that divers "preachers within your diocese, in the county of Essex, "do preach, as well the worky days as the holy days; "whereof some inconveniences may grow; thinking it not 219 "convenient that the preachers should have liberty so to "do: because at this present it may increase the people's "idleness, who of themselves are so much disposed to it, "as all the ways that may be devised are little enough to "draw them to work: we therefore pray you to take order, that they preach the holy days only, as they have "been accustomed to do. And the work days to use those "prayers that are prescribed unto them. Thus we bid "your good Lordship most heartily farewell. From Greenwich, the 23d of June, 1550.

"Your loving friends,
"E. Somerset. W. Northampton. E. Clynton.
"G. Cobham. W. Paget. W. Harbart. W. Petre."

The Bishop of London's order thereupon. Regist. Ridl.

Accordingly, the Bishop sent his executory letters to the Archdeacon of Colchester; to will him with convenient expedition, not only to give warning to all curates within his archdeaconry, that they suffer not preaching on work days in their churches, but also to send for all and singular preachers, authorized within the said archdeaconry, and admonish them of the same: charging them in the King's Highness's name, that from henceforth they do not preach, but only upon Sundays and holy days, and none other days, except it be at any burial or marriage. And thus fare you heartily well. From London, the 25th of June, 1550.

"Your loving friend,
"Nic. Lond."

Peace with France.

A perpetual peace made with France was declared by proclamation, May 28th. In which peace was the Emperor and the Queen of Scots comprehended.

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A tumult intended in Kent. King Edward's Journal.

As the last year a formidable rebellion happened in the western parts, so in April this year an insurrection was setting on foot in Kent, by a priest of that county. Which insurrection was to have begun on May day. For the Popish priests, in zeal to their old superstitions, were generally the movers of sedition and tumults in King Henry's and King Edward's reigns. So that the commotions last year in Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, were not so well allayed, but they had like to have broke out this year in Kent. But the matter was discovered timely, and several of the seditious were taken, and the priest fled into Essex; but was there laid for. Nor did this design of rising yet cease with the taking off some of the parties. For the next month, *viz.* in that of May, upon pretence of a wedding, the people were to assemble, and take that opportunity of appearing in arms. But the gentlemen of Kent took the party that was the inventor of this; and afterwards he suffered punishment.

Insurrection intended in Essex.

Were it not for the great watchfulness that was now in the magistrates every where, a rising would have about this time appeared in Essex also. For in June certain were taken about Rumford, who intended an insurrection: and so it was stopped there.

Sermons on work days forbid in Essex.

Others also of the said county of Essex gave at this very time a jealousy to the Council for their too unseasonable meetings in numbers on week days for hearing of sermons. 220 What dangers might lie, and what evil be hatched under colour of these assemblies of the people, was somewhat suspected. Which made the Council send a letter to the Bishop of London to suppress them; as was shewn before.

No commendams allowed.

An order of Council happening just about this time concerning Bishops, I will here insert it; which was, that none henceforth should hold *commendams*, excepting one granted at the same time by them to Bishop Poinet. "June 29. Upon consideration that Mr. Poynet, now "elected Bishop of Rochester, hath no house to dwell "upon, it is agreed that he shall enjoy his benefice *in commendam.* But henceforth it is decreed, that no Bishop "shall keep other benefice than his bishopric only."

Searches to be made in Sussex.

As the commons were upon these dangerous points in Kent and Essex, as was said before, so there were some jealousies of tumults in Sussex also. So that there was a privy search appointed to be made through that county for vagabonds, gypsies, conspirators, prophesiers, and players, and such like. Who probably under such disguises met together, laid their plots, and enticed the people to novelties.

A proclamation against seditious persons.

And this was but in pursuance of a proclamation set forth May 17. last past; shewing how several ill disposed persons had lately attempted and gone about in conventicles and secret places in the realm, where they durst speak their pleasure, and determined and conspired sundry evil facts, enterprises, and disorders, tending to rebellion, murder, and unlawful assemblies: but the said determinations had come to the King's knowledge, to the subduing and destruction of such persons, and as many as willingly took part with them. Wherefore, for the discovery of the remainders of these seditious persons, the King promised the reward of twenty pounds, and thanks, to any that should make discovery of any such attempts, and make the same known to him, or his Privy Council, or to the Lieutenant of the county, where any such thing should be intended, moved, or determined. And any person was to have the said reward, though he were before one of the conspiracy.

Duke of Somerset goes into the west. King Edward's Journal.

In July the Duke of Somerset (who the beginning of this year got over his troubles, but with great loss of his offices and estate) was sent down into Oxfordshire, Sussex, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, to secure those places from rising; and so to take order for the keeping of peace. And in August he went to Reding for the same purpose. The reason of most of these present jealousies were upon account of the Lady Mary, who was privately to be conveyed out of England from some creek in Essex, by Shipperius, admiral of the navy, belonging to the Emperor. And then an open war was to be begun, and an intestine conspiracy to be at home, as Sir Thomas Chamberlain, ambassador with the Queen of Hungary in the Low Countries, had learned at that Court, and advertised hither.

A great dearth.

The dearth before mentioned continued all along this year, all provisions being at high rates; which lay very heavy upon the poorer sort. Which gives me occasion to conjecture, that this was the year wherein happened a great drought, that made great fears of a famine. Whereupon a public fasting day was appointed, and a prayer was composed, and ordered to be used in the churches at that time, that God would send rain: and the rather, because the 221 enemies of the reformation were apt to lay the cause of this judgment upon the reformation. See it in the Repository, as I found it in Fox's MSS. KK.

Idle persons to depart from London.

The King and his Council took especial care for the removing of this calamity now laying upon the nation. And first, for the ease of the city of London in this dear time, it was thought expedient to clear it of as many poor, needy persons as could be. Therefore the King, by proclamation, dated May 4, commanded all persons, of what state or degree soever, being the King's natural subjects, not born within the city or borough of Southwark, or the liberties, nor being householders, nor having sufficient to live by, nor that had lived there by the space of three years together now last past, nor retained in any service with any person, nor applying themselves to any bodily labour, and taking wages for the same; should forthwith depart out of the city, borough, and liberties, and return to their native countries, or the places where they last dwelt, by the space of three years together, according to the tenor of a statute in that behalf, concerning the order of aged impotent people, and for punishing vagabonds and idle persons.

And soldiers disbanded.

And for the easing of the city still of more of her unnecessary guests, on 20. July, the King by his proclamation commanded all captains, officers of bands, and soldiers, as well English, as strangers of what nation soever, which were not presently entertained in the King's wages, and had been paid for their service by treasurers thereunto appointed, according to their capitulations, until the day of their cassing and dismission; that they failed not to depart and avoid the city, the suburbs, and the members of the same, within three days after the proclamation published, upon pain of suffering strait imprisonment, with further punishment at the King's pleasure.

Provisions not to be exported.

And to stop the conveying of provisions out of the land, (which was another cause of the high prices set upon them,) a proclamation came forth, May the 7th, commanding, that none, upon pain of imprisonment, and of other forfeitures according to the laws of the land, should carry and convey into the parts beyond seas, any kind of beefs, muttons, veals, lamb, pork, butter, cheese, corn, grain, wood, coals, ale, beer, tallow, hides, or any other kind of victual; except only to the town of Calais, and the castles of Guisnes and Hammes. And charge was given to all the King's customers, comptrollers, searchers, &c. to make diligent search for the better furtherance of the King's *most high and dreadful commandment*, as the phrase was. And this proclamation to continue till the feast of All Saints.

Forbad again.

Within two months after, (the former commandment, through the covetousness of some merchants and others, not being sufficiently obeyed,) another proclamation, dated July 3, was issued forth, charging, that no sort of victual, corn, beer, wools, fells, leather, hides, tallow, bell-metal, wood, or coal, should be shipped or transported into foreign parts out of the realm, (the town of Calais only excepted) until the King should hereafter allow the same, upon pain of confiscation of the goods and forfeiture of the ship And the reason hereof was given, because of late years the said commodities had been reduced to a great scarcity, and to an unwonted excessive price. The cause whereof to no one thing might sooner be imputed, than that now commonly those commodities, which ought especially to serve
222 the turn, and be employed to the use and sustentation of the subject, were in over-large measures conveyed into foreign regions, as well by colour of licences unlawfully used, as by

stealth and covert. And in the preface the King shewed his princely compassion to his people, "calling to remembrance how, according to the regal power and state to "him committed by Almighty God over his realm, nothing "could better declare his zeal and affection borne toward "the commonwealth, than when by all good means such "orders proceeded from his Majesty as might best tend to "the general plenty of things needful, for the commodious "living of his natural subjects; and namely, such things as "were brought forth, and given us of God, as the peculiar commodities of this realm, might be enjoyed by the "subjects of the same, to their utility and mutual benefit "among themselves, in plentiful sort and cheapness of "price, before others, according as in ancient time had been "accustomed."

Further orders for abating the prices of victuals.

But this dearness still continuing in the realm, (notwithstanding all these former endeavours,) partly by reason of conveyance of commodities beyond sea, and partly by men's buying up of corn in the markets to be sold again, and also by not bringing any quantities to the market; the King issued out yet another proclamation, dated Sept. 24, signifying in the preface thereof, "how the insatiable greediness of "divers ill-natured people, neither minding the due observation of good laws, nor any preservation of natural "societies within their own country, and contrary to the "provision of divers good laws and statutes, by frequent "unlawful exportation of victuals, and by many detestable "frauds and covins, had occasioned great scarcity and unreasonable prices of victuals:" and therefore he first commanded, "that no person should, after eight days ensuing "the proclamation, transport into Scotland, or elsewhere, "wheat, malt, rye, barley, pease, beans, oats, or any kind "of grain, or the meals of any of the same, beefs, muttons, "veals, cheese, butter, tallow, candles, beer, ale, biscuit, leather, salt, hides, wood, wool, fells. But if at any time "of shipping or transporting the premises, corn were of "such a particular price, then it should be lawful for the "King's subjects to carry over grain at pleasure: that is,

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		s.	d.	
Wheat, - - -	at, or under	6	8	the quarter.
Malt of the best sort,		5	0	
Beans and pease,		4	0	
Oats, - - -		3	4	
Rye, - - -		5	0	

Item, That no person after eight days should buy in open market, or otherwise, to be sold again, any wheat, malt, barley, rye, pease, oats, beans, or any kind of meals, upon pain of forfeiture of the same grain, and the moiety of their goods, chattels, leases and farms for term of life, excepting brewers and bakers, innkeepers and innholders.

Item, That Justices of peace in every shire should divide themselves into hundreds, rapes, wards, and wapentakes, according as heretofore in other the King's business they had done. And they, or two of them, within the limits of their division, were to repair to all farms, barns, stacks, and gar-
223 ners, and there to view and try out, as well by the verdict of honest men, as by all other good and lawful means, what quantity and kind of grain every person had within their respective division. And after the certainty thereof known, as near as could be, they were to allot and appoint to the owners of the corn and grain, sufficient and competent for the finding and maintenance of their houses, and payment of their rent-corns, and performance of any bargains for the King's Majesty's house, or to any nobleman, gentleman, or others, for the only maintenance of his or their household, until the 20th of September next coming; and also for necessary seed-corn. And the overplus of the said grain the Justices shall have authority to charge and command them in the King's name to bring to the markets next adjoining; and that in such portions as the Justices shall think fit.

And then the Justices were to signify unto the chief officer or officers of the respective markets, what quantity of grain is appointed to every man within their limits to bring to market. And if the owner of such corn shall refuse to bring to the market his corn, he should forfeit for every such default ten pounds, and suffer imprisonment for three months. But notwithstanding, there came but little corn to the markets: whereupon letters were sent down to the gentlemen of every shire for the better observing the last proclamation, and to punish the offenders.

King Edw. Journ.

Prices set upon victuals.

And as the King had taken this care for stocking the markets, and keeping victuals, that God sent the people of England, within the realm, so he proceeded to set a moderate price upon them by another proclamation, October 20. building upon that statute of 25. Henry VIII. whereby the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the King's Privy Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and all other Lords of the Council, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the King's house, the Chancellor of the Duchy, the King's Justices of either bench, the Chancellor, Chamberlain, Under-treasurer, and Barons of the Exchequer, or seven of them at the least, should have power from time to time, as the case should require, to set and tax reasonable prices of all kinds of cheese, butter, capons, hens, chickens, and other kind of victuals necessary for man's sustenance; how they should be sold in gross, or by retail, for the relief of the King's subjects. And that after such tax, proclamation should be made in the King's name under his seal, of the said prices. According to which statute the prices were by certain of the King's great officers now set as follow, *viz.* from the feast of All Saints next ensuing:

	The quarter.
White wheat of the best sort, - - - -	13*s.* 4*d.*
White wheat of the second sort, and red wheat of the best sort, - - - - - -	11*s.* 0*d.*
All other wheat, as well white, red, and gray, of the meanest sort, not clean or tailed, - - -	8*s.* 0*d.*
Malt clean and sweet of the best sort, - -	10*s.* 0*d.*
Malt of the second sort, - - - - -	8*s.* 0*d.*
Rye of the best and cleanest, - - -	7*s.* 0*d.*
Rye of the second sort, - - -	6*s.* 0*d.*
Barley of the best sort, -	9*s.* 0*d.*

Of the second sort, - - - - -	7s. 0d.
Beans or pease of the best sort, - - -	5s. 0d.
Of the second sort, - - - - -	3s. 0d.
Oats of the best sort, clean and sweet, - -	4s. 0d.

Accounting eight bushels to the quarter.

	The pound.
224 A pound of sweet butter, not above - - -	1*d.* *ob.*
Barrelled butter of Essex, not to be sold to any of the King's subjects above - - -	*ob. di. q.*
And barrelled butter of any other parts, - -	*ob. q.*
Cheese of Essex, to be sold from Hallowmas till New-year's crop, - - - - -	*ob. di. q.*
Cheese of other parts, not above - - -	*ob. q.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Controversy about the ecclesiastical habits. Peter Martyr's, A Lasco's, and Bucer's judgments thereof. Altars taken down. Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Superstition in Wales. Foreign matters. Duke of Somerset restored. Grants of the King. Lady Elizabeth. Morice. Haddon. Knox.

Hoper's contest.

BUT to return to ecclesiastical matters. This year also happened the great controversy with Hoper, who, being to be consecrated Bishop, refused to wear the ordinary episcopal habits, because they had been used by papistical idolaters. But before this contest happened with Hoper, it seems the dispute of the cap and surplice, and other pretended popish habits, grew very warm. For there is a letter of Peter Martyr extant to a certain friend nameless, dated July 1, wherein, by occasion of his friend's writing to him upon this argument, he said, "That being indifferent things of them-"selves, they make no man either godly or ungodly. Yet "he judged it more expedient, that that garment and di-"vers other things were taken away, when it might conve-

Cap and surplice.

P. Martyr's judgment thereof.

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" niently be: whereby ecclesiastical things might be done " in a more plain manner. For when signs are defended " and retained with so obstinate a mind, which are not un" derpropped with God's word, there men are oftentimes less " desirous of the things themselves signified thereby. And " where shew most prevails, there commonly that which is " serious is much neglected."

A Lasco and Bucer's judgment.

John a Lasco, superintendent of the Dutch church, London, seemed to encourage Hoper in his incompliance; that noble and learned foreigner's judgment standing at present rather against the use of such garments for the ministers of the Gospel, however not come to full resolution. Bucer and Pēter Martyr aforesaid, the two learned King's Professors of Divinity in each University, were for wearing them in this case, when the laws of the land were so con- 225 stituted, that a minister might not officiate, or exercise his office, except he were so appareled, habits being things in their own nature indifferent; and which might have a tendency to edification. An account of Martyr's letter in this point, which he wrote to the said Hoper, may be seen in Archbishop Cranmer's Memorials. Bucer wrote two letters on this argument, one to A Lasco, who had propounded reasons to him against the habits; and another to Hoper. The sum of both which shall here be shewn, especially being so well replenished with learning, temper, and wisdom.

Bucer to A Lasco, shewing his judgment.

In his letter to the former, he first prayed, "that they " in those troublesome times of the Church might begin " and finish things, that offences and dangers were not in" creased. Then going on, he said, that the more dili" gently he weighed what fruit men gathered by this con" troversy of vestures, and what Satan went about hereby " to work, he could have wished that it had never once " been spoken of. But that all of their function had stoutly " and unanimously gone forward in teaching true repent" ance, and the wholesome use of all things, and in com" mending the putting on of the apparel of salvation. That " by helping forward this strife, (and he knew some that " did so,) the most necessary points were neglected, that is, Anno 1550. "of removing sacrilegious persons from spoiling churches, "of providing fit ministers for every parish, and restoring "of discipline. As to Hoper's business, he did acknowledge, if it were his own case, if he thought ceremonies "and vestures were impure of themselves, [*i. e.* in their "own natures,] he would not in any wise take upon him "the office of a Bishop till they were taken away by authority. But he thought it not impertinent, that men "should be admonished to take heed of Satan's accustomed "sleights, to lead men away, from the care of necessary "things, to carefulness about things that might be let pass, "and to a zeal to purge away things that are without us, "thereby to neglect inward deformities. He told A Lasco, "that, according to his talent, he had weighed his reasons, "and yet he could perceive no other, but that the use of "all external things, as well in ceremonies as private matters, ought to be left free to the churches of God. He acknowledged, as he had confessed before to A Lasco, and "declared unto his own countrymen, that he had rather no "kind of vestures, used by Papists, were retained; and "that for two or three reasons, *viz.* for shewing more "full detestation of the Antichristian priesthood, for the "plainer avouching of Christian liberty, and for avoiding "dangerous contentions among brethren. Yet that he was "for ministers using a grave habit, to be discerned from "other men. But as far as he saw as yet, he could not be "brought by any Scriptures to deny, that the true ministers of God might use without superstition, and to a "certain edification, any of those vestures which the Antichristian Church used." Thence descending to particulars, he spent the remaining part of his letter in great perspicuity, learning, and moderation. The whole letter was translated into English, and set forth not far from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, for the use of the Church, that then was exercised afresh with the same controversy; and may be found in the Repository. LL.

226 Bucer to Hoper.

The same reverend man having received a letter from Hoper, and a paper enclosed, wherein were contained the

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reasons of his present trouble, and why in his judgment the habits ought not to be worn, and to which, if he approved them, he desired Bucer to subscribe his name; he gave him this answer: "That he was exceeding sorry for this "controversy, which so grievously hindered his ministry, "that he could have been willing to have given a great "deal, that either it had not been moved at all, or speedily "removed. That Satan by these lets prolonged his full "banishment from among the people of God. That it was "his desire to have all things reduced to apostolic simplicity in external things, and to full and perfect religion. "That he never procured to have any special kind of apparel in the administration of the sacrament, in the places "where he had preached, as at Argentine, Ulm, Ausburgh, Casel. And that the abuse that he had seen of "the garments in many places in England, he could be "willing to suffer torment in his flesh, that they were taken "away. But yet that which weighed most with him was, "that the sinews of Antichrist bore such sway: he meant, "that church-robbers did still hold and spoil the chief parish churches; and that commonly one man had four or "six of them, or more; and that many patrons bestowed "two or three upon their stewards or huntsmen; and that "upon condition that a good portion of the profits should "be reserved to themselves. And any were hired for vicars, that would serve cheapest. That the Universities "were miserably troubled by many, either Papists or Epicures. Whence it came to pass, that there were so few "Gospel preachers, that many churches had no sermons in "five or six years, or more: that divine service was coldly "and disorderly uttered, and so pronounced that it could "no more be understood than if it were Afric or Indian "tongue. That baptism was ministered in the presence "of a few light women. When marriage was solemnized, "they prattled and played. The Lord's Supper in many "places celebrated like a mass. No regard had of Christ's "flock. No conference of catechism with the ignorant sort. "No public or private admonition given to them that were

Anno 1550. "slack in their duties, or otherwise offended. These and "divers other abuses, neglects, and impieties, he said, "were the chief members of Antichrist, his bones, flesh, "and sinews: which therefore the members of Christ "should with mutual force and continual travail seek to "overthrow. And then the abuse of apparel, and of all "other things, would utterly be abandoned, and all the "badges and shadows of Antichrist would vanish away. "But that if these principal members of Antichrist, his "substance and whole body, were not cut off, and the kingdom of Christ thoroughly established, by restoring the "pure doctrine of Christ and good discipline, in vain "should they labour to put the marks and shadows of "Antichrist to flight. That if any Church should give ear "to him, they should not retain any garments which the "Papists had used in their superstitious service, and that "for these causes, that it might the more plainly declare "that they had renounced all fellowship with the Romish "Antichrist, that they acknowledged the liberty of external things, and that the greatest care was to restore "chiefly those things wherein the discipline of Christ did 227 "especially consist, and that no occasion of strife might remain among the weaker sort. But to say that these garments were so defiled by the abuse of Antichrist, that no "Church might use them, he dared not be so bold. Neither did he see any place of Scripture whereby he might "defend this condemning of the good creature of God. "That any ceremony is wickedly Aaronical or Antichristian, "stood not in any creature of God, in any figure, in any "colour, but in the mind and profession of those that "abused God's good creature to wicked signification.— "And if any Church, by the liberty of Christ, would have "their ministers wear some special apparel in their ministry, "to this end to edify the flock of Christ, setting apart all "superstition, all lightness and dissension, he could not see "who could justly condemn such Churches of any sin, nor "of any fellowship with Antichrist. And in the conclusion, "he prayed God so to moderate or remove this contro-

"versy, that it hindered not the necessary cleansing of the "Church." Hoper's letter to this reverend man, and his to Hoper, (whereof this is some brief account,) may be consulted in the Repository.

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MM. NN.

Orders for taking down altars.

Now did Ridley, Bishop of London, by his injunctions, order the altars in his diocese to be taken down, as occasions of great superstition and error, and tables to be set in their rooms in some convenient places of the chancel or choir. And so far did the King's Council favour him herein, that in the month of June Sir John Yates, or Gates, the high sheriff, went down with letters into Essex, to see the Bishop of London's injunctions put in force, for the plucking down altars, superaltaries, and other corruptions in religion. This when it was urged against Ridley by the commissioners a little before his burning, he said, it was done upon this consideration, among others, for that altars seemed to come nigh the Jews' usage. But the Papists now called the communion-table, most irreverently, an *oyster board.* So did Dr. Weston, and White, afterward Bishop of Lincoln. But as Ridley began this reformation of the Lord's table, so by the Council's letter to him, and orders sent to all the Bishops in the month of November, altars were generally every where taken away.

King Edw. Journal.

Contest about the standing of the tables.

But great contest there happened hereupon, in what precise part of the chancel the table should be placed, and how it should stand, whether east or north. And some placed it one way, and some another: which made White, before-mentioned, scoffingly tell Ridley, "When your table "was constituted, you could never be content in placing "the same, now east, now north, now one way, now an-"other, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it "clean out of the Church." But Ridley told him more gravely concerning the reformation that was made in relation to the holy communion, "that the supper of the "Lord was not at any time better ministered, nor more "duly received, than in these latter days, when all things "were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive "Church."

Acts and Mon. p. 1062.

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Some altars taken away before order.

But altars gave them such disgust, that before these public orders for the taking them away, many well disposed persons had changed them for tables. Thus George Constantine, Archdeacon of Carmarthen, in the year 1549, pulled down the altar there, and set up a table in the middle of the church; which however made a great murmur among the people. And the Bishop of St. David's, 228 thinking this a dangerous matter at this time, when there was a rebellion in divers parts of the nation, and fearing it might provoke the Welshmen to rise, and not liking the Archdeacon's doing this of his own head, without consulting the Bishop, and without any authority from above, commanded the Vicar to set up the communion table for the present time near the place where it was before, that is, where the altar stood. And this was made one of the articles against this Bishop by Constantine, and the rest of his enemies.

The case between the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Dean.

Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had deprived the Dean, named John Goodman, for some fault, which I do not at present find. For this act the common lawyers directed the Dean to sue the Bishop upon a *premunire*, because that deanery was a donative of the King's. And so he brought a writ of *premunire*, Octob. 11, against the Bishop. Upon this the Bishop applied himself to the Council, that, if the law would permit, he might be excused personal appearance until the Parliament, and yet to answer by attorney. The Bishop also obtained a pardon, dated November 13, of all manner of contempts and prejudices, and of all manner of judgments; and further, of all his goods, lands, and tenements. But notwithstanding, the Justices proceeded in the cause. So that November the 22d, Justice Lyster, Bromley, and Portman, appeared before the Council, and being demanded why they proceeded in the Bishop of Bath's matter of *premunire*, contrary to their letters of restraint addressed unto them in that behalf, they answered, that they were sworn to suffer the laws to have their due course: so that without violating their oaths, they could stay no process. Other excuses they made, but of

MSS. D. Epis. Lond.

small moment. Wherefore in the end this question was proposed to them: "If a spiritual office be surrendered "to the King, and after, the King by Parliament newly "erecteth the same office, whether the same office be a spi"ritual office, or no?" November 26. they gave in their answer, with the advice of the rest of the Justices; which was this:

Resp. "A spiritual office surrendered to the King, not"withstanding the new erection of the same by any act of "Parliament, remaineth still a spiritual office as it was be"fore."

These things seeming to go against the Bishop, he appealed from the common law and the Judges to the Privy Council. February 12. the Dean, for his disobedience and evil behaviour to the Bishop, was committed to the Fleet. February 15. the Council ordered the King's attorney and solicitor to confer with some of his Majesty's Justices touching the *premunire* between the Bishop and Dean; and upon the resolution of the same to repair to their Lordships with the proceedings of the same. February 18. the Archbishop had a letter sent to him by the Council, to proceed in the appeal between the Bishop and the Dean: for Goodman, after his deprivation, had made a formal appeal unto the King. But whether that appeal was to be allowed, since the King had left Goodman's case unto the decision of his commissioners delegate for that purpose, and they had judged and deprived him, was a case much argued by the Judges. And this was the opinion of most of them; *viz.* Where a sentence is given by commissioners delegate by the prince, the party grieved appealing, such appeal is out of the order prescribed by the said statute. And the prince in that case may grant a new commission to others to determine that appeal. And this was done. The issue was, Goodman's deprivation stood, but the Bishop was constrained to sue for a pardon.

Justice Brook's Abridgm. Tit. Premunire, N° 21.

Goodman deprived of the deanery, appealeth. Cok. Instit. part iv. p. 340.

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As to the success of the Reformation, it went on but slowly in the parts farther distant from London. In Wales the people ordinarily carried their beads about with them

Superstitions and wickedness in Wales.

to church, and used them in prayer. And even at the church of Carmarthen, while the Bishop was at the communion-table bareheaded, doing his devotions, the people kneeled there and knocked their breasts at the sight of the communion, using the same superstitious ceremonies as they had used in times past before the mass. They brought there corpses to be buried with songs, and candles lighted up about them. And one Dr. Hughs ministering the communion in the cathedral church of St. David's, did after the *popish manner* break the host into three pieces, putting one of the parts into the cup, and giving an whole cake to the communicants without breaking the same. Also, this country was very infamous for concubinacy, adultery, and incest. Some kept four concubines together. It was common for married men to keep concubines, and other men's wives. Some put away their own lawful wives, and married their concubines. One had two children by his own sister. One kept two sisters, whereof one was married to another man. One kept his own sister. And many of these sinners were priests.

The French hostages honourably conducted to London.

But to look out a little upon our nation's concerns abroad. When matters were adjusted between England and France, and Boloign was to be restored to the French, which was agreed upon about the beginning of this year 1550, hostages on each side were to be given, and a great sum of money to be paid to King Edward. Account of this affair is given in the History of the Reformation. To which I add a few things relating hereunto out of the Council-Book. " April 20. Sir Thomas Cheney, Lord Warden of the " Cinque Ports, was ordered to repair to Dover, to meet " three of the French hostages, *viz.* Mons. d'Enghien, le " Marq. du Main, and Mons. Montmorancy, eldest son to " the Constable of France; who were to remain here on " the French part for surety of the first payment. And for " surety of the second payment were three other hostages, " Mons. Tremoyl, Vidame de Chartres, and Mons. Hanni- " bal d'Oy, the admiral's only son. And because these " French hostages were of the principal nobility of France,

" it was agreed, that the Lord Marquis of Northampton, " High Chamberlain of England, with an honourable com- " pany, *viz.* the Earl of Rutland, Lord Lisle, Lord Russel, " Lord Grey, Lord William Howard, Lord Bray, Sir An- " thony St. Leger, Sir William Stafford, Sir John Cutts, " Sir Peter Mewtas, with certain other gentlemen, should " meet them between Dover and London, to conduct them " the more honourably, according to their estates.

Commissioners for receiving the French money.

" Sir Maurice Denys and Sir William Sherington, com- " missioners to receive the first payment, now to be made " by the French, are ordered to give, if Mons. Gondy, " master of the French King's finances, doth bring the first " payment, 2000 crowns in reward from his Majesty: and " if another brings it, to give 2000 crowns, or so much as " their discretion shall think fit. The reward was ordered " to Mons. Gondy, because he was the first motioner and " procurer of the peace.

Mason, ambassador for France.

" Also April 20. Sir John Mason, the ambassador, made " a motion to the Council, to know how he should use the " Bishop of Rome's nuncio, when they happened to meet " in the French Court. Wherein he was referred to his 230 " own discretion, considering the trust committed to him, " being the King's Majesty's ambassador there.

Orders upon the peace with France.

" Ordered the same day to dismiss the army in the north, " to send the Almains home by ships from Newcastle, to " send the Irish home by ships from Chester; and to keep " up two hundred men more than were usually in pay, in " the town of Barwick. And forasmuch as the French had " got the Queen of Scots into their hands, it was resolved to " send a governor to the east and middle marches, one of " great wisdom and ability and courage: and that the Earl " of Warwick was thought the most fit for so important an " employment. That he should have 1000*l.* per annum " fee, and an hundred horsemen: with liberty, when things " were established there, to return to the Court, or remain " in the country, as he shall please."

An embassy from Brandenburgh.

To lay in here also some other matters from the same MS. " April 24. the Marquis of Brandenburgh's ambas-

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"sador made these two requests to the Council: 1. His "master offered the King his service with aid of men of "war. 2. He desired the Lady Mary in marriage. The "answer was, The King took the first offer in good part, "and returned him thanks. To the second, that his Highness, by the advice of his Council, had already treated with "the Emperor about it: which, being not yet determined, "allowed them not in honour to begin any new practice "for the same." He was prayed to take this for answer, with most hearty thanks for his good-will, and so despatched.

A message to Sir Robt. Bowes in the north.

"May 2. the King sent notice to Sir Robert Bowes, "[Warden of the marches,] that he resolved to place the "Earl of Warwick in the north; and for the good service of "Sir Robert Bowes, he would settle a pension on him, and "further reward him.

The commissioners return from Boloign.

"May 4. the Lord Clinton, with the rest of the commissioners from Boloign, were received by the Council, "and thanked for their good service beyond sea. The "Lord Clinton, by the whole Council, was conducted to "the King's presence, who thanked him, and declared that "he should be made admiral, and one of his Privy Council." And full peace was made this month with the French King. In whose oath for the peace he confessed the King's styles, of *supreme Head of the Church of England, and King of Ireland.*

Lord Clinton rewarded.

"May 11. the Lord Clinton's estate not being able to "maintain the port and dignity of Lord High Admiral, to "which he had been lately advanced, upon surrender of "the Earl of Warwick's patent, and in consideration of his "great service at Boloign, (of which he was captain,) it was "determined to give him 200*l.* land, and to make him one "of the privy-chamber."

Manors and lands given him. Book of Sales.

And accordingly, by a patent bearing date the 14th of May, he, by the name of Edward Lord Clynton and Say, had granted to him the office of Great Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, and the dominions and isles of the same, the town of Calais, and the marches of the same, of Normandy, Gascoin, and Aquitain, as it ran in the patent.

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And this to hold for the term of his life, with the fee of 200 marks per annum. And by another patent granted to him, June 10. following, the King gave him the manors of Westinhunger and Satewood [alias Saltwood] in Kent, and the manors of Folkston and Walton, and divers other manors, lands, and tenements, in Kent, Cornwall, York, Lincoln, Devon, and Sussex, to the value of *227l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* and 231 18*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* *ob.* yet with some rent reserved. And (to take in together in this place other royal bounties enjoyed by this Lord) in the first year of King Edward's reign, for his good service against the Scots, the said King gave him the manor of Braunceton in the county of Lincoln, with the appurtenances, late parcel of the possessions of John Lord Hussey; and the manor of Clifford in the county of Hereford, parcel of the possessions of the late Earl of March, and divers other lands and tenements: and the same year the King gave him besides, the manor of Folkingham in Lincolnshire, late parcel of the possessions of the Duke of Norfolk attainted of treason, and divers other manors, lands, and tenements.

More grants to him.

Warr. Book.

In November 1550. he had the grant of the office of High Steward of the manors of Westborough, Calthorp, Riskington, Hekington, and Welborn, in Lincolnshire; and of all other lands, tenements, &c. which were the demeans of Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, for life, with the fee of five pounds by year for the high stewardship, and four pounds by year for the keeper of the courts. In Jan. 17. he obtained of the King a licence, that where of late he had enclosed a several ground in Aslabr, alias Aslakby, and Kirkby underwood in the county of Lincoln, for a park, that from henceforth it should be a free and lawful park for keeping and feeding of deer. The next day, *viz.* Jan. 18, he had of the King the reversion of the office of steward of the honour of Bullingbroke in Lincolnshire, and of all the manors, lands, &c. in the parties of Kesteven, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, for life, after the death of Sir William Hussey, Knight, and all fees, profits, &c. This was lately given to the Lord Clinton in possession, for

Anno 1550. that Sir William Hussey was supposed to be dead: now new signed and granted in reversion. In the very next month he obtained the gift of all the lordships, manors, lands, &c. lying in the town of St. Botulph, alias Boston, in Lincolnshire, belonging to the late chantry of Corpus Christi, founded within the said town, the value not expressed; to be holden by fealty, and to take the profits from Easter, an. 2 Edward VI. The next month, *viz.* March 7, an indenture passed between the King and Edward Lord Clinton, witnessing, that the Lord Clinton had bargained and sold unto his Highness all his lordships and manors in Folkingham, Aslackby, &c. And the King had bargained and sold unto the said Lord, the lordships and manors of Wy, and the rectory of Wy in the county of Kent, with divers other lands, &c. And a gift of the same date of the lordship and manor of Wy and other lands, to the yearly value of 358*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* Again, March 16. he had the office of keeping the castle of Bullingbroke, and the office of porter there. March 20. he had the office of steward of the lordship of Newark upon Trent, and of all the lands, tenements, &c. whatsoever in Newark, and the office of the constable of the castle there, and of the bailiff of the same, for life, with fee.

Still more. Anno 1551, March 25, he had a lease of the King for sixty years, of the manors of Folkingham, Aslabe, and Temple Aslaby, in the county of Lincoln, with divers other lands. In April he was made Knight of the Garter, at the same time when the French King was elected into the same order. And the King gave him a George, set with eight small diamonds, which had been the Earl of South-
232 ampton's, late deceased. The same month he had the office of steward and keeper of the courts of all the lordships and manors in the county of Lincoln, parcel of the possessions of the late monasteries of Valday Newbo, Swinshed, &c. and divers other lands, &c. (as appear by his letters patents) in the same county, for life, with several fees, amounting to 100 mark.

Anno 1552, in recompence of his journey to France, for

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the baptizing of Edward Alexander, the son of the French King, in the name and place of King Edward his godfather, the said King by patent, dated April 15, gave him the manor of Kingstown in Somersetshire, with the advowson, and the manor of Chisilbourn in the county of York, with the advowson: which were lately parcel of the possessions of Sir Thomas Arundel, and came to the King's hands by his attainder; to hold to him and his heirs, with some rent reserved to the King. And the same year a patent of licence, dated Nov. 1. was granted to the Bishop of Carlisle, to sell to the said Lord Admiral his soke or lordship of Horncastle in the county of Lincoln, together with all the appurtenances and hereditaments in the villages, field, parishes of Horncastle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Ashby, Marning, Wilsby, Haltam, Conesby, Boughton, Thimelby, Morby, Maram, and Enderby, in the same county, with the advowsons thereunto appertaining: licensing also the Dean and Chapter to confirm and ratify the same: and granting licence to the said Lord to pay a yearly rent of *28l. 6s. 8d.* to the said Bishop and his successors for ever, out of the premises. And to have these letters patents with discharge of the fees of the seal. In December, a lease for two hundred years was granted him by the King of the Bishop of Hereford's house in London.

The Duke of Somerset restored.

The Duke of Somerset, now after his imprisonment, submission, and pardon, was called, April 10, to the Privy Council: who sued for himself to be again admitted to the privy chamber: and was so the 14th of the next month. And his estate being forfeited and given to the crown by Parliament, an. 3 and 4 Reg. the King of his special favour, and at the humble petition of the Lords of his Council, by patent sealed June 4, gave him back of that, it seems, which had been his before, the castle of Marleborough, and all his lordships and manors of Barton, Ludgarshal, Alborn, and Old Wotton, and his parks of Ludgarshal, Great Vastern, Little Vastern, Alborn Chase, and Alborn Warren, and the forests and the liberties of the forests of Bradon and Savernake, with the appurtenances, in the county of Wilts;

And lands given him.

King Edw. Book of Sales.

Anno 1550. and divers other lordships, manors, lands, and tenements, in the counties of Wilts, Southampton, Dorset, Somerset, Middlesex, Berks, and Bucks. And June the 14th, in consideration of the castle and lordship of Sleford, and other lands and manors in the county of Lincoln, the King, by patent of the same date, gave him all and singular the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances, in the town of Glastenbury, in the county of Somerset, and other lands and tenements in Kingston-upon-Hull. The which were valued at 214*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* *obq.* per annum.

Message from the Council to the Lord Arundel.

The Earl of Arundel, one of ancient nobility, but to whom the Earl of Warwick bare no good-will, for certain pretended faults, had been fined very deep, whereof he was remitted afterward by the King's clemency. To him had the Lord Cobham and Mr. Comptroller been sent. And "July 13. they were with him, [with their message, which 233 "was to go with a force into Sussex for the prevention of "stirs, there likely to arise:] but they found him not disposed to go, [taking his late punishment in no small indignation.] He pretended sickness, poverty, and lack of "provision. And that since his fine was set, he thought "himself restored to favour with the King's Council also, "which he had dearly bought; considering that in his own "conscience he had never offended. Wherefore it seemed "strange to him now to be commanded into Sussex. Whereupon the Council resolved, that the Lord Admiral, the "Lord Cobham, should go again unto him, and require "him to send back the pardon that he had sued and obtained of the King, and telling him that he would find "means that they should come to the trial of this justification of himself, and to be used according to justice. "And as to his going into Sussex, he was commanded no "otherwise than as all other noblemen are in the whole "realm, for the preserving the peace of the country between this and Michaelmas, in eschewing such inconveniences as happened last year. To this his direct answer "was required." By the sequel it appears he went not into Sussex, for the Duke of Somerset, as was hinted before, was despatched thither.

Warwick goes not into the north.

“ July 19. It was not thought convenient for the Earl
“ of Warwick to go into the north, as was before ordered;
“ but rather, for many urgent occasions, to attend the
“ King's person; and Sir R. Bowes to remain Warden of
“ the marches, as he was before. For the courtiers did not
“ care to give their enemies the advantage of their absence
“ in the present factions at Court.

The ambassador in Flanders forbad the English service.

“ January 13. Mr. Chamberlain, ambassador with the
“ Lady Regent in Flanders, complained by letters to the
“ Council, that it was declared that he was, by the express
“ command of the Emperor, prohibited the service of God
“ in his house there, according to the order of the realm,
“ contrary to the privilege and liberty granted to ambassa-
“ dors in all countries. Wherefore it was thought conve-
“ nient, and for the King's honour, that the Emperor's am-
“ bassador here should be sent to and advertised, that the
“ King thought it strange, seeing he had the liberty here
“ to do in his own house as he would: and that if his am-
“ bassador be denied the liberty of divine service in his
“ house in Flanders, the Emperor's ambassador must be
“ prohibited the same liberty in England, and be con-
“ strained to use the forms of service only by law esta-
“ blished in this realm, and to have no mass. That he
“ should take the message for warning. The Bishop of Ely
“ and Mr. Secretary Petre should deliver this message to
“ him.

The Council deny a pass to the Lord Maxwel.

“ February 3. The Lord Maxwel of Scotland made a
“ request for licence to pass through England from France
“ to Scotland, with sixteen horse in his retinue. This mat-
“ ter being debated, seemed to be of great importance; that
“ the Scots should pass to and fro through the realm, Scot-
“ land being made French. Which liberty would much
“ advance the French affairs, and hinder our men. It was
“ resolved he should not pass this way. Which, with fair
“ words, was dissembled under this pretence, that the
“ realm had been so charged with the furnishing of those

"that, since the peace concluded, had thus passed to and "from, that we could not conveniently any longer support "it. Wherefore he was prayed to have patience." The 234 Council before this had granted many passes to and from Scotland and France.

Lands granted to the Lady Elizabeth. Book of Sales.

To the Lady Elizabeth, the King's sister, he now granted, for fulfilling the King his father's last will, the whole scite, sept, circuit, compass, and precinct of the late monastery of Missenden in the county of Bucks, and all and singular the houses, edifices, &c. lately in the occupation of Richard Grenway; and divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in Bucks, Bedford, Hertford, and divers other counties, to the yearly value of 3106*l.* 13*s.* 1 *ob. q.* rent reserved 106*l.* 13s. 1*ob. q.* The King also this year made over to her the manor of Hatfield Episcopi, alias Regis, late parcel of the possession of the Bishop of Ely. This, with other lands, were valued at 44*l.* 15*s.* 10 *ob.* yearly. This was granted upon consideration of her parting with the manor of Easter in Lincolnshire.

From this her manor of Hatfield, and perhaps not long after this time, did the said lady write an ingenious letter to the King her brother, who had desired her picture; which was as follows:

Her letter to the King upon his desiring of her picture. Vespasian, F. 3.

"Like as the rich man that daily gathereth riches to "riches, and to one bag of money layeth a great sort, till "it come to infinite; so methinks your Majesty, not being "sufficed with many benefits and gentleness shewed to me "afore this time, doth now increase them in asking and "desiring, where you may bid and command; requiring a "thing not worthy the desiring for itself, but made worthy "for your Highness' request. My picture I mean: in "which, if the inward good mind toward your Grace might "as well be declared, as the outward face and countenance "shall be seen, I would not have tarried the command"ment, but prevented it, nor have been the last to grant, "but the first to offer it. For the face, I grant, I might "well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed

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"to present. But though from the grace of the picture "the colours may fade by time, may give by weather, may "be spited by chance; yet the other, nor time with her "swift wings shall overtake, nor the misty clouds with their "lowering may darken, nor chance with her slippery foot "may overthrow.

"Of this also yet the proof could not be great, because "the occasions have been so small; notwithstanding as a dog "hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in "deeds, which now I do write them but in words. And "further, I shall humbly beseech your Majesty, that when "you shall look on my picture you will witsafe to think, "that as you have but the outward shadow of the body "afore you, so my inward mind wisheth that the body it"self were oftener in your presence. Howbeit, because "both my so being, I think, could do your Majesty little "pleasure, though myself great good; and again, because "I see as yet not the time agreeing thereunto, I shall learn "to follow the saying of Orace, *Feras non culpes quod vi"tari non potest.* And thus I will (troubling your Ma"jesty I fear) end with my most humble thanks, beseech"ing God long to preserve you to his honour, to your "comfort, to the realm's profit, and to my joy. From "Hatfield, this 15th day of May,

"Your Majesty's most humble
"sister and servant,
"Elizabeth."

The King also this year granted lands to Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich; that is to say, for the sum of 130*l.* 10*s.* and in consideration of service, the King made over to him the manor of Frith and Newhal, with the appurtenances, in the county of Middlesex, lately parcel of the possessions of the late bishopric of Westminster, of the yearly value of 13*l.* 1*s.* The test of the patent was April 9. Again, by a patent dated two days after, *viz.* the 11th of April, of the King's special grace he granted him for augmentation of 235

Grants to Bp.Thirlby.

Anno 1550. the bishopric of Norwich, all that manor, rectory, and church of Happesborough in the county of Norfolk, with all the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, formerly belonging to the monastery of Wymondham in the same county, lately dissolved, together with divers other manors and tenements in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln: the yearly value *303l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* rent reserved *52l.* 19*s.* 10 *ob.* and 64*l.* 15*s.* 11 *ob.* And by patent dated June 19. following, in consideration of the manor of Happesborough, with other lands and tenements, the King granted him the manors of Northerek, Houghton, alias Laxhams, Braunchehal, and Snorings, in the county of Norfolk, with the appurtenances, formerly belonging to the late dissolved priory of Blackborough, and divers other lands and tenements in the county of Norfolk; of the yearly value of *53l.* *2s.* 8*d.* rent reserved *23s.* 9*d.*

W. Morice's purchase.

And this year did William Morice, Esq. of High Ongar in the county of Essex, make a purchase of the King, which I the rather mention to revive the memory of a good man, and ancient professor and confessor of religion. For he had been a great friend and patron of Latymer, under the reign of King Henry: and in the very latter end of his reign suffered imprisonment for religion in the Charter House, London, then inhabited by Sir Robert Southwel, and narrowly escaped with his life by the death of that King intervening. He was the father of Rafe Morice, secretary to the most reverend father and martyr, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. This memorable person, with Edward Isaac, (he of Kent, I suppose, who under Queen Mary was an exile,) purchased of the King, for 1213*l.* 5*s.* *2d.* all that messuage or tenement and one garden, in the tenure of William Meryl, situate in Neylond in Suffolk, lately belonging to a chantry called our Lady's Chantry in Neylond, and divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the counties of Suffolk, Somerset, Devon, London, Cambridge, Cornwal, Dorset, to the yearly value of 72*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* The patents bare date July 8.

Dr.W.Haddon public reader of law.

I find a learned and well-deserving man now gratified by the King, namely, Walter Haddon, LL. D. and Master of Trinity hall in Cambridge. To him the King, out of his special grace, granted the office of reading the civil law within the university of Cambridge, *durante beneplacito*, with the salary of 40*l.* The patent bore date March 21.

Knox first comes into England.

It was in the year 1550, or very near it, that the famous Scotch divine, John Knox, was appointed preacher to Berwick, and after that to Newcastle: whence he came more southward, and at length to London; where he became known to the King and Court, whence he received a salary; and here, and in the parts of Buckinghamshire, he remained till the death of King Edward.

CHAP. XXIX.

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Sectaries. Certain incompliant Bishops punished. Churches of strangers in London and Glastenbury. A Lasco and Pollanus, their pastors. The Strasburgh liturgy. Bucer's death. Anabaptists.

WE shall now spend some lines in matters relating to the present state of religion in the realm. And first we shall consider some that prejudiced and hindered it; both such as pretended to the profession of the Gospel, and others that were open enemies to it: sectaries I mean, and Papists.

The sectaries in Kent and Essex.

Sectaries appeared now in Essex and Kent, sheltering themselves under the profession of the Gospel: of whom complaint was made to the Council. These were the first that made separation from the reformed Church of England, having gathered congregations of their own. The congregation in Essex was mentioned to be at Bocking: that in Kent was at Feversham, as I learn from an old register. From whence I also collect, that they held the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians; that there were contributions made among them for the better maintaining of their

Foxii MSS.

Anno 1550. congregations; that the members of the congregation in Kent went over unto the congregation in Essex, to instruct and to join with them; and that they had their meetings in Kent in divers places beside Feversham. The names of some of the chief of these sectaries in Kent were, Henry Hart, Cole of Feversham, George Brodebridg, Humphrey Middleton, (who were their teachers, as it seems,) William Greneland, John Grey, William Forstal, Edmund Morres, Laurence Ramsay, Thomas Broke, Roger Linsey, Richard Dimeslake, clerk, Nicolas Yong, John Plume of Leneham, and Cole of Maidston. Their teachers and divers of them were taken up, and found sureties for their appearance, and at length brought into the ecclesiastical court, where they were examined in forty-six articles, or more. Many of those before named being deposed upon the said articles, confessed these to be some sayings and tenets among them:

Their tenets.

"That the doctrine of *predestination* was meeter for devils "than for Christian men: that children were not born in "original sin:" which were Cole's assertions. These that follow were taught by Hart: "That there was no man so "chosen, but that he might damn himself; neither any man "so reprobate, but that he might keep God's command-"ments, and be saved: that St. Paul might have damned "himself, if he listed; and that learned men were the cause "of great errors: that his faith was not grounded upon "learned men, for that all errors were brought in by learned "men." Other doctrines of theirs were; "That God's pre-"destination was not certain, but upon condition: that to 237 "play at any manner of game for money is sin, and the "work of the flesh: that they ought not to salute any "sinner, or a man they knew not: that lust after evil was "not sin, if the act were not committed: that Adam was "elected to be saved, and that all men being then in Adam's "loins were predestinated to be saved; and that there were "no reprobates: that the preaching of predestination is a "damnable thing: that we are not to communicate with "sinners:" and many other.

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Preaching in Essex on work days complained of.

But beside these sectaries, there was information sent to the Court in June this year of another sort in Essex, but they, as it seems, more harmless; namely, certain that came together on other days besides Sundays and holydays, to hear sermons, who had preachers that then preached to them: and that, for ought I perceive, was all their fault; for I do not find any false doctrine or sedition laid to their charge. The Lord Chancellor Rich, who was no favourer of the Gospel, being, as it seems, at one of his houses in Essex, sent word of this to the Council, shewing the danger of this practice, as being likely to breed the common people up in a neglect of their ordinary callings, and an indulging of themselves to idleness. But I suppose the truth was, he was afraid the knowledge of the Gospel should spread too much. The issue of this was, "that June 23, a letter was "directed to the Bishop of London, declaring the disposi-"tion of the people to idleness, and praying him therefore "to take order for preaching the holydays only, till a better "time of the people's inclination:" as the minutes run in the Council-Book. Of which some larger notice hath been given before.

And forbidden. N. Bately.

Hickson, a pretended prophet. Council-Book.

One Hickson now appeared, who pretending to have a spirit of prophecy, had used divers strange practices; among which he touched the King's person, and the estate of this realm: and was therefore, May 16, committed to the Tower by the Council.

Warham, a priest, suspected.

One Warreham, a priest, who had been eighteen years out of the realm, returning in a manner disguised, and being suspected of matter of importance, was also committed to the Tower by order of Council.

Masses still in Paul's.

Order had been given in June the last year, from the Council to Bishop Bonner, against the use of masses, said privately in some of the chapels in St. Paul's, under the name of our *Lady's communion:* and that for the future (to prevent it) the communion should be celebrated no where else but at the high altar, and at no time else but at the times when the high masses used to be said. Of which order of Council the Bishop certified the Dean

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and Chapter. Yet still, to this time, even under Ridley, who was now Bishop, the communion was celebrated with such superstitions, as though it were a mass. Of this some informed the Council, and that when the Eucharist was celebrated, it was in effect a mass. Whereupon the Council thought fit to appoint certain intelligent persons, favourers of the Gospel, to go to Paul's, and there to observe well what deviations were made from the late order prescribed. For Octob. 11, 1550, it was ordered, "that Thomas Astely "join with two or three more honest gentlemen in London, "for the observation of the usage of the communion in "Paul's; whereof information was given, that it was used "as the very mass." Such a secret good-will did many of the priests and churchmen belonging to the cathedral still bear to the old former usages.

Council-Book. N.B.

238 The church also of Westminster, nearer to the King's house than any other, was not yet freed from its superstitions, both in apparel and books, which were still preserved there. Which occasioned a letter, dated in February, from the King and his Council to the members of that church; "That, in the presence of Mr. Vicechamberlain, and Sir "Anthony Aucher, all manner of garnishments and apparel "of silver and gold, such as altar-cloths, copes, &c. should "be taken away, and delivered to the said Sir Anthony; "and to deface and carry out of the library at Westminster "all books of superstition; such as missals, breviaries, pro"cessionals," &c.

Three Bishops laid aside.

But for the taking better order with cathedrals, influenced much by their respective Bishops, as one, *viz.* Boner of London, was deposed last year, so we find three incompliant prelates more this year under confinement in the Tower, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Heth of Worcester, and Day of Chichester. The particular reasons whereof may be read in other histories. Gardiner was this year, toward the latter end thereof, judicially deprived; as the two others were the year following; the former for refusing to assist at the reforming of the old Ordinal, and the latter for denying to obey the order of the Council for taking away the altars in their dioceses. For this *contempt*, as it was styled in the Council-Book, they were both deprived October 5, 1551.

Bishop Gardiner's matter. Cranmer's Memorials.

As for Bishop Gardiner, his story is related at length elsewhere. He was dealt very honourably with, having divers messages sent to him from the King, and divers of his chiefest ministers repairing to him, to confer with and persuade him. Among the rest, once the Lord Great Master, the Lord Treasurer, the Master of the Horse, and the Secretary, brought him certain articles to subscribe, together with the King's letter: which being omitted in Cranmer's Memorials, and so expressive of the matters wherein the Bishop gave offence, I shall here insert from the original:

By the King.

"EDWARD,

The King's letter to Bishop Gardiner. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"It is not, we think, unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour we, by the advice of our Council, "caused you to be heard and used, upon those sundry "complaints and informations, that were made to us and "our said Council of your disordered doings and words, "both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise. "Which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, "both then and many other times ministered unto you, "wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than "any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed "a man of your vocation, we could not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts, and other inobediences, "as, after and contrary to our commandment, were openly "known in you: as also, for some example and terror of "such other, as by your example seemed to take courage "to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings; whereof great disorder and inconvenience might "have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just "deservings, you were by our said Council committed to "ward. Where, albeit we have suffered you to remain 239 "a long space, sending unto you, in the mean time, at

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" sundry times, divers of the noblemen and others of our " Privy Council, and travailing by them with clemency and " favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; " yet in all this time have you neither knowledged your " faults, nor made any such submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet shewed any appearance either of repentance, or of any good conformity to our godly proceedings. Wherewith albeit we have good cause to be offended, " and might also justly, by the order of our laws, cause " your former doings to be reformed and punished, to the " example of others; yet for that we would both the world " and yourself also should know, that we delight more in " clemency than the strait administration of justice, we " have vouchsafed not only to address unto you these our " letters, but also to send eftsones unto you four of our " Privy Council, with certain articles; which being by us, " with the advice of our said Council, considered, we think " requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by " you. And therefore will and command you to subscribe " the said articles, upon pain of incurring such punishment " and penalties as by our laws may be put upon you for " not doing the same. Yeven at our palace of Westminster " the viii. day of July, the fourth year of our reign.

" E. Somerset. W. Wiltshire. J. Warwyk. J. Bedford.
" W. Northampton. E. Clynton. G. Cobham. W. Paget.
" A. Wyngfeld. W. Herbert. Edw. North. W. Petre S."

The Bishop's witnesses:

When his case came before the commissioners, he had the liberty of producing favourable witnesses in his behalf. And they were many, and some persons of honour, as the Lord Rich Lord Chancellor, Lord Paget, Sir John Baker, Bishop Tunstal, Bishop Thirleby, John Seaton, D. D. William Meddow, John White, Thomas Watson, clerks, (these four last his chaplains;) Francis Allen his secretary, James Basset, Jaques Wingfield, his proctors in this process; William Coppinger, John Davie, Rich. Hampden, Will. Brown, Thomas Growt, Robert Massie, and a great many more, some his chaplains, and others his officers or servants. Their depositions and testimonies are all set down at large in John Fox's first edition of his Acts.

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Whereof some were of the Privy Council.

It may be observed here, that some of the Bishop's witnesses were of the Privy Council: but it was at the request, as was pretended, of certain of the Bishop's servants. And was favourably granted by order of Privy Council; which was to this tenor: "Jan. 19. This day two of the Bishop "of Winchester's servants came to the Council, and desired "certain of them [of the Council] to be sworn upon certain articles, for witness on his [the Bishop's] behalf. "Whereunto they answered, that upon their honours, and "as they would answer before God, they would witness "truly according to their conscience, and as effectually as "if they were sworn upon a book." And when the Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor, on the eighth session, or court-day, was to be deposed, (that I may mention this by the bye,) he declared, that honourable personages, being of dignity and office, (as he was,) were by the laws of the realm privileged, not to be sworn in common form as other witnesses: 240 promising nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to the King, and upon his fidelity, to certify the truth. And the Judges did onerate him upon his truth to God, his allegiance to the King, and his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth.

A church granted the strangers.

And as these checks were given to sectarism and popery this year, so countenance was shewn to the true profession of the Gospel: one instance whereof follows. Great numbers of pious foreigners, Dutch, and of other nations, were now in and about London; many whereof were driven out of their own countries by the popish persecution. These had a place assigned them for their safe assembling themselves together for the public worship of God; being a large and fair part of the church of the Augustin friary dissolved. And one Johannes a Lasco, a nobleman of Poland, became their first and chief pastor. This man had abandoned his own country and honours, to dwell an exile in other parts, for the freer acknowledgment of the Gospel; but not without the Polish King's good leave, to whom he was well

John a Lasco their pastor.

Lavater. Hist. Sacramentar.

known and beloved. For so a foreign good historian teaches us: *A Lasco left Poland, sciente et permittente rege; cui propter ingenii dexteritatem charus erat, et qui in arduis negotiis ejus opera non semel usus est;* that is, "by the "knowledge and permission of the King, to whom, for his "excellent parts, he was dear, and who did more than once "make use of him in his difficult affairs."

The patent.

The date of King Edward's grant of this church to these strangers, and the particular place where, is ascertained from that King's Book of Sales, being set down in these words; "The King, *de speciali gratia*, of his especial "grace, granted the superintendent and ministers of the "church of the Germans and other strangers, *totum illud* "*templ. sive ecclesiam nuper fratrum Augustinens. in civitat. Lond. ac totam terram, fundum et solum ejusdem ecclesiæ.*" The test of the patent was July 24. an. 4 Edw. VI.

An order from the Council for this church.

As for A Lasco, he was very vigilant in exercising preaching, administering the sacraments, discipline, and government, as being superintendent, and deserved well of this church. And when in the year 1552. some of them received molestation for not frequenting the parish churches where they dwelt, according as the laws then directed; and opposition seems to have been made by some busy persons, to hinder the exercise of religion in this church; A Lasco made his complaint above, where he was much respected, and got this obligation of going to the parish church dispensed with, and allowance for them to resort still to their own church. For he obtained this order of Council: "Nov. 4, 1552. Ordered, that the Bishop of London "should confer with John a Lasco, and between them "devise some good means for appeasing the disquiet lately "happened in the strangers' church in London, upon exe- "cution of the statute for coming to church. And in the "mean while, till the matter may be further considered, to "suffer the said strangers to repair to their accustomed "church, as they were wont to do."

A Lasco marries again.

A Lasco buried his wife anno 1552. And for his conveniency, comfort, and for the better managery of his domestic affairs, married again not long after. For he had divers young children: one was called Barbara, and another Thomas, (to whom I suspect Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was godfather, and gave him his own name.) Which marriage Peter Martyr, then at Oxon, approved of. For when John Utenhovius, a man of nobility, piety, and 241 learning, and one of the ministers of the Dutch church in London, had by letter advised the said Martyr, lately also become a widower, to take another wife, as A Lasco had done, "the good man thanked him for his counsel, and "added, that so he would, if he were in A Lasco's case, and "had children young and numerous as he had. Wherefore "he much commended and liked what he had done. But "as for himself, he had no child, and was grown into years. "And therefore thought it better for him to remain as he "was." As I collect from a private letter of his.

P. Martyr's judgment thereof.
Biblioth. Eccl. Belg. Lond.

This grave nobleman, and servant of God, resided some time in his youth at Basil in Switzerland; where he seemed first to have tasted the word of God, and seen the errors and superstitions ordinarily practised in the Church. Here he was, while Erasmus, that great scholar, abode here, by whom he was well known and highly esteemed. And, as a peculiar testimony thereof, he made a sale of his library to him in his lifetime, to enjoy after his death, paying such a sum. Which Erasmus forgets not to specify in his last will; wherein is this clause; "*Bibliothecam quidem meam*, &c. *i. e.* "I have sold my library to M. John a Lasco, a Pole, according to a bond made between us upon this contract. "Yet let not the books be delivered before he pay to my "heir two hundred florins."

A Lasco known to Erasmus at Basil.

It was one commendable practice of this church of strangers, that good discipline was preserved in it, to bring scandalous sinners to open shame, whatever their outward qualities or respects were. To this church, at this time, belonged a scholar and a preacher, named Michael Angelo Florio, an Italian; who preached to a congregation of Italians, and had the countenance of the Archbishop and the Secretary; by both whose means he had an annuity of 20*l.*

Discipline exercised in this church.
Mic. Angelo Florio.

for life, payable by the King quarterly. But having been found guilty of an act of fornication, he underwent the censures of the Church, and was deposed from his ministry. Afterwards enjoined penance, which he performed. But some time after seemed to have been restored again. This was entered into the acts of the church. In the year 1566, I find Grindal, Bishop of London, sent unto Cousin and Wing, the Dutch preachers, that they would transcribe out of the said acts or register, a short account, what was done with this Italian for his scandalous sin in deflouring a maid, and the form of the public penance enjoined to and performed by him. But after search, this book was not to be found then among them. And the ministers abovesaid conjectured, that Martin Micronius had carried it along with him to Embden, when that church was broken up upon Queen Mary's access to the crown.

Strangers placed at Glastenbury.

Nor must the church of strangers at Glastenbury in Somersetshire be unmentioned, with Valerandus Pollanus, their preacher and superintendent. These consisted chiefly of weavers of worsted. The good Duke of Somerset, to whom that dissolved abbey was granted, settled them there by indenture between him and them, with a promise to lend them money to buy wool and necessaries, to carry on their manufactures, and allotted them rooms for their dwelling, and ascertained certain proportions of land for feeding of their cows; and lastly, appointed one Henry Cornish to be their chief overseer, to take care of them, and to see them provided with all things needful for them and their trades. But upon the disgrace and misfortunes of the Duke, these
242 honest men's industry was at a stand for a time, till some farther encouragement came to them from the Privy Council; as we shall hear by and by.

The liturgy of the strangers' church at Strasburgh removed to Glastenbury. N. Bat.

This church, seated at Glastenbury, came from Strasburgh, flying thence by reason of the *interim*. Pollanus had come to this church eight years before. In February 1550, being in London, there he set forth in Latin the liturgy of these strangers, which they used in their religious worship at Strasburgh: that so exposing, as I suppose, their

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worship to public view, they might the easier be admitted in England to the free exercise of it. The epistle dedicatory was to King Edward, dated Feb. 19, 1551, that is, according to the computation of the Church of England, 1550. Herein he wrote, "that he thought it worth his "pains to put into Latin the rites and manners (never suf"ficiently commended) used by the strangers' church at "Argentine, exiles for the Gospel of Christ: being in"duced to it as a point of duty, understanding how this "good church had been slandered by some for changing "their religion; by others, for the licentiousness of their "manners. He also mentioned aphorisms of their disci"pline, which he intended ere long to publish: and gives "this high character of the said church, that there was "none purer, or that came nearer to that which was in the "Apostles' times." This liturgy is short. It was printed in October, and bare this title: *Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia Peregrinorum Profugorum propter Evangelium Christi, Argentine* 1551. *Cum Apologia pro hac Liturgia. Per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum.*

The particulars of the Strasburgh liturgy.

And because some more particular account of this foreign liturgy may, perhaps, not be unacceptable to some, I shall here set it down.

N. Bately.

The service for the Lord's day. First, *Sursum corda.* Then the first table of the Decalogue is sung in rhyme. Then the pastor, standing at the table, turning to the people, thus begins, *Our help is in the name of the Lord*, &c. A short exhortation to confess their sins. A confession. [The sentence, the exhortation, and confession are the same which are at this day used in the French congregations, and prescribed in their liturgy. But therein is nothing of this that follows.] Then the pastor rehearseth to the people some sentence out of the Scripture of the remission of sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the people either kneeling or standing all this while. Then the Gospel is read. Then the absolution is again repeated. Then the rest of the Decalogue is sung. Then the pastor exhorteth them to pray. Then

Anno 1550. follows a very short prayer, like one of our collects, that God would give them grace to keep the commandments. Then the same collect is sung. And the pastor goes up into the pulpit; where he first prays, and then preaches upon the New Testament, beginning some one book of it, and going on till he hath ended the whole book in several sermons. Then a prayer. Then banns of marriage are published, baptism celebrated, the sick particularly prayed for, alms collected by the deacons. Then comes a long prayer, the same with that prescribed in the French form, for the whole church, after sermon. Then the Apostles' Creed. Then, when there is a communion, the pastor first 243 rehearseth the institution of that sacrament out of 1 Cor. xi. Then he subjoins an excommunication of all idolaters, blasphemers, heretics, schismatics, perjured, seditious, contentious, disobedient to parents, whoremongers, thieves, covetous, &c. and forbids any such to partake of the said Supper. Then he makes an exhortation concerning the Lord's Supper. Then he communicates in both kinds himself; next the deacon in both kinds; then all the men first, and after them all the women, approach reverently to the table: where the pastor, at one end of the table, gives to every one of them the bread one by one; and the deacon, at the other end of the table, gives them the wine: a psalm of praise being sung all the while by the people. The pastor in giving the bread to every one says, *The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ.* The deacon in giving the cup, says to every one, *The cup which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ.* Then follows the same thanksgiving and benediction which is at this day used by the French protestants. Here ends the morning service.

At noon, after the singing of a psalm, the children are catechised and instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, for an hour.

At even, after a psalm was sung, a sermon. After the sermon, a prayer and the benediction.

The daily service. Every morning a psalm is sung, a prayer, a sermon, a prayer and benediction in the pulpit.

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The service of repentance. Every Tuesday was a day of more solemn devotion, to deprecate God's judgment, and confess their sins, in this form: a psalm, the confession, a sermon, a long prayer, the same as above.

The service of baptism is the same which is used by the French, except that the parent and godfathers brought the child. The minister asked them, *Will you have this child baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?* They answered, *This we desire*, &c.

The service of the blessing of wedlock, and of visitation of the sick, the same with the French.

The service for ordination of ministers, and ecclesiastical discipline, not much differing from that which the French now use.

Orders of Council for the strangers of Glastenbury. Council-Book.

Further notices of this church of strangers at Glastenbury may be taken up from several orders that issued from the Privy Council, concerning them, as they were taken out of the Council-Book, *viz.* "Nov. 11, 1551. An order sent "to Valerandus Pollanus, chief and superintendent of the "strangers, worstedmakers at Glastenbury, signifying unto "them, that *order* is taken with Henry Cornish for the "conclusion of such conveniences as were drawn and articulated between the Duke of Somerset and the said company, willing him and them, for the acceptance of the said "Cornish as their director herein, as they had done heretofore.

"Ordered also, That Henry Cornish do agree with them "for divers leases, &c.

"Ordered also, The auditor and receiver of the Duke of "Somerset's lands to conclude such articles as were agreed "upon, &c. And to take an account of Henry Cornish, appointed by the said Duke to be the overseer of the said "strangers, and to advance money for them.

"March 22, 1551. Ordered that the Bishop of Bath, 244
"Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir John St. Loo, &c. do consider the "void places and rooms about the monastery of Glasten-

"bury, that may be fittest for the placing such strangers "there as are not already provided for: and to put the "same rooms in such order as the said strangers may inhabit in them, as soon as may be, having regard nevertheless to the best way of saving charges as they think may "be devised.

"Nov. 29, 1552. A letter sent to the Bishop of Bath, "Sir John St. Loo, Sir Ralph Hopton, and ——— Clopwood, signifying, that it is agreed to provide for thirty-six household strangers at Glastenbury; and for every "of them so much ground as may keep two kine, as good "cheap as other inhabitants do there commonly pay."

MSS. D. Hen. D. Episc. Lond.

Add to the rest of the favours shewed to these strangers exiles planted at Glastenbury, what I find in the Council's "Warrant Book, *viz. Decemb. — an. 5 Regis*; a free denizenship to Valerandus Pollanus, born under the Emperor, with a clause written under the said bill, to make "sixty-nine like letters patents to sixty-nine other persons, "whose names are mentioned therein."

K. Edward's account of Bucer's death. Journal.

Martin Bucer, that godly confessor and public professor of divinity at Cambridge, died in February. King Edward, in his Journal, thought it not unworthy to make a memorial of this good man's death; writing thereupon after this tenor: "Feb. 28, the learned man Bucerus died at "Cambridge, who was two days after buried in St. Mary's "church at Cambridge, all the whole University, with "the whole town, bringing him to the grave, to the number of three thousand persons. Also there was an oration "of Mr. Haddon made very elegantly at his death; and a "sermon of [Dr. Parker.] After that, Mr. Redman made "a third sermon. Which three sermons made the people "wonderfully to lament his death. Last of all, all the "learned men of the University made their epitaphs in his "praise, laying them on his grave." What time King Edward assigned for the day of Bucer's death, we saw above; but according to Sleidan, he died the last day of February save one; and according to Nicolas Car, in his letter from Cambridge to Sir John Cheke, on the calends of March.

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James Bucer.

One James Bucer was minister of a Dutch church at Sandwich, about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1562. But whether he were a son of Martin Bucer I cannot affirm.

Melancthon sent for. Council's Warrant Book.

For the supply of Bucer's room in Cambridge, to read sound divinity there, the King sent a Latin letter to the great learned German, Philip Melancthon, to come over into England; certifying him, that his Majesty had elected him in Bucer's place in that University. But this letter was not writ till the month of May, in the year 1553. And probably Melancthon might have come over, had not the King's death prevented.

Bucer visits P. Martyr at Oxon.

The summer before his death, July 22, being St. Mary Magdalen's day, upon Martyr's invitation, Bucer came to Oxford with John Bradford and some others, to see that University and his dear friend and fellow professor. Where, before he departed, he read a lecture in Christ Church, upon that text, *Sanctifica eos, O Pater, in veritate*, &c. Though Bucer were well esteemed and highly valued by some of the best members of the University where he professed, yet, as his colleague at Oxon, he underwent much 245 slander and disesteem from the general sort, addicted to asperse sobriety and godliness. Whereof to give an instance, the two hopeful sons of Katharin, Duchess of Suffolk, being admitted students at Cambridge, and she, as it seems, for their sakes, some time sojourning there, had, among other her kindnesses, sent Bucer a cow and a calf towards the maintenance of his family. It happened that he walked out one day, for his recreation, into the fields to see them: upon this his enemies reported of him, that he was taught by a cow and a calf what he should read in the schools, as though they were some magic spirits that assisted him. Which coming at length to the good man's ears, he said in a joke, without any passion, "Behold! these are "my masters, whence I have learned what I teach others: "and yet they can neither speak Latin nor Greek, Hebrew "nor German, nor talk with me in any other language." To which I will add one defamation more, and that as im-

Defamed and belied. Vit. Juelli, p. 260.

pudent as uncharitable: the author, one Pontac, of Burdois, having the face to publish it in print, in a book set out not long after Bucer's death; that Bucer upon his deathbed said, "That Jesus Christ was not the promised "Messias, but that we were to look for another." Sufficiently confuted, not only by the long course of his pious life, but also by those many persons that were with him in his last sickness, and testified of the devout and holy end which he made.

His enemies. His friends.

Among his enemies, and those that opposed him in the University, were Dr. Redman and Dr. Yong. Among his friends there, were Dr. Parker, Dr. Haddon. Among those that consorted to him were Bradford the holy martyr, and Roger Ascham, that fine wit; one whom, for his great parts and ingenuity, he loved much. Whose frequent discourses with him (as he told his friend Sturmius of Argentine) were fresh in his memory: which were sometimes about the state and motions of religion and of the commonwealth; sometimes concerning the right course and method of learning, and such like. For Bucer was very useful in promoting learning and religion at home, as well as in the schools; communicative in excellent discourses to as many as repaired to him, as friends or learners. The forementioned Ascham and he had much discourse together concerning that learned man of Argentine, Jo. Sturmius, and of putting him upon reading on Aristotle, by their joint letters. The good Duchess of Suffolk must be remembered with honour, who, knowing his worth, cherished him in his sickness by night and by day; of whom she had a tender care, and endeavoured his cure and recovery, if possible.

Lib. i. Epist.

Haddon's character of him and Martyr. Answer to Osorius, fo. 29. b.

So wise and useful was the conversation of him and his fellow, the King's Professor of Oxford, that a man in those days, of great fame for learning and virtue, who was acquainted with them both, called them "that golden couple "of fathers, and confessed, that he received an inestimable "benefit of God, that he did once hear, see, and know "those notable fathers; esteeming more, one day's confe"rence with them, than all the vainglorious pomp of Oso-

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"rius, a Portugal Bishop, [who had spoken contemptibly of "them,] and that those two worthy personages did as much "surmount him in wisdom and learning," &c.

A commission against Anabaptists.

We heard before of Anabaptists and such like sectaries, that shewed themselves in Kent and Essex; insomuch that the ecclesiastical courts were fain to take notice of them. But that cognisance, it seems, sufficed not: for in January 246 a special commission was issued forth against them from the King, to one and thirty persons, *viz.* to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, London, Lincoln, Norwich, and Rochester, Nic. Wotton Dean of Canterbury, Will. Petre, Will. Cecil, Richard Cocks, Anthony Coke, James Hales, Tho. Smith, John Cheke, Will. May, John Taylor, Simon Haynes, Gryffith Leyson, John Redman, Hugh Latimer, Giles Eire, Matt. Parker, Miles Coverdale, John Oliver, Richard Liel, Roland Taylor, Christopher Nevynson, Richard Goodrick, John Gosnold, Richard Wilks, Henry Sidal, and Nic. Bullingham; or to any three of them: whereof the Archbishop, the Bishops of Ely, Norwich, and Rochester, Nic. Wotton, Petre, Cecyl, Cox, Hales, and May, to be one. These were authorized to correct and punish all Anabaptists, and such as did not duly administer the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer set forth by the King's Majesty.

CHAP. XXX.

Cecyl becomes Secretary. Gentlemen of the King's privy chamber. Sir Thomas Wroth. The Earl of Arundel. Bullinger's counsels to the King. Hoper and A Lasco. Ridley made Bishop of London. Visits his diocese. Gives orders. Ponet made Bishop of Rochester.

Cecyl made Secretary. Council-Book.

AND now to turn our eyes a little to the King. He being now at Otelands, Dr. Wotton, the present Secretary, a man much employed abroad in embassies, was released of his place, and September 5, William Cecyl, Esq. was sworn

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Secretary in his stead, though he seemed to have officiated in that place a year before, according to a diary of his own, wherein he writ, that in the month of September, 3 Edward VI. he was chosen into the office of Secretary. And in October following he had the grant of 100*l* per ann. during pleasure, out of the Augmentation Office, as his salary.

His character.

This man deserves to stand upon record, as meriting highly of this Church, I may say, above any one person about King Edward or Queen Elizabeth, and taking vast pains in settling it in that good constitution wherein it stands. He was a man of great wisdom and sincere religion and integrity, and endued with abundance of admirable qualities, both as a statesman and a Christian; and was the very basis, under God, of Queen Elizabeth's government, and worthily esteemed among all men, in those days, the very Nestor of his age. But all this hath of late been swallowed up and 247 clearly forgotten, because of one act of his, which is wont, by some, to be laid to his charge, *viz.* of getting the hundred of Nassaburgh, with the appurtenances, from the bishopric of Peterburgh: and the observator upon Cranmer's Memorials is among this number, who falls very foul upon him, saying, that "he tore away from that bishopric the far better part of the revenue thereof, and that he got a Bishop "removed that he might compass it." Which he had from Heylin, a too hasty and passionate writer. This is not a place to inquire into the truth of this accusation, which, for my part, I doubt of: but I must needs say, it is very ungratefully done of the age, especially of the Clergy, to set this great and good man in so bad a light, to blacken his memory as they do, and to forget so many and so great good turns, for one supposed ill one.

A new Master of the Rolls.

As there was now a new Secretary, so there was, a little after, a new Master of the Rolls. For in December the office of Master of the Rolls was granted to John Beaumont, Esq. for life, with all fees and profits thereunto belonging, in as large and ample manner as Sir Robert Southwel lately had it. But how he managed this place for his own advantage, we shall hear hereafter.

CHAP. XXX.

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The King's favour for Sir Thomas Wroth.

The King had divers sober and learned men about him, gentlemen of his privy chamber, in whose wise and learned conversation he was much delighted, and as much profited. For great care was taken by his uncle, the Duke, to have only such about his person. And for these, as a grateful master, he had a great kindness, and expressed it in royal bounty to them. And whosoever of these was in greatest favour with him, surely Sir Thomas Wroth, a gentleman of the west, was one of those that received the largest share of benefits from him: for he not only knighted him, but heaped great wealth, honours, offices, and possessions on him. Whereof these were some:

Grants to him. Book of Sales.

In the fourth year of his reign, of his special grace, and in consideration of service, he granted him the reversion of the office of keeper of his manor of Elsing in Endefeld in the county of Middlesex, and the office of steward and bailiff of the manors of Elsing and Worcester, and of the manor of Edelmeton, and of keeper of the new park in Enfeld, after the death or surrender of John Earl of Warwick. The value of which offices were five marks and sixty shillings per annum, and eight pence per diem. The patent dated March 10.

April 9. following, for the like consideration, the King granted him the manors of North-hall, Down-Barnes, and Hamsted, with their appurtenances, rights, and members, in the county of Middlesex, parcel of the possessions of the late bishopric of Westminster. The value whereof yearly amounted to 65*l.* 15*s.* *ob.*

July 24. following, for the like consideration, the King granted him the lordship and manor of Bardfield, and the town of Bardfield in Essex, and the manors of Chigwel and West-Hatch, with the appurtenances in the same county. Value yearly 77*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* rent reserved, 11*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

Chancellor Goodrick's Ledg. Book. Warr. Book.

December 29. following, a patent, dated at Greenwich, was granted to Sir Thomas Wroth of the privy chamber, of the manors of Lidiard in Somersetshire and Theydon Boyce, and the scite and demean lands of Berden in Essex, with the appurtenances; the scite and demean of Abendon, and other lands: to have to him and his heirs, in respect of an annuity of an hundred mark already cancelled: which lands were of the yearly value of 84*l.* 8*s.* 11 *ob. q.*

248 In the fifth of the King he had an annuity of 100*l.* granted him out of the bishopric of Winchester.

Warr. Book. In June, the sixth of the King, he had the office of keeping the chief house and messuage of Sion, and the office of steward and bailiff of the manor of Istleworth in the county of Middlesex; and all other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Istleworth, Twickenham, Heston, Whitton, Sutton, Brainford, &c. in the same county, for life; with all profits, and a fee for keeping of the house of Sion, &c. [which house and lands belonged before to the Duke of Somerset.] In September after, he granted the same Sir Thomas the rich furniture and bedding of the same house, which had been the said Duke's.

Besides which, in the third of the King, he granted him the rectory of Mytton in Yorkshire, with all the rights and appurtenances in the said county and in the county of Lancaster, and five messuages in London, during the life of Bartholomew Burgoyn, clerk.

L. Dyer's Rep. fol. 167. The Lord Rich and Sir Thomas Wroth were joint patentees for an office in Waltham forest, (it was, I suppose, that of lieutenant of the forest,) for the term of their lives. The Lord Rich, (Wroth being fled abroad,) under Queen Mary, surrendered his patent in the Chancery, and there it was cancelled. And upon this a new patent was granted of the Queen to Sir Edward Waldgrave, one of her Privy Council. But when Wroth returned, under Queen Elizabeth, he sued for the said office, alleging, that he had never surrendered his patent. And so, I suppose, he had it again; as his son Sir Robert enjoyed it after him.

Sir Thomas Wroth had also of the King the manor of Ewing in the county of Hertford, and the manor of Newton in the county of Somerset.

The King sometimes would exercise and play with him: and once he won of the King ten yards of black velvet, which he received, by order, from the King's wardrobe.

His posterity.

This gentleman was an exile under Queen Mary, with his family, but returned into England after her death, and was in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, and lived many years in singular reputation in Enfield, augmenting his estate, and serving his country long in the quality of a member of Parliament. He had issue, Robert, (who was knighted,) Richard, Thomas, Gersom, and John, whereof Gersom was born in exile, on which account he had his name; and by a private act, in one of Queen Elizabeth's first Parliaments, he was made a free denizen. Sir Robert kept up the state of the family, and enlarged his possessions by the purchase of Lucton, or Loughton, in Essex, an estate belonging to the duchy of Lancaster, whereof his father-in-law had a long lease before. He bought also of the Queen divers other leases of lands thereabouts, that formerly belonged to the abbey of Waltham. I meet with John Wroth, Esq. of this family I doubt not, who obtained a pardon of King Richard III. with a clause in the same of fines, amercements, and other debts and accounts by him due. For that he was escheator in the counties of Somerset and Dorset. The name and family still continues in Essex, but the estate greatly diminished; the uncertain lot of all secular things. Pardon, reader, this digression, (249) which my neighbourhood to that seat, and knowledge of that family, drew from me.

A debt of the Earl of Arundel pardoned.

I subjoin the mention here of another courtier, of greater quality than Wroth, I mean Henry Earl of Arundel, a person of ancient nobility, and lately Lord Chamberlain. The last year he was fined 12,000*l.* for misdemeanours. And now again this year I find another for the payment of 1000*l.* to the treasurer of the Augmentations. And a debt owing to the King lay upon him, *viz.* 8,800*l.* taxed and cessed upon him for a full recompence of certain contempts by him against the law made and committed. For which he had given eight several recognisances, remaining in the Court of Chancery, whereby he stood bound to the King. What these contempts were, I know not. King Edward in his Journal calls them, *certain faults*; and writes, that he had

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committed them within twelve years. So it seems he was now called to account for twelve years past; which was somewhat hard, and a sign he had enemies at Court. But he received the favour to have a clear discharge from this debt. For in January a warrant was sent to the Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor, to cancel every of the said recognisances and the enrolments of them; so that the said Earl, his heirs, executors, &c. may be thereby discharged. The Court was minded not to lose this nobleman. But yet it seems he could not long hold in, an heartburning being between some of the Court and him: for in the next year I find this Earl, with the Earl of Southampton, wholly discharged the Council-Board, and commanded to keep his house. And the year after that, he was fain to pronounce a solemn submission before the King, as we relate in due place.

Endeavours to restore the Duke to his protectorship.

The Parliament, that had been sitting from the 4th of November, broke up the first of February. The Duke of Somerset, notwithstanding his enemies among the nobility, remained still favoured by the Commons. And some, as it seems, in the lower house were consulting among themselves for his restoration to the office of Protector of the King's person, which was taken away from him in his late troubles; but seemed to be prevented by the breaking up of the session. Yet they intended the next session to set about it. In the mean time the Lords were to be prepared: and Whaley particularly, the receiver for Yorkshire, endeavoured to persuade divers noblemen to make the Duke Protector the next Parliament. For which Whaley was brought into trouble in February. And the Earl of Rutland was one that was witness against him.

Bullinger dedicates a book to the King.

In March (whether that were in the latter end of the year 1549, or the beginning of 1550, I know not) Henry Bullinger, the chief minister of Zurich, (a wise man, and of great esteem in the Protestant Churches,) dedicated, in a long epistle to King Edward, his third, and part of his fourth Decad; being many learned discourses upon the chief heads of religion: invited, I suppose, by some in England, for the young King's benefit, so to do; that King having a great reverence in his mind for the foreign learned reformers. In the entrance of his epistle, being a stranger, he makes way for his admission and liberty of speech to the King, by promising to shew him, in a few words, the certain causes of the happiness or misery of kings and kingdoms.

"Your royal Majesty," as he begins, "would I know admit to speech some new guest, that should undertake, "from the judgments of the wisest men, to lay before you, (250) "in short, what the real causes were of the *felicity* or *infelicity* of kings and kingdoms. Your Majesty therefore "will not, I hope, exclude me from access to you, who do "surely promise you, clearly and evidently to demonstrate "the very reasons thereof before you; that whosoever hears "me needs not attend with any painful diligence to apprehend me, but bring with him only a benevolent mind. "For, by God's help, I shall offer it in that manner, that it "shall not only be perceived by their understanding, but be, "as it were, seen with their eyes, and felt with their hands. "And this fetched not from the dubious *placits* of men, "but the most certain oracles of the true God."

Then he suggested to him what those things were which the wise men of the world agreed in, to be proper to render a king or a kingdom very happy; namely, "If he were a "wise king that presided and governed: if he had about "him for his counsellors many such as were men of prudence, stayed in years, faithful, and such as understood "the affairs of the world: if he had captains that were valorous, well exercised, and fortunate in war: if he were "furnished with plenty of all things: if his kingdom were "on all parts well fortified, and, in a word, his subjects all "of one mind, loyal, and obedient. These things, he said, "were rightly and prudently spoken: but that there was "another singular and most excellent thing omitted, without which no true prosperity could be obtained or preserved; and where that was, those other things mentioned "before would also be." After this manner of preface did Bullinger heighten the pious King's expectation, which this learned man satisfied in his following discourse; directing

Anno 1550. him straightway to God's word. "God," said he, "who "suggests the most wise and absolute counsels more succinctly and better than the wisest men, thus pronounceth "in his Gospel, *But rather seek first the kingdom of God "and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added "unto you.* And again, *Blessed are the eyes which see the "things which ye see; for I say to you, that many kings "and prophets have desired to see and hear those things "which ye see and hear, and have not seen nor heard them.* "Therefore," as he subjoined, "being warranted by the holy "oracles of God, I pronounce, that those kings shall be "happy, who offer and subject themselves and their kingdoms entirely to Jesus Christ, the *King of kings, and "Lord of lords;* acknowledging him to be the highest "Prince and Monarch, and themselves his vassals, liegemen, and servants: that in all things follow not their own "wills, nor the laws of men, contrary to those that are "God's, nor the good intentions of men, but the very laws "of the highest and eternal King and Monarch; and that "deliver them to their subjects to be followed by them: "reforming all things according to the rule of God's word "only. For so they shall enjoy most flourishing and happy "kingdoms, and reign therein, wealthy, victorious, long, "and happy."

Then he shewed the King, "how God commanded the "kings of old, that they should read the book of the law; "and quoted that place in Deuteronomy xvii. *When the "king sitteth in the throne of his kingdom, he shall take* (251) *"the book of the law of God, that he may read in it all the "days of his life, and do those things, and not depart from "them, either to the right hand or to the left.*"

Then he represented to the King, in a long series, the history of the kings of Judah and of Israel, and of other foreign kings, both before Christ and after: and how the godly, and those that took heed to God's law, were prosperous, and the neglecters thereof unsuccessful and miserable. And when he came to young Josiah, the King of Judah, he took occasion to lay down his example at large

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before this young King; expatiating, "how peaceably and "prosperously he reigned, of whose faith and obedience, "which he most religiously yielded to God, the Scriptures "speak: how the admonitions of his father's counsellors "moved him not: how when once he heard the words of "the book of the law, found in the temple by Hilkiah the "high-priest, he gave himself wholly to God and his word, "and not expecting the opinions or reformation of other "kings and kingdoms, he in time took care of his own sub-"jects, and began to set upon the work of reformation "when he was young, being but eighteen years old: and "that in this reformation he esteemed the rules of the holy "Scriptures alone to be followed; not the actions of kings "or predecessors, nor the prescription of long time, nor "the suffrages of numbers of men: but calling together "his own people, and propounding the book of the law in "the midst of them, appointed all things to be done accord-"ing to that rule: and that hence it came to pass, that he "spared not the old high places of Solomon and Jeroboam, "set up against God's law; nor the most ancient rites and "ceremonies. In short, he shewed how that king over-"threw whatsoever was set up in the Church and kingdom "against God's word. And lest any should lay to his "charge as though he were too bold or too severe in "these his deeds, the Scripture, as he added, gave him "this testimony, that *before him was no such king, who* "*turned to the Lord with his whole heart, and with his* "*whole soul and strength, according to all the law of* "*Moses: neither after him arose any like him.*"

Towards the conclusion he applied himself to the King more closely, telling him, "that the reason of all that he "had said before was, that he should hold it for a most "undoubted truth, that true prosperity was to be procured "by him no other ways, than by submitting himself and "his whole kingdom to Christ, the highest Prince, and by "framing all matters of religion and justice throughout his "dominions, according to the rule of God's word; not stir-

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"ring one inch from this rule; propagating the kingdom "of Christ, and trampling upon that of Antichrist, as he "had happily begun. Not that the King wanted, as he "said, his admonition or teaching, carrying in his mind "that heavenly teacher that suggested to him all the doc"trines of true religion; and having that most sacred book, "the Bible, in which, as in a most perfect canon, was con"tained and delivered the whole substance of our salvation; "having about him men that were learned, wise, godly, "bold, well skilled both in divine and human laws, pru"dent, hearty lovers of sincere truth, and well spoken of in "foreign countries. But he hoped, as King Hezekiah, "though he made use of those great prophets, Esay and "Micah, yet he refused not to be advised by the ordinary (252) "Levites; so his Majesty should receive some fruit and be"nefit by his discourse: having twelve years before dedi"cated to his father, King Henry of happy memory, a book "concerning the authority of the holy Scripture, and the "institution and function of Bishops, against the Roman "superstition and tyranny: and he found that work had "some good effect in England." By such dedications and counsels as these, the young King's mind was mightily whetted and quickened to the taking care of religion. And I make no doubt Bullinger and others were instructed by some good men here at home, to make these kinds of addresses to him.

Dedicates another to him.

This epistle and book was presented to the King by the hands of Hoper, Bishop of Gloucester, personally acquainted with Bullinger. To whom the King declared his good acceptance thereof, and the respect and esteem he had for the reverend author. In August ensuing, Bullinger dedicated the remaining sermons of the fourth Decad unto the same King: which the author said he did offer him with more confidence and assurance than he had done the former, since he understood by that holy and vigilant Bishop the King's gracious good-will towards him. In the dedication of these sermons, he suggested to his Majesty, "that he

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“ had his eye upon nothing else but what he had mentioned to him before, namely, that he might assist, according to the gift of God given unto him, the business “ of Christian piety, happily reviving in his flourishing “ kingdom, under his favour and the counsels of the best of “ his nobility. He shewed him, that for this new birth of “ the Gospel, all the faithful throughout the Christian “ world did congratulate him and his kingdom; beseeching Christ to bring to an happy conclusion what had been “ so happily begun in his fear. He acknowledged that this “ work, by the King undertaken, was great, and full of labour and trouble: but he who said, *I will be with you always to the end of the world*, would not be wanting to his “ godly endeavours.” Then that reverend Father thought it convenient to take this opportunity, to refute a very plausible plea that was wont then to be urged in Germany and in England, and particularly to the King, to divert the present purging of corrupt religion, (and this was much in the mouths of the more *politic* sort,) namely, that such haste ought not to be made by private authority, but that men ought to stay for the determination of a general council in controversies of religion; without whose judgment they pretended it was not lawful, no, not for a kingdom, much less for any commonwealth, to make the least alteration in religion once received, and hitherto observed. But to this he put this answer into the King's mouth, “ that the Prophets and Apostles sent us not to the councils of elders “ or priests, but to the word of God. And he alleged that “ of the Prophet Jeremy, *Quomodo dicitis, Sapientes sumus, et lex Domini apud nos est? Vere mendacium operatus est stylus mendax scribarum*, &c. He added, that the “ authority of the Prophets and Evangelists persuaded to “ go on, and further with suitable increases the reformation of religion once undertaken in the fear of God, out “ of the word of God; and not to regard councils, which “ were governed by the affections of men, and not by the “ word of God.”

Chap. viii.

Anno 1550. (253) Then he went on to shew, "how little might be expected "from the decisions of councils, which the examples of "some of the last ages might teach for four hundred years "past and better. That for five hundred years and more, "the best and most religious men have cried out of the superstitions, errors, and abuses crept into the Church: that "the salt of the earth was become unsavoury, that is, that "the ministers of the Church were corrupted by sloth, ignorance, and vile actions, and all good discipline was gone. "Upon which account councils of priests were often called "together by popes, princes assisting. But what was done, "what amendment there was of doctrines, of teachers, and "of discipline, the thing itself spake. For how much the "oftener councils met, so much the more prevailed superstition, error in doctrine, abuses in rites, pride, luxury, "covetousness, and all manner of corruption in the teachers "or priests; and, in short, a most foul neglect in all good "discipline. For such presided in those councils, who "ought to have been first brought into order, or altogether "banished out of the society of holy men. Neither did "they in those councils treat of lawful causes, nor in a lawful way. For the word of God obtained with them neither its authority nor dignity. Nor did they admit to the "discussion of causes those whom they ought chiefly to "have admitted, but whom they themselves would. Neither did they seek the glory of God and the safety of the "Church, but themselves, and the glory and pleasures of "the world. And from the present Council [that of Trent] "what they could promise to themselves, though they were "blind, they might even feel."

And then having thus represented what little good was like to come from councils, he applied himself to the King, with these words: "That when these things were as clear "as the sun, he did most prudently and religiously, in not "looking for the determination of a general council, but "proceeding, without more ado, to reform the churches in "his kingdom, according to the rules of both Testaments,

" which we believe aright to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, " and to be the very word of God."

He shewed moreover, in the next place, " that it was " lawful for every Christian church, much more Christian " kingdom, without consulting with the Church of Rome " and her members, entirely to reform religion by them depraved, so it were according to the rule of God's word. " And then propounded to the King the example of Josiah, " whose doings would teach him what he might do, and do " by divine right; how that most holy King understood, " by reading of God's word, and by considering how divine " worship and other matters stood then in the Church, that " there was a very extraordinary swerving from the simple " truth by his forefathers. Presently therefore he called " together his princes, and all the estates of his kingdom, " together with all the priests. And in this assembly it " was not long disputed, whether they should follow the " example of their ancestors, rather than simply to receive " that which God had commanded; whether should they " believe the Scripture or the Church. But that immediately the King commanded all to do according to God's " precepts, making no account of ancient custom, or of the " Church that then was. And therefore that his Majesty " could not follow better and safer counsel." Thus seasonably did this grave and learned man instruct this young and towardly Prince, and arm his mind against an objection which subtle men in these times were apt to insinuate to (254) him, to stop him in his commendable endeavours for a reformation.

Bullinger writes an epistle dedicatory to the Marquis of Dorset.

In March after, the said Bullinger dedicated the remainder of his Decads to one of this King's Council, Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk. Which was advisable to be done for the confirming this and other great leading men, and such as were always at the King's elbow, in the proceedings that were making in religion. To which this grave man apprehended some stop might be made by a plausible occasion that now happened; which was the issuing out of a bull of the indiction of the

The reason,

œcumenical Council, (as they called that of Trent,) on the calends of May next, [1551.] " From whence, as some " every where, he said, seriously looked for a reformation " of the Church, so he supposed some in England expected " the like: and that therefore they judged there should be " a cessation from the reformation begun. He therefore " advised this nobleman, that he should diligently see and " watch what damage the kingdom might hence sustain."

And substance thereof.

The true purpose of calling the Council of Trent.

And then he proceeded to shew, by solid arguments, " that " the expectation of a reformation thence would be most " vain. For that the Council was called by this Pope upon " no other ends, than for the confirmation of the old errors " and superstition, and for the overthrow of the reformation begun in Germany, England, Denmark, and other " nations of Christendom; and for the oppression of the " pure and sincere doctrine of the Gospel. Here he shewed, how the calling of the Council was in express words, "*for the extirpating of heresy:* and Pope Paul did accuse " and condemn, as heretics, those that professed the Gospel, and required reformation according to the word of " God: and how the prelates of the Church took an oath " to the Pope and Church of Rome, (there set down,) " so that they could not do any thing else, than what " he would have them, and what tended to his safety and " security."

He took occasion to examine some of the former decrees of this Council; by which it appeared, as clear as the light, for what end it was indited by the Pope: " Not, that the " truth should be found out, or illustrated by the Scriptures, but that the Scriptures should be reduced into " order, so as to serve for the preserving and confirming " the dignity, honour, wealth, and superstition of those " men: not, that the churches might be *reformed*, but that " they might be brought back into the old *deformation.* " And therefore he advised the Marquis, and the rest in " England, that they should not remove their eyes from " that light, which whosoever followed, had the light of " life. Go on, go on, said he, in Christ's name, to reform

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“ what needs reforming. Ye should not sin, though ye “ never returned into favour again with that novel Roman “ Church. He knew, he said, this nobleman needed not “ instructors, being so well instructed in true religion, and “ having such learned men about him: among whom he “ named two, who, I suppose, were his chaplains, *viz.* Robert “ Skinner and Andrew Wullock, [perhaps Bullock:] yet “ he hoped this labour of his would be well taken; seeing “ he intended nothing thereby but the public weal and “ safety; that the kingdom of the Son of God, which in “ that time began to flourish again, as well in England as “ elsewhere, might spread every where. And so taking no- “ tice of his nobility and royal blood, and what a refuge he “ was to poor strangers, and a Mecænas of students and (255) “ learned men, and persuading him to persist therein, he “ concluded: desiring him to recommend him to the no- “ ble-minded John Earl of Warwick, to whom he wished “ all happiness, and offered all services.” Dated from Zurick, in the month of March 1551.

A Lasco and Hoper appoint a meeting for conference.

And indeed great was the brotherhood and friendship between the foreign divines and ours. A Lasco was one of these, who had lived in Helvetia, and was greatly acquainted with Bullinger. In this year 1550, wherein his German Church was first constituted in Austin Friars, I find Hoper spending a whole day in friendly converse with him and some of his church. A Lasco had wrote to Utenhovius, his elder and assistant, to invite Hoper and his wife, who was an Helvetian woman, to dinner with him; propounding, that they should meet the next day at eight in the morning at Utenhovius's house, and confer about certain business relating to religion, I suppose, and their church, between themselves and some of their members, and then to dine with A Lasco, and spend the afternoon in conversation. Utenhovius repaired to Hoper, shewed him A Lasco's letter, and Hoper, at the foot of it, writes an answer; which, for the sake of the reverend martyr's memory, I shall here set down, as I took from the original.

Ex Biblioth. Eccl. Belg. Lond.

BOOK I.

Anno 1550.

Hoper to A Lasco.

S. P. *Per me non stabit, quin, Deo volente, cras adero; et si valetudo uxoris meæ non obstet, votis D. nostri A Lasco annuet. Hodie multa capitis gravedine fuit mulctata. Scio, et si corpore aberit, mente nos comitabitur. Quod perpetuo erga vos faciet Deus suo Spiritu. Interim ematur aliquid, quod cum gratiarum actione una accipiamus; ego aliquod, si Deo visum fuerit, sumptus faciam. Dominus vos*, &c. *T. T. Jo. Hoperus.*

Hoper and Bullinger friends.

And, to take in one thing more, though it happened in the year before this, to shew the good correspondence between Hoper and the Switzers: when Bullinger had drawn up a in the matter of the Sacrament with Calvin, he sent it unto Hoper here, and prayed him that Utenhovius might see it: as I find by a manuscript letter of Bullinger to Utenhovius here in England, 1549.

Bishop Ridley visits his diocese of London.

Ridley, who was now entered upon the government of the see of London, did this year institute his primary visitation. Wherein what reformation he intended to make, may be seen by the injunctions which he set forth for a uniformity in his diocese: which were printed by Reynold Wolf the same year. They imported, "that there should "be no reading of such injunctions [given before by other "Popish Bishops] as extolled and set forth the Popish mass, "candles, images, chantries. That ministers counterfeited "not the Popish mass, as in kissing the Lord's table, washing their hands or fingers after the Gospel, or receipt of "the holy communion, shifting the book from one place to "another, laying down and licking the chalice, blessing "their eyes with the sudary of the communion, or the "patin thereof, or crossing the head with the same, holding up the forefingers and thumbs joined together towards the temples of the head after the receiving; making any elevation, ringing the sacring bell; with such "like strange and superstitious ceremonies, forbid by the (256) "King's Injunctions. Also, none to receive the communion but such as should be ready with meekness to con-

" fess the articles of the Creed upon request of the curate. " None to make a mart of the holy communion, by buying " or selling the receipt thereof, as was sometimes used to " be done before. And whereas some used the Lord's " board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, " therefore wishing a godly unity to be in all the diocese, " and considering that the form of a table might more " move the hearts of the simple from the old superstitious " opinion of the Popish mass, and to the right use of the " holy supper, the curates and churchwardens were exhorted to erect and set up the Lord's board after the fashion of an honest table, decently covered, in such place " of the choir or chancel as should be thought most meet " by their discretion: so that the ministers might with the " communicants have their place separated from the rest of " the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-tables and altars. Ministers immediately after the offertory, in time of communion, to admonish the communicants, saying these or such like words; That now was the " time, if it pleased them, to remember the poor man's " chest. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof. Common prayer to be had in " every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays. Curates to " be diligent to teach the catechism upon Sundays or holydays, whensoever just occasion was offered. And at the " least every six weeks once to call the parishioners, and " present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth. " None to maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six " articles, bedrols, pilgrimages, relics, rubrics, primers, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, " ashes, candles, creeping to the cross, hallowing of fire or " altars, or such like abuses. Ministers to move the people to " often and worthy receiving the holy communion; to come " to church diligently, and there to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly. That churchwardens permit not any buying, selling, gaming, or outrageous noise " or tumult, or other idle occupying of youth, in the

Anno 1550. "church, church-porch, or yard. None to minister the "sacraments in open audience of the congregation, or presume to expound the holy Scripture before they be lawfully called thereunto, and authorized in that behalf." This is the sum of the said Injunctions. The Bishop of Sarum hath exemplified them at large in his History, from a printed copy; which may be seen in the Collections to his second part, only omitting two pertinent allegations of Scripture, which are added in the conclusion, *viz.*

Prov. xv. *The ear that hearkeneth to the reformation of life shall remain among the wise. He that refuseth to be reformed, despiseth his own soul; but he that submitteth himself to correction is wise.* And

3 Reg. xviii. Elias. *How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal be he, then go after him.*

Besides these Injunctions, Bishop Ridley set forth articles also at this visitation: which be printed in Sparrow's Collections.

An ordination by Bishop Ridley. Regist. Rid.

June 24. ensuing, the said Bishop conferred holy orders upon divers persons, having been first (*viz.* June 23.) examined by Henry Harvy, LL. D. the Bishop's Vicar-general, and John Skory, S. T. B. his chaplain. They were ordained before the high altar at St. Paul's, according to the rite, manner, and form of the Church of England lately (257) published and enjoined: whose names were, Edmund Turges, M. A. Richard Fletcher, (the same, I suppose, who afterwards was Dean and Bishop of Peterborough, and Bishop of London, successively;) John Pelling de Hermonuseg in Sussex, born in the town of Lewis, [of whose name and posterity ever since have been some worthy clergymen;] Thomas Forelore; Lancelot Thexton, M. A. Fellow of St. John's in Cambridge, born in Bawtry in the county of Richmond; James Clayton, living in Hackney; John Rose of Lewes; John Bee, M. A. Fellow of St. John's in Cambridge; Henry May, B. A. Fellow of St. John's in Cambridge; Richard Walker, B. A. Student of Christ col-

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lege, Cambridge; Francis Randal; William Bocher, B. A. of Malden in Essex; Odnel Hebburn; William Harley of Ipswich; William Cotinge of Middleton in Kent; Reginal Blooke; John Wright of Stratford at Bow; Richard Grason, Vicar of Chesterford Magna; John Finch of Billerica; Thomas Warter; Edm. Thompson; John Heron, M. A. Mr. John Fox, M. A. living with the Duchess of Suffolk, [the famous martyrologist,] born at Boston; Henry Markham, M. A. chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Mr. Thomas Lever, M. A. Fellow of St. John's in Cambridge, afterwards Master of the said house, a learned and pious man, and an exile under Queen Mary: all ordained deacons, to the number of twenty-five.

Another ordination.

Again, August 10. following, the Bishop ordained at Fulham these persons: John Bradford, his chaplain, and after an holy martyr under Queen Mary; John Horton, M. A. Thomas Sampson, born at Playford in the county of Suffolk, who afterwards was Dean of Chichester, and, under Queen Elizabeth, Dean of Christ Church, Oxon; from whence he was deprived in the contention for cap and surplice. All these were Fellows of Pembroke hall, Cambridge. And besides these, there were two more ordained, *viz.* Robert Hart of Stebunhith, and Lever aforesaid, who was ordained priest, the rest deacons.

Another.

Sept. 7. was another ordination at Fulham, of one person, namely Grason, made priest, and ordained deacon in June before.

Another.

Novemb. 9. another; when Lawrence Nowel, afterwards Dean of Litchfield, and brother to Alex. Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, was ordained, living then at Sutton Colfield in Warwickshire; together with Richard Fletcher, B. A. afterwards Bishop of Bristol, Worcester, and London, successively; and Edmund Thompson of Southwark hospital, ordained priests. These were Bishop Ridley's ordinations in his first year.

Ponet made Bishop of Rochester. Council-Book.

Dr. John Ponet, once of St. John's college, Cambridge, afterwards chaplain to King Henry VIII. and successively to the Archbishop, a man of great parts and acquired learn-

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ing, succeeded the said Bishop Ridley in the diocese of Rochester, being consecrated in June: and on the same day had the favour following granted him by the Council: "Upon consideration that Mr. Ponet, now elected Bishop "of Rochester, hath no house to dwell upon, it is agreed, "that he shall enjoy his benefice [which was Ashtisford in "Kent] *in commendam.* But henceforth it is decreed, that "no Bishop shall keep other benefice than his bishopric "only."

No commendams to Bishops.

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CHAP. XXXI.

The state of the Universities. The evil of impropriations. Revenues of the monasteries misused. Books now set forth.

The Universities in ill condition.

THE Universities now were but in a sorry declining condition, occasioned by the discouragements given to learning, the laity laying hold of the spiritual preferments so much as they did, designed and appointed for the reward and maintenance of the Clergy. This abuse gave divers good men occasion to speak their minds: and among the rest so did one Thomas Lever, Fellow of St. John's college, (of whose ordination mention was made before,) who preached at Paul's Cross, Decemb. 14. upon this text, 1 Cor. iv. 1. *Let a man so esteem of us as of the ministers of Christ*, &c In this sermon he undertook to shew the causes of God's anger against England. One whereof he made to be, the great people about the King's Majesty, their obstructing him from doing that good he fully intended for the relief of the poor, and for the advancement of learning by means of the colleges and chantries given him by Parliament: which those men, by their importunity, got away by way of gift from him, or exchanged for impropriations.

Lever preaches at the Cross.

Against the misuse of the revenues of abbeys, &c.

But hear that reverend man speaking his mind in his own words: "If ye had any eyes, ye should see and be "ashamed, that in the great abundance of lands and goods "taken from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, for to serve the

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" King in all necessaries and charges, especially in the re-" lief of the poor, and for maintenance of learning, the King " is so disappointed, that both the poor be spoiled, all main-" tenance of learning decayed, and you only enriched. And " because ye have no eyes to see with, I will declare, that " you may hear with your ears, and so perceive and know, " that where God and the King have been most liberal to " give and bestow, there you have been unfaithful to dis-" pose and deliver. For according unto God's word and " the King's pleasure, the Universities, which be the schools " of all godliness and virtue, should have been nothing de-" cayed, but much increased and amended by this refor-" mation of religion. As concerning God's regard for the " upholding and increase of the Universities, I am sure " that no man knowing learning and virtue doth doubt. " And as for the King's pleasure, it did well appear, in that " he established unto the Universities all privileges granted " afore his time: as also in all manner of payments required " of the Clergy, as tithes and first-fruits, the Universities " be exempted.

The favour of King Edward;

" Yea, and the King's Majesty, that dead is, did give " unto the University of Cambridge at one time two hun-" dred pounds yearly to the exhibition and finding of five " learned men, to read and teach divinity, law, physic, " Greek, and Hebrew. And at another time thirty pounds, " [it should be 300*l.*] yearly *in liberam et puram eleemo-" synam*, in free and pure alms; and finally, for the foun-" dation of a new college, so much as should serve to build " it, and replenish it with mo scholars, and better living, " than any other college in the University afore that time. " By the which every man may perceive, that the King, " giving many things, and taking nothing from the Uni-" versities, was very desirous to have them increased and " amended. (259)

And King Henry, to the Universities.

" Howbeit, all they that have known the University of " Cambridge since that time that it did first begin to re-" ceive these great and manifold benefits from the King's " Majesty at your hands, have just occasion to suspect,

The decay of Cambridge.

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"that you have deceived both the King and the University, to enrich yourselves. For, before that you did begin "to be the disposers of the King's liberality towards learning and poverty, there were in houses belonging unto the "University of Cambridge, two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned; which be now all clean "gone home: and many young toward scholars, and old "fatherly doctors, not one of them left. One hundred also "of another sort, that having rich friends, or being beneficed "men, did live of themselves in ostles and inns, be either "gone away, or else fain to creep into colleges, and put "poor men from bare livings. Those both be all gone, "and a small number of poor, godly, diligent students, "now remaining only in colleges, be not able to tarry, "and continue their studies, for lack of exhibition and "help.

The diligence and course of the students.

"There be divers there which rise daily about four or "five of the clock in the morning, and from five till six of "the clock use common prayer, with an exhortation of "God's word in a common chapel: and from six until ten "of the clock use ever either private study or common "lectures. At ten of the clock they go to dinner, whereas "they be content with a penny piece of beef among four, "having a few pottage made of the broth of the same beef, "with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else. After this slender diet, they be either teaching or learning until five of the "clock in the evening; whenas they have a supper not much "better than their dinner. Immediately after which they "go either to reasoning in problems, or to some other "study until it be nine or ten of the clock. And there being without fires, are fain to walk or run up and down "half an hour, to get a heat on their feet when they go to "bed.

The citizens excited to exhibit to them.

"These be men not weary of their pains, but sorry to "leave their studies. And sure they be not able some of "them to continue for lack of necessary exhibition and relief. These be the living saints which serve God, taking "great pains in abstinence, study, labour, and diligence,

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" with watching and prayer. Whereas Paul for the saints " and brethren at Jerusalem, so I for the brethren and " saints at Cambridge, most humbly beseech to make your " collections among the rich merchants of this city, and " send them your oblations unto the University.

The King's provisions for learning and poverty abused.

" But to return unto them that should have better provided for learning and poverty in all places, but especially in the Universities. Look you, whether there was " not a great number both of learned and poor, that might " have been kept, maintained, and relieved in the Universities, which lacking all help or comfort, were compelled " to forsake the Universities, leave their books, and seek " their livings abroad in the countries.

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The wrong done by commissioners.

" Yea, and in the country many grammar schools which " be founded of a godly intent, to bring up poor men's " sons in learning and virtue, now be taken away by reason " of a greedy covetousness of you, that were put in trust by " God and the King, to erect and make grammar schools " in many places, and had neither commandment nor permission to take away the schoolmaster's livings in any " place. Moreover such charitable alms was there yearly " to be bestowed in poor towns and parishes upon God's " people, the King's subjects; which alms, to the great " displeasure of God, and dishonour of the King, yea, and " contrary to God's word and the King's laws, ye have " taken away. I know what ye do say and brag in the " same places: that ye have done as ye were commanded, " with as much charity and liberality towards poverty and " learning as your commission would bear and suffer. Take " heed whom ye slander. For God's word, and the King's " laws and statutes, be open unto every man's eyes. And " by every commission directed according unto them, ye " both might and should have given much, whereas ye " have taken much away.

The evil of exchanges for impropriations.

" Was it not a godly and charitable provision of the " King, to give unto the University 200*l.* yearly for excellent readers; 300*l.* yearly in pure alms; and many 100*l.* " also to the foundation and erection of a new college?

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“ And was it not a devilish device of you to turn all this “ the King's bounteous liberality into *impropriations* of be-“ nefices; which be papistical and uncharitable spoils of “ most necessary provisions for poor parishes? Learn un-“ derstanding, you that play unwise parts among the peo-“ ple. You fools once wax wise. *Qui plantavit*, &c. *He* “ *that set the ears*, shall he not hear the sorrowful com-“ plaints of poor parishes against you that have by impro-“ priations clean taken away hospitality, and much im-“ paired the due livings of God's ministers, the people's “ instructors and teachers? *Qui figurat oculum*, &c. *He* “ *that fashioned the eye*, doth not he behold, that the best “ lands of abbeys, colleges, and chantries be in your hands, “ and evil impropriations conveyed to the King, and to the “ Universities, and Bishops' lands? *Qui corripit*, &c. *He* “ *that correcteth*, and punisheth the heathen, lacking the “ light of God's word, for the continual abuse of natural “ reason, will not he reprove and condemn you, who have “ good reasonable wits, God's holy word, the King's laws “ and statutes, and much power and authority given unto “ you to edify and do good; seeing it is abused of you to “ destroy and do hurt? Surely the abbeys did wrongfully “ take and abuse nothing so much as the impropriations of “ benefices. Nothing is so papistical as impropriations be: “ they be the Pope's darlings and paramours; which by “ the devilish device of wicked Balaamites be set abroad in “ this realm, to cause the learned men of the Universities, “ and all Bishops that be godly men, the Pope's enemies, “ to commit spiritual fornication with them.”

To this I subjoin what the same preacher spoke in another sermon: “ The King's Majesty that dead is, did give “ a benefice to be impropriate to the University of Cam-“ bridge, *in liberam et puram eleemosynam.* Howbeit, “ his hands were so impure, who should have delivered it, “ that he received 600*l.* of the University for it. Whether (261) “ that this 600*l.* were conveyed to the King's behoof privily “ for the alms, which by plain writing was given freely, or “ else put in some Judas's pouch, I would it were known.

"For now by such charitable alms the King is slandered, "the parish undone, and the University in worse case than "it was before." This for the Universities.

Lever preaches again in the Shrouds, and before the King.

Nor would the said Lever, being, as a conscientious, so a bold preacher, change his argument in two other solemn sermons, which he preached in two great auditories not long after, the one in the Shrouds of St. Paul's, the fourth Sunday after Twelftide; the other before the King, on the third Sunday in Lent. In both which he laid open in all freedom and plainness of speech, without respect of any the greatest person, the vices and abuses of those times; *viz.* concerning the revenues of the demolished abbeys, chantries, colleges, fraternities, and hospitals, converted to other uses than were originally intended, the covetousness of the gentry, the buying of spiritual livings, the neglect of those parishes, whereto were annexed the richest parsonages, the little care priests took of their flocks, and such like. Concerning all which, after this manner he expressed his mind; (which I do the rather set down, because it may serve somewhat to explain the history of these times.)

The revenues of monasteries and chantries misused.

"In suppressing of abbeys, cloisters, colleges, and chan-"tries, the intent of the King's Majesty that dead is, was, "and of this our King now is, very godly; and the pur-"pose, or else the pretence of others, wondrous godly: "that thereby such abundance of goods as was supersti-"tiously spent upon vain ceremonies, or voluptuously spent "upon idle bellies, might come to the King's hand, to bear "the great charges necessarily bestowed in the common-"wealth; or part unto other men's hands, for the better re-"lief of the poor, maintenance of learning, and the setting "forth of God's word. Howbeit covetous officers have so "used this matter, that even those goods, which did serve "to the relief of the poor, the maintenance of learning, "and to comfortable necessary hospitality in the common-"wealth, be now turned to maintain worldly, wicked, covet-"ous ambition.—You which have gotten these goods into "your own hands, to turn them from evil to worse, and "other goods mo from good unto evil, be ye sure it is

Anno 1550. "even you that have offended God, beguiled the King, "robbed the Church, spoiled the poor, and brought the "commonwealth to a common misery. It is even you "that must either be plagued with God's vengeance, as "were the Sodomites, or amend by repentance, as did the "Ninevites. Even you it is, that must either make restitution, and amend speedily, or else feel the vengeance "of God grievously.—Sure I am, that if at the ordering "of these things there had been in the officers as much "godliness as there was covetousness, superstitious men "had not been put from their livings to their pensions "out of those houses, where they might have had schoolmasters to have taught them to be good, [for many "schools were intended, and others were swallowed up if "they pertained to these religious foundations,] and for "less wages; or, for the reservation of their pensions, received into cures and parsonages, whereas they can do no "good, and will do much harm."

The gentry's covetous practices in the country.

The practices of the gentry towards their tenants he thus set forth: "Now the people of the country use to say, "that their gentlemen and officers were never so full of (262) "fair words and ill deeds, as they now be. For a gentleman "will say, that he loveth his tenant, but he keepeth not "so good an house to make them cheer as his father did. "And yet he taketh mo fines and greater rents to make "them needy than his father had. Another will say, that "he would buy a lordship of the King, for the love that he "hath to the tenants thereof. But as soon as he hath "bought it, by taking of fines, heightening of rents, and "selling away of commodities, he maketh the same tenants "pay for it. [And so he in effect obtains the purchase, and "makes others pay for it.] Another saith, that he would "have an office to do good in his country. But as soon "as he hath authority to take the fee to himself, he setteth "his servants to do his duty. And instead of wages he "giveth them authority to live by pillage, bribery, and extortion in the country."

Then he declaimed against another evil practice then

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common, which was the buying of parsonages and benefices; whereby the tithes coming all in laymen's hands, parishes were left destitute of priests and ministers to perform holy offices, and so the people were left in ignorance and irreligion. Which Lever thus lamented: "Whereas "they do not only buy lands and goods, but also lives "and souls of men from God, and the commonwealth, "unto the devil and themselves. A mischievous mart of "merchandry is this; and yet now so commonly used, that "thereby shepherds be turned to thieves, dogs to wolves, "and the poor flock of Christ, redeemed with his precious "blood, most miserably pilled and spoiled, yea, cruelly de"voured. Be thou merchant in the city, or be thou gentle"man in the country; be thou lawyer, be thou courtier, or "what manner of man soever thou be; that cannot, yea, if "thou be Doctor of Divinity, that will not do thy duty. It "is not lawful for thee to have a parsonage, benefice, or any "such living, except thou do feed the flock spiritually with "God's word, and bodily with honest hospitality."

Buying and abuse of parsonages.

And again, concerning the neglect of livings, and the little care taken of Christ's flock, thus he reprehended those that were guilty: "Those parsonages that be most in num"ber and greatest in value throughout all England, be "not now shepherds' houses to lay up fodder to feed the "poor sheep of the parish, but thievish dens to convey "away great spoils from all the rich of the parish. There "is no person there to relieve the poor and needy with na"tural sustenance, in keeping of house, and to feed all in "general with the heavenly food of God's word by preach"ing. But there is a parson's deputy, or farmer; which "having neither ability, power, nor authority to do the "parson's duty, in feeding and teaching the parish, is able, "sufficient, and stout enough to challenge, and take for his "master's duty the tenth part of all the parish. Now, my "lords, both of the laity and the clergy, in the name of God, "I advertise you to take heed. For when the Lord of lords "shall see the flock scattered, spilt, and lost, if he follow

Neglect of livings.

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"the trace of the blood, it will lead him even straightway "unto this court, and unto their houses, whereas these "great thieves, which murder, spoil, and destroy the flocks "of Christ, be received, kept, and maintained. For you "maintain your chaplains to take pluralities, and your "other servants mo offices than they can or will discharge. "Fie! for sin and shame; either give your servants wages, "or else let them go and serve those which do give them (263) "wages. For now your chaplains, your servants, and you "yourselves, have the parson's, the shepherd's, and the "officer's wages; and neither you, nor they, nor others, do "the parson's, the shepherd's, or the officer's duty, except "peradventure ye imagine that there is a parish priest "curate which doth the parson's duty. But although ye "do so imagine, yet the people do feel and perceive that "he doth mean no other thing, but, *Pay your duty*, *Pay* "*your duty*. Yes, forsooth, he ministereth God's sacraments, he saith his service, he readeth the Homilies, as "you find flattering courtiers, which speak by imagination, "term it. But the rude lobs of the country, which be too "simple to paint a lie, speak foully and truly as they find "it, and say, he minisheth God's sacraments, he slubbereth "up his service, and he cannot read the *Humbles*."

Bale puts forth his Votaries.

And as Lever made and printed these remarkable sermons this year, so John Bale now set forth as notable a book, (allowing for his broad way of writing,) namely, *The acts and unchaste examples of religious Votaries*, gathered out of their own legends and chronicles. He designed to complete this history in four books; which should detect the foul lives and practices of the monastics, both men and women, from the first times of their institution till that last age, wherein they were dissolved in England. To these four books he intended to give several titles, according to the various ages of monkery; *viz.* of their *rising*, their *building*, their *holding*, and their *falling*. The first part was to treat of their *uprising* to mischief. The second part was to shew their hasty *building*, by hypocritish monks to

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establish the wicked kingdom of Antichrist. The third was to declare the crafty *upholding* of their proud degrees and possessions, by the wily and subtil sleights of the four orders of friars. The fourth should manifest their horrible fall in this latter age, by the well-grounded doctrine of the true preachers and writers. The first part he finished in the year 1546, and the second in this year 1550; and in the same year printed both together at London, in 12mo. and dedicated them to King Edward. The second part reached to the year 1200. The two last parts he promised should speedily follow. But I think they never did; the author probably being advised to suppress them for decency, if not for religion's sake, an assault on which might seem to be made, if so many abominable and shameful facts should come to light, as Bale had collected together. He had got the *detecta*, taken down in writing by King Henry's visitors, sent abroad to visit all the monasteries in England and Wales, and had once exposed them in a Parliament: which were of such a nature, that chaste ears could not hear them.

And an Apology concerning vows.

The same Bale the same year set forth *An Apology against a rank Papist; answering both him and the Doctors, that neither their Vows nor yet their Priesthood are of the Gospel, but of Antichrist.* Printed also at London in 12mo. At the end is a brief exposition upon the 30th chapter of Numbers, which was the first occasion of his writing this book. This tract also the author dedicated to King Edward. The apology begins thus, (which will shew the occasion of the book:) " A few months ago, by chance, " as I sat at supper, this question was moved unto me by " one that fervently loves God's verity, and mightily detesteth all falsehood and hypocrisy; Whether the vows " expressed in the 30th chapter of *Numeri* give any establishment to the vow of our priests now to live without (264) " wives of their own, or nay. For the same party, as I " perceived anon after, had been assaulted and chased " the day afore with that most frivolous disputation. To " whom I remember I gave this short answer; That they " made for that kind of vowing nothing at all, but con-

Anno 1550. "demned it. For, as I then judged of that matter, so "judge I now still, that those vows were of things then "present, and so forth continuing till Christ coming in the "flesh, concerning only the nation of the Jews, and now to "be of no force towards us. Forsomuch as they were not "expressly confirmed, declared, and taught of Christ, as "were the moral precepts of the Law, Matt. v. Moreover, "I considered that Christ being the clear light of the "world, John viii. and the brightness of his Father's "glory, Heb. i. left Moses far behind him, as a bare shadow or figure; constituting one only religion for us and "the Jews: whose perfection standeth not in the works of "the law, neither in renouncing of Christian marriage, but "in a pure and constant faith in him and his Gospel. In "the end I was desired to write a sentence or two, what I "thought in discharge of so single and sleeveless a matter. "Whereupon the next day I turned me towards a window, and wrote the few sentences," &c. This writing was delivered to one who was the captain of that place where Bale then was, being by birth a man of worship. Gently was it received at the first; and so entertained by the space of five or six weeks. But within that time falling into the hands of a certain chaplain, he framed some answer to Bale's writing. And Bale again replied thereunto. And of all this consisted the aforesaid book.

This year also he again put forth his *Image of both Churches*, at London, in 12mo. being an exposition upon the Revelations.

And two other tracts. To these let me add two little tracts more, composed by the same author, this, or rather the former year. The one was, *A Dialogue*, or *Communication* to be had at a table between two children, gathered out of the holy Scripture, by John Bale, for the use of his two young sons, John and Paul, beginning, "*Paulus junior filius.* Forsomuch as "God hath constituted me a creature reasonable, and endued with an understanding, I am naturally desirous to "know to what end I am created," &c. The other is, *A Confession of the Sinner*, after the sacred Scripture, collected by John Bale, at the request of a faithful friend of his, beginning, "I acknowledge unto my eternal and ever-"lasting God, that of mine own nature I am, as others, "but a carnal thing, and the miserable child of Adam, "justly exiled with him in his transgression," &c.

CHAP. XXXII. (265)

The English Bible and other books set forth this year. Vezy, Bishop of Exeter, resigns. Sir Martin Bowes, of the Mint, gives up his office. Some account of him.

Coverdale's Bible.

THIS year the holy Bible, translated by Miles Coverdale, was printed in quarto, by Andrew Hester, for the more common and private use of Christians; as he had set it forth in folio the year before: which is commonly called *Tyndal's Bible.* The same year (*viz.* 1550.) he set forth also the New Testament in octavo, conferred with the translation of William Tyndal, and printed by Reinold Wolf.

And Testament.

Ochine's sermons.

About this time also certain sermons of Ochine, the Italian, being five and twenty in number, concerning *the predestination and election of God*, were printed by John Day, in octavo. Having been translated out of Italian into English, by A. C. Gentlewoman: which capital letters, I make no question, meant Anne Cook, one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, married after to Sir Nic. Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

A book called The Pith and most noble Sayings of Scripture.

Now did Thomas Paynel, an old servant of King Henry, print a book, entitled, *The pith and most noble sayings of all Scripture: gathered by Thomas Paynel, after the manner of common places, very necessary for all those that delight in the consolations of the Scripture.* It was dedicated *to the right excellent and most gracious Lady, the Lady Mary's good Grace.* In which dedication it appeared, that after he had made these collections out of Scripture, he was advised by a learned man to publish them for men's consolation and learning. And assigning the cause why he chose

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her to patronize this his work, he wrote, "that it was her "Grace's fiery and fervent mind to virtuous and godly "living, her true intent and natural inclination to the same, "her liberal hand and favour to those which diligently ex"ercised themselves in the spiritual and moral studies of "the sincere word of God, and lastly, her Grace's benignity "and gentleness of long time bountifully to him declared, "enforced him to publish it in her Grace's name." Then he exhorted her, "to read the fruitful lessons thereof, and "to digest them thoroughly, to practise and prove in very "deed how sweet the Lord's words be: to use the profit"able doctrines of that little book. For so doing, her Grace "should learn daily more and more truly to know the Lord, "to taste, relish, and to ensue his holy and sweet word, "to love and fear him, to be his faithful and obsequious "handmaiden, and a diligent ensuer of his will and steps, "most pleasantly and voluntariously to bear the yoke of "his most comfortable commandments." Thus he gravely bespake her upon this occasion, as though he hoped hereby to win her to the Gospel.

(266) Crowley's epigrams.

This year also Robert Crowley printed one and thirty epigrams compiled by him. Wherein, as the title tells, *are briefly touched so many abuses, that may and ought to be put away.* They mainly drive at exposing the common vices and vicious men of that age; and they shew several customs and practices of that time. Though the verses are old-fashioned rhymes, yet they want not sometimes good fancy and wit. And these are the various subjects of them, as they are placed alphabetically by the author: *Of Abbayes. Alehouses. Alleyes. Almeshouses. Of Baylif arrants. Bauds. Beggars. Bear bayting. Brawlers. Blasphemous swearers. Of collyars. Commotioners. Common drunkards. Common lyars. Of dice players. Double beneficed men. Of the Exchequer. Of flatterers. Fools. Forestallers. Of godless men. Of idle persons. Inventers of strange news. Of laymen that take tithes. Leasemongers. Of merchants. Men that have divers offices. Of nice wives. Of obstinate Papists. Of rent-raisers. Of vain writers.*

Vain talkers and vain hearers. Unsatiable purchasers. Usurers. Whereby a notable insight is given into matters, customs, and abuses of these times. But to give a taste of these epigrams, I refer the reader to the Repository. OO.

Pierse Plowman.

Now was the *Vision of Pierse Plowman* the second time printed by the foresaid Crowley. To which were added certain notes and quotations in the margin, giving light to the reader. The book was very ancient, written in the reign of King Edward III. For in the second side of the sixty-eighth leaf mention is made of a dear year, John Chichester being then Mayor of London, which was anno 1350. In which time it pleased God to open the eyes of many to see the truth; giving them boldness of heart to open their mouths, and cry out against the works of darkness, as did Wickliff; who also in these days translated the holy Bible into the mother tongue. The writer of this book, whoever he was, in reporting certain visions and dreams that he feigned himself to have had, did Christianly instruct the weak, and sharply rebuke the obstinately blind. Nor was there any manner of vice that reigned in any state or order of men, which he did not learnedly and wittily lash. And (of which much notice is wont to be taken) at the fiftieth leaf something is writ by way of prediction of the fall of abbeys. The printer Crowley, being a learned man, and desirous to know the name of the author, and the time of his writing, got together such ancient copies as he could come by, and consulted such men as he knew to be more exercised in the study of antiquity. And by some of them he learnt the author's name was Langland, a Shropshire man, born in Cleybury, about eight miles from Malvern hills. And among the ancient copies, one was noted to be written in the year MIIIICIX. The book is writ in metre, but much different from the manner of our modern verse, there being no rhithms or chiming of words; but the nature of the metre is, that three words at the least of each verse begin with one and the same letter. As for example, the two first verses of the book run upon the letter S, the next upon H, and the next upon W; *viz.*

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In a Summer Season, when Set was the Sun
I Shope me into Shrobbs as a Shepe were.
In Habit as a Heremyt unHoly of werks
Wend Wyde in thys World Wonders to hear.

And again,

On a Mey Morning on Malvern hills,
Me beFel a Ferly of Fayin me thought, &c.

Marbeck's prayers and anthems.

Now also John Marbeck, an excellent musician for church music, once belonging to the choir at Windsor, now of the King's chapel, published prayers and anthems, set by him for the use of the said chapel, in quarto, printed by Grafton. I shall not pretend to so much skill as to make observations upon the compositions; but I cannot but remark how in the Office of Burial, the prayer there, after the corpse was put into the earth, varied from our present Office: in that prayer is made for the deceased, and the soul departed is held to be in a middle state till the last judgment. For thus it ran: "We commend into thy hands of mercy, most merciful Father, the soul of this our brother departed, *N.* and "his body we commit to the earth. Beseeching thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, "and to die in thy favour: that when the judgment shall "come which thou hast committed to thy well-beloved Son, "both this our brother and we may be found acceptable in "thy sight, and receive that blessing," &c. And then follows: "Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for thy "servant whom thou hast delivered from miseries of this "wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation; and, as we trust, hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest; "grant, we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment his "soul, and all the souls of thy elect departed out of this "life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive thy "promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the "glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord." And again, after some psalms and versicles, this prayer: "O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be "dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after

" they be delivered from the burthen of the flesh, be in joy " and felicity; grant unto this thy servant, that the sins " which he committed in this world be not imputed unto " him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell, and the pains " of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light " with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is " no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness. And when that " dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make " him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive " his body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible: set him on the right hand of thy Son Jesus Christ, " among the holy and elect. That then he may hear with " them these most sweet and comfortable words, *Come to " me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which " hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the " world.* Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, " through Jesus Christ our Mediator," &c.

(268) For printing the New Testament.

Jug, citizen and stationer of London, had a licence from the King, dated in January, or his sufficient deputies, to print the New Testament in English, as well in great volumes as in small, for the space of certain years.

Cardinal Pole's book.

Cardinal Pole writ and finished, the thirteenth of the calends of February, a book, *De summo Pontifice Christi in terris Vicario,* &c. but not printed before the year 1569, at Lovain.

De Cœlibatu Sacerdotum.

Richard Smith, of Oxford, now set forth a book, *De cœlibatu sacerdotum, et votis monasticis contra Petrum Martyrem,* octavo: which he afterwards recanted in London and Oxford.

Cranmer's book of the Sacrament.

But chiefly, Archbishop Cranmer's book must not be forgotten, published this year by him in octavo, entitled, *A defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ: with a confutation of sundry errors concerning the same. Grounded and established upon God's holy word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church.* Printed by Reynold Wolf at London. The same book was afterward printed in Latin at Embden, anno 1557. Of which ex-

Lavateri Hist. sacram.

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cellent book, thus a foreigner writ, that lived in those times: *Thomas Cranmerus præcipuos abusus missæ Papisticæ libello Anglico confutavit, &c. Hoc scripto plurimi ad sanam de Eucharistia doctrinam adducti sunt.* That by this writing very many were brought to embrace the sound doctrine concerning the sacrament, the author having therein confuted the chief abuses of the Popish mass.

Bishop Gardiner's book on the same subject.

The same year did Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, set forth a book in answer to the former, bearing this title: *An explication and assertion of the true Catholic faith, touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar: with the confutation of a book written against the same.* Printed in France.

Traheron sets forth Vigon of Surgery.

Now also did Bartholomew Traheron, a learned man, and well studied in the divinity of the Gospel, and an exile for religion under Queen Mary, set forth a book in folio of one Vigon, a famous Italian chirurgeon, translated by him out of Latin into English, and printed by Edward Whitchurch. It was entitled, *The most excellent works of Chirurgery made and set forth by Master John Vigon, Head Chirurgeon of our time in Italy.* The dedication was, *To the earnest favourer of all good and godly learning, Master Richard Tracie:* beginning, "God, the mighty Governor "of all things, long time sithence hath witnessed by that "excellent prophet Moses, that for the transgression of his "holy laws he would plague the people with sundry and "grievous diseases. Howbeit our blindness hath been so "great, that in the multitude of most filthy and shameful "botches, sores, and other piteous maladies, we have not "perceived how horrible a thing sin is, and how present "vengeance the despising and neglecting of God's dreadful "commandments bringeth upon us: no, not when we "have been burnt with fiery carbuncles, nor when our flesh "hath been torn from the bones and eaten up with loathsome "cankers: nor when we have been miserably tormented "with the most filthy, pestiferous, and abominable "disease, the French or Spanish pox. In these, I say, so "manifest punishments of God for the outrageous trans-

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"gression of his laws, we have not acknowledged the ex-"ceeding wickedness of our nature, neither have prayed for "the holy Spirit of God, which might change and trans-"form our corrupt birth, and create in us new hearts with (269) "the print of fear and humble reverence to Godward. Yea, "we have been so far off from such a purpose, that some "of us have bragged of our natural strengths to our own "shame and confusion." Those filthy diseases, it seems, were ripe in these days, and to these causes did good men now deservedly attribute them; such need was there in these very evil days for the light of the Gospel to be brought in, for the reforming and amending the wretched looseness of the age. The reason of his dedicating this book to this gentleman, he expressed in these words: "I dedicate it to "you, good Master Tracie, not that I think it a thing fit for "you, (inasmuch as you have bestowed the most part of "your time in the fruitful studies of holy Scriptures,) but "that at this time it may be a monument and token of "my mind towards you, which cannot be (except I were "changed into a worse nature than any barbarous Scythian "is of) but most loving. For when I was destitute of fa-"ther or mother, you conceived a very fatherly affection "toward me, and not only brought me up in the Universities "of this and foreign realms, with your great cost and "charges, but also most earnestly exhorted me to forsake "the puddles of sophisters, and to fetch water from the "pure fountains of the Scripture. Wherefore, seeing you "have been the author and cause of that simple learning "that I have obtained, I thought it my duty to render the "fruits thereof unto you. And albeit that both you desire, "and I delight, more to travail in the holy writings," &c. I set down this the more at large, to retrieve the memory, as much as may be, of worthy men in former times, and to revive some knowledge of them and their good deeds. Such an one was this Richard Tracie, son, as it seems, of him of that surname in Glocestershire, who in Henry VIIIth's time was, for his good religion, digged out of his grave after his death, and burnt. From whom this gentleman did not degenerate in learning or piety.

Anno 1550. A Debate between the Heralds of England and France. Lastly, to all the rest I add one book more, that came abroad this same year, which was entitled, *A debate between the heralds of England and France.* Compiled by John Coke, Clerk of the Statutes of the Staple of Westminster. Imprinted by Richard Wier. The occasion and subject of this book he sets down in his preface: *viz.* that being one day in Brussels in Brabant, and being then secretary to the worshipful company of merchant adventurers of the English nation, he chanced in a printer's shop to find a little pamphlet in French, called *The debate of heralds of England and France:* wherein were contained the commodities in effect of both the said realms, with the victorious acts and prowesses of sundry noble princes, ruling in times past over the said regions. Which after he had perused, he perceived the French herald wholly without desert to give the honour to France, and in all things debased this noble realm and people of England: and further found the said book to be compiled of hearty malice, little or nothing tracing the chronicles of the one realm or the other. Therefore out of zeal to his country, this author pretends to shew the truth, touching the said debate, out of a great many ancient historians which he had diligently consulted, in the behalf of England, as Eutropius, Colman, Bede, Gildas, Orote, Chronica Chronicorum, &c. The book begins thus: "Prudence upon a day for pleasure passed her time in a (270) "garden, where finding herself accompanied with two heralds, the one of England and the other of France, and "minding to put unto them a question, to know if they "were expert in their offices, reasoned with them in this "manner: Prudence speaketh. Fair Sirs, said she, you "have a goodly office, which all noblemen ought to love and "favour. For to your reports, emperors, kings, princes, "ladies, and other great lords, submit themselves. You "are judges of worldly honours, be it in arms, as in assaults, battles, rencounters, sieges, justs, tourneys, or in

" shows, pomps, feasts, and obsequies, and in all other " things done in magnificence, and tending to honour: by " you they ought to be published," &c.

Diacosio-Martyrion.

An endeavour and intent there was to let the world see another tract about this year, (though it as yet came not forth.) It was a book in verse, called *Diacosio-Martyrion*, writ by White, Warden of Winchester, with some assistance: in truth a very trifling piece, levelled against Peter Martyr. He sent it to Lovain, to be printed there. But upon the knowledge that such a book was by him sent thither, he was imprisoned; and other his friends, who assisted in the making or transporting of it, were in great danger of suffering by it. Hereupon the Lovain printer stopped or suppressed it, and sent it back, Nov. 1, 1553: and then it was printed and published in London. This account is told of it in the preface to the reader. It was dedicated, *Ad serenissimam illustrissimamque Principem Mariam Regis Edwardi VI. sororem*. And this dedication was not altered, though published, when she was actually Queen. Before it is an epistle to Peter Martyr, full of reproaches for his tenets about the Eucharist, his lectures at Oxford, and his refusing to dispute with Dr. Smith, when he was challenged. And he says there, that Peter Martyr, to avoid the dispute, complained to the government against Smith, and forced him to flee, to escape imprisonment. But the Memorials of Cranmer, chap. xiv. will give a true representation of that affair.

Bp. Voisey resigns.

John Voisey, or Veyzey, alias Harman, was Bishop of Exeter, and so continued to this year; but seldom resided upon his bishopric, living for the most part in Warwickshire, where he minded secular matters, tending chiefly to the improvement of the town of Sutton Coldfield, his native place. To whose absence from his diocese the rebellion in the west was partly attributed. The King and Court had an honour for the man, having been King Henry VIIIth's chaplain, dean of his chapel, employed by him in honourable employments abroad in embassies; and at home he had been governor to the Lady Mary, when she was the

King's only daughter, and entitled Princess of Wales, lord president of Wales, and one of those that assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Cranmer. He was now grown very ancient, and so the less fit to look after his great diocese. And therefore, having made good provisions for himself out of the temporalities thereof, did now in November resign it into the King's hands by word of mouth, as it seems, to the Earl of Bedford, being lord lieutenant of those western countries. Which resignation was so acceptable and well taken at this juncture, when there was such need there of an active and preaching Bishop, that a letter of thanks was written from the King and Council to the said Bishop, for surrendering to the King his office or (271) charge, by reason of his age, not able to discharge the same according to his conscience, as it was reported by the Earl of Bedford, keeper of the privy seal. Yet he outliving King Edward, was replaced by Queen Mary in his old see, though unable to mind it. And then Dr. Moreman was his coadjutor: as Coverdale was under King Edward, and upon his resignation, his successor, as we shall see under the next year.

The Council thanks him. Warr. Book.

Sir Martin Bows of the mint surrenders his office.

Sir Martin Bows, Knight, that had been long under-treasurer of the mint, and faithful in his place, did now about January surrender his office in the State, as the Bishop had surrendered his in the Church. Which I the rather mention here, because John Stow, in his catalogue of citizens that had been benefactors, leaves him wholly out, as also doth Dr. Willet in his catalogue. For as he was a very wealthy man, so was he largely charitable. He built an hospital at Woolwich in Kent, where he had an house and lands. He appointed a sermon to be preached yearly at the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, (where he lived, and where he was buried,) at or near St. Martin's day. At which sermon the company of goldsmiths (whom he made his trustees) are to be present; and certain of his gifts are then and there to be disposed by them: whose streamers and cognisances hang still up (or lately did) in the said church, and are to be renewed from time to time by the said com-

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pany as they decay: which they are to do in memory of his large benefactions towards them. For he gave them much plate, and curiously wrought, and many houses and lands. He was Lord Mayor, anno 1545, 37 Henry VIII. and Sheriff five years before. But to return to the surrender of his office: the commissioners appointed to hear and determine all accounts and reckonings of the King's mints, within the realm, (*viz.* the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Sir Walter Mildmay,) found him in debt to the King 10,000*l.* And for his honest and faithful managery of his place, and surrender of his fee of 200 marks, first, he had an annuity granted him of 200 mark, and the confirmation of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* granted him by King Henry for his good service done in the said office. Secondly, he had a grant to pay and discharge the foresaid debt as followeth, that is to say, in hand 3,000*l.* and so yearly 1,000*l.* till all were paid. Lastly, a pardon of all treasons, trespasses, contempts, &c. done and committed by the said Martin, concerning money and coin of the King's Majesty and his father, and of all unjust and false making of money, and payments of the same: and of all other offences done contrary to the effect of the common law, and to any statute, act, provision, proclamation, &c. or to any prescriptions, customs, or any other conventions, concerning the making and coining of the said money; and of all forfeitures of goods, chattels, lands, and tenements, and pains of death; and of all imprisonments, and other pains whatsoever; and of all prosecutions, condemnations, judgments, and indictments, and the execution of them, which by reason of any of them he should run in the King's danger; and of all manner of debts, accounts, arrearages of accounts, acts, and demands, that against the said Martin, or Thomas Shepwith, or either of them, as executors of the last will and testament of Rafe Rowlet, Esq. [to whom it seems Sir Martin succeeded in the mint,] or against Sir Rafe Rowlet, Knt. as son and heir of the said Rowlet, by reason of any recognisances, obligations, bills, &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1550. (272) *The King's good progress in learning and virtue. The Marquis of Northampton. Commissioners for French matters. French crowns. A Scotch ship stayed. Earl of Southampton; a ward. Thomas Lord Howard. Mines found,* &c.

The King's progress in his studies.

THE King was now thirteen years of age, and by this time understood Latin, spake it, wrote it properly, skilfully, fluently, and all this with judgment too. He made also good progress in the Greek tongue, and with great ease turned Latin into Greek. He had learnt over logic, and was now entering into Aristotle's Ethics in Greek, (for Cicero's philosophy he was also versed in.) For being once instructed in those universal precepts and parts of virtue and vice, he would be able to bring a steady judgment to look into the various manners of men, which he should meet with plenteously in reading of history: which was the reason his learned tutor Cheke assigned for this course of study, in his answer made to Ascham; who had asked him, why he had not rather put him upon reading the Institution of Cyrus, a book very proper for a king to read. When these Ethics were done with, which would take the King up but a little time, then he was to peruse Aristotle's Rhetoric.

And in virtue.

But together with his aptness and great progress in learning, he had a great disposition to virtue, a love of religion, a good judgment, and other excellent qualifications. Ascham, who knew him well, and lived then at the Court, in a letter dated in December to the learned Sturmius at Argentine, gave this account of him: "that his nature "equalled his fortune; but his virtue, or, to speak as a Chris-"tian, the manifold grace of God in him, exceeded both. "That he did to admiration outrun his age in his desires "of the best learning, in his study of the truest religion, in "his will, his judgment, and his constancy."

Some endeavour to take the

Though there wanted not for some about his person, who laboured to divert him from his studies and care of his

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King off from his present good course.

Lever's sermon before the King, on the third Sunday in Lent.

kingdom, to pastime and gaiety, which therefore the graver sort, as they had opportunity, endeavoured to arm the good King against. One whom we have mentioned before, took the confidence from the pulpit to bespeak him with respect hereunto, after this manner: " It is not unlike, but if your " Majesty with your Council speak unto your nobles for " provision, now to be made for the poor people, ye shall " find some that, setting afore your eyes the hardness of the " matter, the tenderness of your years, and the wonderful " charges that should be requisite, will move and counsel " you to quiet yourself, to take your ease, yea, to take your " pastime in hawking, hunting, and gaming." And then turning his speech to such an one, he thus accosted him: " Thou " hast no taste nor savour, how delicious God is unto a pure " conscience in godly exercise of good works. But all that " thou regardest and feelest is voluptuous pleasures in " worldly vanities. And therefore thou dost not perceive, " how that they which be endowed with a special grace of " God, may find more pleasure and pastime in godly governance, to keep together and save simple men, than in " hawking and hunting, to chase and kill wild beasts. Yea, " a godly king shall find more pleasure in casting lots for " Jonas, to try out offenders which trouble the ship of this " commonwealth, than in casting dice at hazard, to allow " and maintain by his example such things as should not " be suffered in a commonwealth. Yea, surely a good king " shall take far more delight in edifying with comfort, and " decking with good order, the congregation of his people, " the Church and house of God, the heavenly city of Jerusalem, than in building such houses as seem gay and " gorgeous, and be indeed but vile earth, stones, timber, " and clay. Such like answer ought your Majesty and all " noblemen to make, if ye find any of your counsellors " more carnal than spiritual, more worldly than godly." (273)

I shall now set down some matters of more public concern, or special remark, that passed, and were signed by the King and his Council, beginning at the month of October.

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Offices granted to the Marquis of Northampton.

William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, brother to King Henry's last wife, (being therefore one whom King Edward called uncle,) was one of the favourites of this reign. Besides his advancement to be Lord High Chamberlain of England, he had a grant, dated October 20, of the office of keeping the park of Hendley, and the little park of Windsor, together with the constableship of the castle of Windsor; and the keeping of all the forests, parks, warrens, and other places belonging to every of the same offices, for life, with all profits thereto belonging; with the fee of sixpence per day for keeping Hendley park, and four pence per day for keeping the little park of Windsor. To him also was granted by patent, dated the same day, the office of keeping the laund of Benfield in the forest of Rockingham, in the county of Northampton, and of the game within the said laund, with the outwoods of Thornehaw, Woodhaw, and Corbe woods, within the said forest; and the keeping of Gratton woods, and of the west bailifwick within the said forest, with all fees and profits. Also he had a grant for life of all the chief messuage called *the Laund Lodge*, within the said laund; together with a lease to him for life of the herbage and panage. Of the same date was granted also to this lord, the office of bailiff of Surrey, alias Bagshots Bailes, in the forest of Windsor; and the office of steward and bailif of the manor of Godalming, and the hundred of Godalming, in the county of Surrey; with the gubernance of all the King's tenants and subjects within the said manor and hundred, inhabitant; with the keeping of the chief house and scite of the late prior's farm of Guildford in the said county, and the master of the game within the park of Whitley, for life. All which offices were surrendered by Sir Michael Stanhop.

Formerly held by Sir Michael Stanhop.

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A commission for the controversies with the French about the borders.

A commission was issued out, November 16, to John Wallop, Thomas Wyat, and Richard Rede, Knights, William Cook, LL. D. and Francis Hall, Esquires, or to any four, three, or two of them, to hear and determine with the French King's commissioners all controversies between the

King's Majesty and the said French King; touching as well the right of title of lands and possessions, as also of lordships and territories, as well within the King's Majesty's limits, as within the French King's, upon the marches of Calais.

A new commission, but to the same tenor and purport, was made, only leaving out Sir Thomas Wyat, upon some reason of sickness, or the like, and putting Sir Richard Blount in his room. A memorial was then given by the King, with the advice of his Council, to the said commissioners, concerning the aforesaid controversies. And there was a warrant to Sir Edmund Peckham, cofferer, to pay to Sir Richard Rede, a learned common lawyer, and a judge, forty shillings per diem, until his return unto the King's presence, advancing him two months beforehand; and to allow him for all such sums of money as by his bills should be signified unto him, to be laid out about sending letters to the King's Majesty, or otherwise about the said affairs. The like warrant to the said Peckham was directed to pay Dr. Cook, a learned civilian, for his diet, the sum of thirty-three shillings four pence per day, and to advance him two months.

A proclamation for French crowns.

A proclamation came forth dated November 27, commanding all the King's subjects, and every other person having traffic within the realm, that from the last of December next ensuing, they should not utter or receive any crowns, commonly called *French crowns*, above the value of six shillings and four pence of current money of England, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. Whereof the one half should be to the King's Majesty, and the other to the accusers: with a proviso, that whosoever before the last day of December should bring any of the French crowns into the King's mints, should receive for every of them seven shillings, according to the value before limited.

A complaint of a Scotch ship stayed.

The Princess of Scotland had sent a letter of complaint to the King in this month of November, advertising the King, that a ship called *the Trinity*, appointed to help some part of the train of the Queen her mother in her voyage to

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France, was stayed in the King's port of Hull, contrary to the amity and late peace. But all this was but a glozing surmise, and perhaps this ship was no better in truth than a pirate. For to this import did the King's answer to the Princess run, that there was no such ship stayed in that port of Hull; but in the port of Grimsley, in the river of Humber, there was a Scotch ship stayed; yet none of the ships that appertained to the said train, as appeared by the deposition of the mariners, and of Davy Simner, master and owner thereof. And that it was stayed there, because it was entered without any safe conduct, or other licence, contrary to law and the ancient customs of both realms. Wherewith, the King said, he nothing doubted but that she would be satisfied.

Earl of Southampton ward to Sir William Herbert.

Henry, the young Earl of Southampton, being the King's godson, and now his ward, was in December committed to Sir William Herbert. His father Sir Thomas Wriothesly was created Earl the first year of this King, and Lord Chancellor, a man very inward with Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and much addicted to his principles, (275) an enemy to the Duke of Somerset, and assistant to Warwick in his practices against him. Being thrown out of the Court and his places, and in some apprehension of being called in question for his life, was thought to take it to heart, and retiring to his own house, died in discontent, or, as some said, by giving himself a dose. To Sir William Herbert, with his ward, was committed the keeping of the manor of Blumesbury, (where, if I mistake not, the Earl had his house,) and all the messuages, lands, and tenements in Milfield and Culverclose, with their appurtenances, in the county of Middlesex, and of the manor of Sutton with the appurtenances in the county of Somerset, to the yearly value of 200*l.* with the wardship and marriage of the said Earl Henry, without disparagement during his minority. A warrant was also issued out, the same second of December, to the Earl of Wiltshire, master of the wards and liveries, that where the King had granted to Sir William Herbert the wardship of Henry Earl of Southampton, he appointed to the said Sir William 100*l.* for the exhibition of the said Earl during his minority, and that he should at several days pay one thousand pounds for the said wardship, and to appoint the said Sir William another 100*l.* of the said Earl's lands: and also abate him 700*l.* part of the said thousand, in consideration that the said young Earl was the King's godson, and of the good service of the said Sir William.

Debts pardoned to Thomas, Lord Howard.

Thomas Lord Howard, the same, I suppose, that was entitled Lord Howard of Bindon, seemed to be one of the poor noblemen of this reign, however his poverty were occasioned. This man ran in arrears in the second and third payment of a subsidy granted to the King's father, in the 34th of his reign, which came to the sum of 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* And besides, he was indebted to King Edward 300*l.* who favourably considering his circumstances, pardoned him wholly the former sum, and threescore pounds of the latter; and took sufficient sureties for the payment of the rest in six years.

Mines of iron and steel in Devon.

This year had one Michael Winston found out divers mines of iron and steel, within the King's forests of Exmore and Dartmore in Devonshire; and also certain earth, which would make moor coal. With the which the iron and steel might be made of the ore of the said iron and steel to be found within the said forests. Upon information hereof the King granted a commission, bearing date December 11, whereby he authorized and licensed John, Earl of Bedford, Peter Carow, and Gawen Carow, Knights, Richard Duke, and the said Michael Winston, and every of them, and all others, by them or any of them to be named or appointed, to dig, found, win, and get, by all means they could from time to time hereafter, iron woore [ore] and steel, within his Highness' proper ground, within the said forests; and likewise earth to make moor coal, without giving or paying any thing therefore. And also to erect and build in his said proper ground, such and so many houses and mills, as should be thought meet and convenient to the said Earl, Peter, Gawen, Richard, and Michael, or any of them, for the making of iron and steel with the said woor and coal. And further, that they should enjoy the said houses and mills, and other the said necessaries to them, their heirs, executors, and assigns for ever; with power and authority to bequeath and assign the same at their pleasure, and in such manner as by the said commissioners' order shall be appointed. So (276) the said mills and houses, and making of the said iron and steel may have continuance for ever: yielding to the King and his heirs for every ton of iron there made six shillings and eight pence; and likewise for every ton of steel. And to the intent the said purpose should take effect, the said commissioners had authority to make orders and decrees for the establishing the continuance thereof, so they be not against the commonweal, or laws or statutes of the realm: with a proviso, that they shall not intermeddle with any bodies several, without their consents.

Beaumont made Master of the Rolls.

Sir Robert Southwel, Knight, Master of the Rolls, under some eclipse, did now resign, or was deprived of his place; and the office, December 11, conferred upon John Beaumont, Esq. for life, with all fees, &c. in as large and ample manner as the said Robert lately had it.

A message from the Danish King concerning his merchants.

One Dr. Albert Knoppert, a lawyer, was now in England, lately sent from Christiern, King of Denmark, for adjusting some merchants' business, wherein he was civilly treated. He had in this month of December complained, in the name of that King's subjects, of certain customs made here about merchandise, to their great loss and damage. But the King in answer shortly declared unto Christiern, that his subjects also complained of certain customs made there to their great hinderance. This complaint the King and his Council seemed to take the more offence at, because that but the month last past the King and his Council had fulfilled the desire of, and given satisfaction to, the said Dr. Albert, who came to be procurator in certain causes of injury, supposed to be done to some Danish merchants: and had given him a letter of answer to carry to King Christiern, signifying the justice he had done his subjects, with a commendation of the said Albert, for his diligence and wisdom used therein.

An embassy to Denmark.

In this month of December, I find a warrant signed by the King, to deliver to Sir John Borthwick, a Scotchman, five months' diet beforehand in prest after twenty-five shillings and eight pence per day, sent about certain the King's affairs; and so hereafter to be allowed until his return to the King, inclusive. This seems to have been some private embassy, because no mention is made of the person, place, or message. But the King's journal discovers all; where it appears that Borthwic (who seems to have been knighted for this purpose) was sent to the King of Denmark with private instructions, for the matching of the Lady Elizabeth with his son. He had his passport to go beyond sea with one gentleman and three servants, January 2.

The King's favour and grace to Exeter.

As a testimony of the King's gratitude and good-will to the citizens of Exeter for their last year's good service against the rebels, (besides the thanks he had rendered them already,) by a patent, dated December 19, the King confirmed to the Mayor and commonalty of that city, and their successors, all their old customs, liberties, privileges, franchises, and jurisdictions contained in any charters or letters patents of the King's Majesty or his progenitors; with a gift to them in fee-simple of all his manor of Exiland in Devonshire, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. to the yearly value of 29*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* over and above the reprizes: to be holden by fealty only in sockage, with a licence to purchase 100*l.* a year in land.

Commission for French pirates.

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This kingdom upon the sea-coasts towards France, and the English merchants, suffered much by French pirates still, notwithstanding the peace with France: nor could the English depend upon their friendship; therefore a special commission was given out, dated January 2, to Dr. Griffith Leyson, Sir Richard Rede, and Dr. William Cook, or to two of them, to examine and determine all and singular piracies, depredations, &c. now present, or hereafter to be done between the King's subjects and the French King's, since the last treaty of peace between them concluded.

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Sir Philip Hoby, late ambassador, gratified.

Sir Philip Hoby seems now to have returned home from his embassy with the Emperor, where he had resided two or three years. A needy man it seems he was, whether the cause were his own prodigality, or some other misfortune. To which I attribute the counsel he suggested to the Protector mentioned before, of taking away all the prebends from the church, and bestowing them upon secular uses, and reducing the revenues of the Bishops; hoping thereby that some part thereof might fall to him. His needs made him often craving supplies, while he was ambassador. Insomuch that in one of his letters to the Council he told them, that he had run into interest, and borrowed money upon credit, more than he could well yet a while discharge. And that if he should, through lack of payment of his diets, either run into further debt, or else be forced to lay to pledge, or sell the King's plate that he had there, it would be little to the King's honour, and a great blot to his own honesty: he trusted therefore their Lordships would have consideration thereof. This person owed to the King 1249*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* *ob.* all which the King now forgave him, perhaps in reward of the service of his embassy: acquitting and discharging him, his heirs, executors, and administrators, and divers others standing bound with him for 1100*l.* due to the King for stalment of his debts. And whereas the said Sir Philip was indebted to the King in the sum of 27*l.* 15*s.* for the contribution granted the King's father, a warrant was issued to the Exchequer to levy a tally or tallies containing the said sum, and to deliver the same to him as of the King's gift. These favours were granted him, January 7. And three days after, the King granted him in fee-simple all the manor of Norton, with Lenchwike in the parish of Norton, with the appurtenances in the county of Wigorn, and divers other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 47*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* to be holden *in capite*, by the fortieth part of one knight's fee. And whereas he had obtained of the Dean and Chapter of

His need.

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Worcester, the parsonage of Lenchwick and Norton, (to which church it belonged,) for twenty-one years; that would not serve his turn, but he procured the King's dispensatory letters to them, (dated April 16,) to this import, that, although the statutes of their house did not permit them to extend their grants any further than for twenty-one years, he did thereby dispense with their said statutes in that behalf, and desired them to grant the same leases for threescore years.

Preparations for Ireland.

Great fears were now upon good intelligence conceived, concerning the realm of Ireland, lest it should be betrayed, the French practising that way. So that the King purposed to send forces speedily thither, and to put that place into a posture of defence. And for that end he wrote five letters in the month of January, to as many persons of the chiefest eminency in that kingdom; importing, that whereas the King's Majesty purposed this spring time to send an army into Ireland, they should therefore put themselves and their men, as well those that were under their rule by their (278) offices, as also their household servants and tenants, in a readiness, to such a number of horsemen and footmen, as they might conveniently: and to be in a readiness against the day of . And likewise, that they should make their repair to the King to understand his further pleasure: and also to certify the number of the said horsemen and footmen forthwith; and how many should be demilances, and how many light horsemen. The Lord Cobham was appointed in February to lead the army into Ireland, and Sir Henry Palmer to be master of the ordnance.

An office to the Earl of Dorset.

Henry Earl of Dorset, whose seat was in Leicestershire, had granted him in the month of January the office of steward of the King's honours and lordships in the said county, and of all lordships, manors, lands, &c. in the counties of Leicester, Rutland, Warwick, and Nottingham, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, for life: and also the office of constable of the castle of Leicester, and the office of porter of the same castle; with all profits, and a fee of five pound a year for exercising the office of steward. And for keeping of the castle and office of porter two pence per day.

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A commission for the safety of the counsellors.

Those that were of the King's Council, and so appointed to be by his father King Henry in his last will enrolled in the Chancery, and the rest whom the said King by his said will ordered to be assistants to the said counsellors, now thought it convenient to have their past councils and management of the public affairs confirmed and ratified by the present King, and to be specially commissionated by him for their future acting in the same quality, during the King's minority. And this no doubt for their own security, which otherwise perhaps might now or hereafter be called in question: and that chiefly in these ticklish times, when there were such parties in the Court. Wherefore there was a large commission drawn out for this purpose: (but whether signed and sealed I cannot tell:) which may be found in the Repository, taken from the Cotton library.

PP. Titus, B. 2.

Parties in the Court.

Upon occasion of this commission, it seems there happened great feuds at Court, or else this commission occasioned by them. For in January, the Court then being at Greenwich, appeared great parties and sidings, the Earl of Warwick heading one party, and the Duke of Somerset's friends on the other side: whereof the Lord Privy Seal and the Lord Paget were two. These and others thought it of importance that this commission should proceed, as tending so to their own security and quiet, who were about the King. And the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer did not dislike it. But the haughty, designing Earl of Warwick was against it, and pretended much his care of the King's safety, which some way or other might be in great danger hereby. And therefore in this fit he wrote a severe letter to Paget, who was a great doer in this business, giving him warning how he proceeded: whose letter was as follows.

The Earl of Warwick to the Lord Paget. Titus, B. 2.

"This may be to require your Lordship to be vigilant "and circumspect in the matter which now you have in "hand. Perhaps the Lord Chancellor and the Lord

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"Treasurer, who thinketh me touch them least, can be "content that it may be wrapt up in silence; and to say, "it is not expedient it should come in question: but God "preserve our master. If he should fail, there is watchers "enough that would bring it in question, and would burden "you and others, who now will not understand the danger, (279) "to be deceivers of the whole body of the realm with an "instrument forged to execute your malicious meanings. "Mark well the words that Baker yesterday spake in the "King's presence concerning the fault, if any were, must "be imputed to the Lords. Well, I would wish, as well "for the surety of the King's Majesty as for the truth of "the matter, that men should not be against the perfect "reforming of it, now especially seeing it hath been thus "far debated: which I reckon even a happy thing. Praying you to participate this unto my Lord Privy Seal. "And so I commit you both unto the tuition of the Lord. "At Greenwich, the 22. Jan. 1550.

"Your loving friend,
"J. Warwyc."

The letter is somewhat obscure, as depending upon some particular weighty matter then in agitation in the Council; for the doing whereof the more securely the aforesaid commission was thought necessary. But in it appears Warwick's displeasure against some of them, covered over with a pretended extraordinary care of the King's person.

Discord appears between Somerset and Warwick.

The feuds grew more and more visible between the parties of the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Warwick. And now it was laboured on both sides to strengthen their parties. In the next month, *viz.* in February, a certain great Lord in the north (whether the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President, or some other) received a letter from another, in or about the Court, giving him to understand these dissensions, and a report that went of him, that he offered himself to side with one of the parties. But he, like a wise and wary man, pretended, that he would not believe, that two such great and wise men, and related together, Anno 1550. should have misunderstandings between them. And that for his part he would mind impartially the business intrusted with him by the King, and meant not to be biassed any other way. But this Lord's own words are worthy the perusing: whereby may also appear his judgment of this dissension.

A letter from a Lord out of the north hereupon. Titus, B. 2.

"My very good Lord, after my hearty commendations. "Having perused your gentle and most friendly letters, "which I yesterday received by your trusty servant this "bearer, like as the same do fully declare your Lordship's "great friendship and amity to mewards, being first by na"ture grounded in consanguinity and nearness of blood; "even so through this your great gentleness I am enforced "presently to testify my hearty good-will toward your "Lordship again; assuring the same, that, as both by na"ture and your kindness I am bounden, I shall at all "times be ready in like case to do for your Lordship what "in my power lieth. And where you do write, it should "come to your hearing, that some person, having practised "with me to feel my disposition in friendship towards the "Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwic, should speak "certain words, whereby he would seem to perceive that I "rather offered myself to be a party, and to set variance "and disorder between my said Lords, than to preserve the "quietness, unity, and concord of this realm: my Lord, if "any person have made this report of me, he hath most "untruly slandered and belied me. God defend, that I, "considering the trust that it hath pleased the King's Ma"jesty to repose in me, should so long live to mind any "dissension in this his Highness's realm.

(280) "And as concerning agreement between my said Lords, "albeit I have heard certain rumours in the country, that "they should not be in full and perfect amity, yet did I "never give credit thereto; but both thought and said, "that I trusted my said Lords were too wise so to do, con"sidering the great inconvenience that might come there"of: and weighing with myself also their near alliance by "marriage, I was fully persuaded the same rumours to be

" untrue. And surely great pity it were, and as I think not " a little danger and disquietness to the whole realm would " grow thereof, if any such thing should chance.

" Wherefore, good my Lord, now that I have discoursed " unto you my full mind in this behalf, I trust you will " make answer to such slanderous reports, as be most untruly feigned of me; like as I would do for your Lord" ship in like case: which you may with your honour do. " For I never intended to take party with any nobleman " against another, but to my power to increase their friend" ships, and to serve the King's Majesty according to my " duty: as knoweth the Almighty, who long preserve you, " my very good Lord, in health and honour. From York, " the 17. Febr. 1550."

Orders for remedying the dearth in Cornwall.

In the west of England, and especially in Cornwall, corn, and other provisions of flesh and fish, and other necessaries, grew very dear, occasioned perhaps by the late insurrections there; whereby the poorer sort suffered not a little. And this furthered in a great measure by the richer sort, who, by forestalling and monopolizing, and other unjust arts of those that furnished the markets, sold their corn and cattle at their own prices. Therefore special order was sent to the Justices of that county, for the speedy regulation of these grievances, especially among this people newly pacified from a rebellion. These Justices were directed to learn the names of those that used to serve the markets in the several divisions with grain, butter, cheese, and flesh. And then to inquire, whether they had withdrawn of late from the markets which they furnished. To examine which of them sold at excessive prices, contrary to a late commandment. And so to require them to appear before them at certain days, putting them under sureties for their appearance, to receive their deserts. If they should accuse others, as selling to them at excessive prices, then those to be sent for also, and put under like sureties. The grain of every parish to be surveyed by the Justices, and likewise the cattle, and to be entered down in books. Victuallers to be appointed to serve the market-towns; and they to be

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such as dwelt nigh, and to be no graziers: they to fetch cattle for the markets from the graziers; who were to deliver them to the said victuallers paying for the same at the King's price. Grain to be appointed by the said surveyors to serve the markets at reasonable prices, by them to be set. Likewise such as were accustomed to serve the markets with butter and cheese, to serve it at the King's price. Butchers having beef, muttons, and other victuals at the grazier's hands, to be compelled to sell the same according to a rate set by the mayors, or chief officers of the respective towns. And such like orders were also given for selling of fish. This commission to the Justices of Cornwal, and a table of the several prices prescribed for these and other things brought to market, as wines, cloth, hides, leather, &c. may be found in the MS. before mentioned, exemplified in the Repository. QQ.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

An ambassador for France. Crofts goes to Ireland. Jersey fortified. Duke of Somerset's bare circumstances. Grants of leases and places to several courtiers. The Earl of Southampton, Denny, and the Lord Wentworth die. Lady Mary comes to Court. Offices granted to the Marquis of Northampton. A short Pathway, &c.

Sir William Pickering goes into France.

GREAT jealousies were now of the French's making disturbances both in Scotland and Ireland. A French ambassador came hither in January in favour of Scotland; as, to move the English to surrender certain places to the Scots, and to confer other benefits upon that nation. Upon this the King sent Sir William Pickering his ambassador into France, in February, and withal sent a letter to Sir John Mason, ambassador then in France, to return home for ease of his sickness, and to communicate to Sir William Pickering, placed there in his room, the whole state of the King's affairs there; and to deliver to him all plate and other things he had delivered to him here of the King at his departure. To Sir William Pickering a letter was sent soon after to this import, that if Sir John Mason for his sickness were not able to join with him in the message he is sent about to the French King, to authorize him to proceed therein. And if he be able, and after wax so feeble by sickness that he cannot continue his service of ambassage, that then the said Sir William shall succeed him in his room by authority of the King's letters. Pickering came home again in March, and went again in April. And then Mason came home.

And Sir James Crofts into Ireland.

And whereas the French were practising in Ireland, Sir James Crofts, a good soldier, was sent thither in February, to look after the condition of that kingdom, and especially the havens, to prevent any invasion, and to begin some good fortifications. And he arrived with some artificers at Waterford the next month, where the deputy was, having lately repaired to the south parts with his forces to watch the French. Four letters were sent at this time; one to the Earl of Desmond, and the other three to other persons of credit, for the said Sir James Croft, Knight, sent thither to view certain ports, havens, and other places, which certain the King's enemies intended to invade there, and to report the discommodities that may come upon the loss thereof. And a fleet of ships was set forth for the defence of that realm, and to guard some havens on the south side toward France.

Jersey fortified.

The same apprehensions had the English of the French's surprising of the isle of Jersey. Orders were therefore taken for strengthening the castle and other important places there. And it was thought fit the isle should bear the whole charge of its own defence, though it made a hard shift. For there was a letter sent thither to take down the (282) bells, reserving but one in every church of the island of St. Obin's, [a place in Jersey.] And the half value of the same to be employed upon the fortifications of the castle there, and the other half upon the fortifications towards the alleviating of the charges of the King's subjects there: and to arrest and tax the said subjects after the rate of their goods, towards the charges of the said fortifications: and further, to appoint unto priests that had fees and annuities given to them for term of their lives, upon certain obits and masses founded there, such pensions as should be thought good by their discretion, to be paid of the chantry lands of that island. But these orders came not forth till the beginning of the next year.

The Bishop of Bath's palace comes to the Duke of Somerset.

This year the Duke of Somerset got from Barlow, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the palace of the Bishop of Bath; the said Bishop alienating to him, November 9, the scite, circuit, and precinct of the said palace, and divers other lands, to the yearly value of 62*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* And in March following he got a prebend, being the manor of Dultingcote and Chilcote in Somersetshire, from one Thyn, prebendary of Wells. Both, as it seems, in exchanges.

The Duke's narrow circumstances.

The Duke in his late fall had been fleeced of all, not only his beneficial places and offices, but also of his lands and revenues; and was now reduced into narrow circumstances: and therefore was to make his fortunes again, as well as he could. This his condition his nephew the King considered, and helped him as much as he might: which appeared, as in the respects above mentioned, so in this that followeth. The King was now soon after the 25th of March to send hostages into France, consisting of persons of the best nobility, that might answer the French hostages sent hither. And among the rest the Earl of Hertford, son and heir to the Duke, and the King's cousin, was one. And the King was at the charge of setting him out, which I do not find he did to any other. For to Francis Nudigate, steward to the Duke, the King granted 200 mark by way of gift toward the charge of the said Earl's furniture. And more, to the Duke was given 246*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* in recompence of the charges of the board-wages of certain of the servants attending upon the Earl in France. And about the same time to the Duke was paid 500*l.* bequeathed him by King Henry's last will, which was paid upon account of his present need, as I must suppose, that legacy having in effect been before satisfied, when in the first year of the

His son a hostage.

Warr. Book.

King the said Duke had a grant of divers lands and lordships, partly in consideration of services, and partly for fulfilling the King's last will; as it ran in the Book of Sales.

Sir Andrew Dudley's office.

In December, Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Earl of Warwic, gained the office of keeping all the jewels, of the robes and other things in the palace of Westminster; with whom was joined Arthur Sturton; which place was granted to them for life, and the longest liver, with the fee of 100 mark.

Leases to Secretary Cecyl.

Mr. Cecyl, Secretary, about this time had the rectory of Wimbleton in reversion granted him for threescore years, according to a letter sent by the King, dated in January, to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, to whom the said rectory belonged: Sir Robert Tirwhit, Knight, being at present in possession by an old lease, and Cecyl having Sir Robert's interest in the same.

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Honnings gets a prebend of Sarum.

William Honnings, Esq. now or late a clerk of the Council, got a prebend from the church of Salisbury. For Guido Cavalcant, a stranger, incumbent of the prebend of Cheping Farington in the county of Berks, belonging to the said church, being requested to give and surrender his interest and estate of the possession of the said prebend, and being contented thereto, the King this February wrote to the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of Salisbury, that they also would agree hereunto in such sort as the same might take effect towards him in fee-simple.

A grant to Winchester college.

The King's justice appeared in an act of his that happened about this time. The wardens, and scholars, and clerks of the college of St. Mary's *prope* Winton, alias St. Mary's college of Winchester, had heretofore sold to King Henry certain lands, and paid 671*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* besides, to his treasurer. For the which the manor of Endeford in Wilts, with other lands, were granted to them: which manor and lands were in remainder to one Thomas Culpeper and his heirs male of his body begotten: and who had lawfully entered. So their purchase was lost and gone. The King therefore in satisfaction now this February granted them the manor of Aysshe in Surrey, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 77*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*

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A gift to Lord Cobham.

To gratify George Broke, Lord Cobham, a great soldier, who had done the King good service abroad, and was now going with an army into Ireland, the King gave him in fee-simple the lordship and manor of Great Hoo and Little Hoo, and the hundred of Hoo, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. to the yearly value of 108*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* several rents reserved and deducted: to hold by the fortieth part of one knight's fee. Some of these lands lay in Rochester and Wrotham: to which was added the rectory of Earith.

The Earl of Southampton buried.

The Earl of Southampton, August 4, was honourably buried in the church of St. Andrew's, Holborn: and Sir John Hoper, priest, preached at his funerals. And September 1. his lady and widow was buried at Farnham; who had sometime been the wife of Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Privy Seal to King Henry VIII.

Sir Anthony Denny dies.

Sir Anthony Denny, a learned and wise man, bred in St. John's college, Cambridge, an ancient favourer of the Gospel, and professor of it, one of the chief gentlemen of King Henry's bedchamber, and of this King's, died about the latter end of this year. His seat was at Waltham abbey in Essex, where I think he lies buried. He left dame Johan Denny, his widow, executrix of his last will and testament. A declaration by her made as well concerning stuff received by the said Sir Anthony, belonging to the King, as also for disbursing and delivery thereof, was taken February 12.

Lord Wentworth dies.

As Denny finished his course, so the Lord Wentworth accompanied him: who being Lord Chamberlain of the King's household was honourably buried, March 7, in Westminster abbey in the chapel, where the old Abbot was interred; two of the kings of arms and two of the chief heralds attending, and Coverdale preached.

Lady Mary comes to London;

March 15, the Lady Mary rode through London unto St. John's, her place, with fifty knights and gentlemen in velvet coats and chains of gold afore her; and after her fourscore gentlemen and ladies; and every one having a pair of beads of black; to make an open profession, no doubt, of their devotion for the mass; which she lately had been required to lay aside, as we shall read hereafter. In this equipage she rode through Cheapside and Smithfield. Two days after, she rode from St. John's to the Court, through Fleet-street, with many noblemen, knights, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen. And at Court she alighted, and Mr. Wyngfield, comptroller of the King's house, and many lords and knights, brought her through the hall unto the chamber of presence. And there she tarried two hours, being treated at a goodly banquet. What her business now at the Court was, we shall soon see. Afterwards she took horse, and rid back to St. John's, and lay there all night, and on the morrow she rode to her house, called Newhall in Essex, where she remained for some time.

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And the Court.

As the Marquis of Northampton in October last obtained the keeping of Windsor, now, March 20, the King gave him the office of keeping the chief messuage of the manor of Esscher, and the office of keeping the garden and ortyards there, and the bailiff of the said manor; and the keeping of the park, and the lieutenantship of the chase of Hampton Court, and the keeping of the chase, with three men to attend thereupon, for life, with fee.

An office to the Marquis of Northampton.

Let me add only the mention of a book that came forth this year, imprinted at Worcester, by John Oswen, the 24th of May; having this title, *A short Pathway to the right and true understanding of the holy Scripture. Set forth by that most famous Clerk, Hulderick Zuinglius.* And translated out of Latin into English by John Verou Senonois. This man was a foreigner, but an eminent minister and preacher in London in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth.

A short Pathway, &c.

He dedicated this his translated book to Sir Arthur Darcie, Knight. Thus beginning his address, (whence we may collect the good progress of religion at this time, and the backwardness of a great part of the people yet to entertain it.) "Many at this present, right worshipful Sir, that "the Gospel is so pregnantly, so sincerely, and purely

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"preached by innumerable learned godly men, whom God "doth stir up and excitate daily in this flourishing realm "and commonwealth, do greatly marvel and wonder that "yet the greatest part of the people doth frowardly draw "back, nor will submit themselves to the sweet and pleasant yoke of the Gospel; having lyeffer to abide still in "the thick darkness of ignorance, and stinking puddle of "men's traditions, than to come to the shining and most "clear light of the everlasting truth and verity: which if "they would weigh, ponder, and examine, and consider the "matter more earnestly, and with greater diligence search "the Scripture, they should undoubtedly find, perceive, "and understand, that this blindness and error doth remain yet in so many thousands, because that God hath "not yet drawn them, without whose Spirit man's industry "can profit nothing, though he teacheth and writeth never "so much, &c.

"I do most humbly dedicate, offer, and nuncupate unto "your right worshipful mastership, as unto him who is "and hath been always most desirous to promote, set forth, "and enlarge the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

And here we end the first book, having taken a view of the best part of this King's reign. Hereafter the factions at Court more increased, and proved fatal to some of them; as shall be seen.

MEMORIALS

OF MATTERS WORTHY REMARK

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL

IN THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD VI.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Lady Mary's concern with the King and Council, for retaining mass in her family. Dr. Mallet her chaplain. The Emperor interposes for the Lady Mary to have mass.

Anno 1550.

Mass continued in the Lady Mary's house.

THE Lady Mary's zeal for her religion, created her and her chaplains and servants, this and the ensuing year, no little trouble. An office having been composed for the communion and public prayers in English, which was enjoined by Parliament to be used throughout England, all were required, by proclamation, to receive it with due reverence. But the Lady Mary would not admit it by any means in her family, but kept herself to the old mass, notwithstanding many messages and intimations from the King and his Council to dissuade her, and to forbid the use of it.

Her chaplain indicted for saying mass.

So it fell out, that in November Dr. Mallet and Mr. Barkley, her two chaplains, were indicted for certain things committed by them, contrary to the King's laws; and process for them was awarded forth and delivered to the She-

Anno 1550. riff of Essex. And she seeming to defend them, the Council wrote to her, requiring her, as soon as they or either of them returned to her house, to surrender them up unto the Sheriff, who had a warrant from the King to attach them. Or if it liked her not, then to warn them from her house, and not to keep them there to be defended as it were from the justice of the law. Mallet's fault was, that
250 he said mass at Newhall to her family, newly removed thither from Woodham Water, she following, but as yet not being there. To whom in her closet only he ought to have said it. Alexander Barkley, her other chaplain, was vicar of Much Badow in Essex; and he, thinking to bear out himself with the authority of his mistress, had said mass in his church, contrary to the King's statutes and proceedings. But he submitted, and after some months' imprisonment had his pardon in May 1551.

The letter of the Lords of the Council to the Lady Mary, concerning her chaplains, was this:

The Council to the Lady Mary. Otho. C.10.

"After our due commendations unto your Grace. Where "two of your chaplains, the one named Dr. Mallet, the "other Barkley, be indicted for certain things committed "by them contrary to the King's Majesty's laws; for whom "process is also awarded forth, and delivered to our loving friend Sir George Norton, Knight, Sheriff of Essex: "forasmuch as we understand, that the one of your said "chaplains doth continually attend about you, albeit we "nothing doubt but your conformity and obedience to the "King's Majesty is such, that of yourself you will most "readily cause any your servants, whatsoever they be, to "obey humbly his Majesty's officers and ministers for the "execution of justice; yet being desirous, in respect of your "Grace's honour, to have this process executed in as quiet "sort as may be, we have thought good to pray your "Grace to give order, that your said chaplain, remaining "in your house, may be delivered to the Sheriff at such "time as he, or any his deputy, shall come for him, to answer to the laws for such matters as he is charged withal.

"And thus wishing your Grace long continuance of health, "we pray Almighty God to have you in his blessed keeping.

"From Westminster, this 2d Decemb. 1550.

"Your Grace's assured,

"E. Somerset. T. Wentworth. W. Wilts.
"T. Cant. T. Cheyne. H. Dorset.
"J. Warwick. W. Northt. T. Darcy.
"E. Clynton. T. Ely. R. Sadleyr."
"J. Bedford. A. Wyngfeld.

She writes in behalf of her chaplain imprisoned.

Upon this passed several letters between her Grace and the Council, both in this and the next year, (*viz.* that of 1551,) she vindicating her chaplain; inasmuch as he had done no more than what she had bidden him, and so if any fault were committed, it was hers rather than his. And in justification of herself, she urged a promise, thrice repeated, which the King and Council had granted the Emperor's ambassador on her behalf; which was, that she should have leave to have mass said before her, and be exempted from the danger of the statute. But they told her, in a letter dated December 25, 1550, that "a promise was indeed "made a good while ago to the ambassador, that mass in "her own closet should be suffered and winked at; but "that it was to be but a while, till she were better in- 251
"formed; and only a few of her own chamber to be present with her. But that to the rest of her household the "communion service should be used."

The Council argue with her about the new Communion-Book.

They signified to her moreover, what they said to the Emperor's ambassador, that came to intercede for her to have the mass, *viz.* "that they had only reduced that "which was commonly called the mass, to the order of the "primitive Church, and the institution of Christ; with "which the King and the whole realm had their con- "sciences well quieted. They added, that it had founda- "tion in Scripture upon plain texts, and no glosses, and "confirmed by the use of the primitive Church. That the "greatest change was, not in the substance of their faith, "nor in any one article of their creed; but only the dif-

"ference was, that they used the ceremonies, observations, "and sacraments of their religion, as the Apostles and first "Fathers of the Church did. Whereas she used the same "that corruption of time had brought in, and very barbarity and ignorance nourished. She held, they said, "for custom against truth, they for truth against custom. "And whereas she had urged earnestly the maintenance of "her faith, they asked her, where her Grace had ground "for such a faith, to think common prayer in the English "Church should not be in English; that images of God "should be set up in the Church; or that the sacrament "of the body and blood of Christ should be offered by the "priest for the dead? And that though she had no Scripture to maintain them, they had plain Scripture to forbid "them. They took notice also, how she had baptism ministered in her house the old way, in a tongue unknown; "whereby, they said, the best part of the sacrament was "unused, and as it were a blind bargain made by the godfathers." This excellent letter, which, I suppose, was drawn by the pen of Archbishop Cranmer, is extant in Fox.

Acts and Mon. p. 1215.

The Emperor's ambassador interposes. Council-Book.

But all convinced her not; and she procured the Emperor to interpose again in her behalf. For the Emperor's ambassador, February 16, put the Council in remembrance of their promise made unto them for the Lady Mary, that she should be suffered to use mass in her family: upon which promise she had hitherto used it. Wherefore the Emperor trusted she should still do the same till the King came to years of perfection. Answer was made, that the Council would advise, and in three or four days give full answer.

I do not find, neither in the King's Journal, nor Council-Book, what answer the Council gave to the ambassador.

The Lady Mary comes to Court.

But March 18, the Lady Mary, being summoned, I suppose, to come up, made her appearance at Court, and came to the King at Westminster; where she with the Council was called into a chamber. And then she was told, how long the King had borne with her, and that having now no more hope, as appeared by the purport of her letters, the King could not bear it any longer, without some sudden amendment. But she answered resolutely, her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion by contrary doings. It was told her, that the King constrained not her faith, but willed her not to rule as a King, but obey as a subject. And the very next day, March 19, the Emperor's ambassador came boldly with a short message from his master for war, except his cousin the Princess, as he called her, might have mass. To this no answer was then given. The 20th day the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Rochester, 252 were consulted with in this point; who told the Council, that to give licence to sin, was sin; nevertheless they thought the King might suffer or wink at it for a time. In the mean time, March 22, Mr. Rochester, Comptroller to the Lady Mary, was before the Council, and being asked, how many chaplains she had, he said, four, *viz.* Dr. Mallet, Hopton, Barker, and Richards. The next day, March 23, the result of the Council was, that Dean Wotton should be sent to the Emperor, to signify, that the King did wholly deny this request to the Lady Mary. And in the mean season it was resolved, to punish the offenders that heard mass; first, such as were his own servants, and next hers. Hereupon, March 24, Sir Anthony Brown was sent to the Fleet for hearing mass, with Serjeant Morgan: and the Council-Book sets this note upon Morgan, that he could not excuse himself, because that being so learned a man, he gave an ill example unto others. And Sir Clement Smith, who had heard mass, though it were a year before, received a reprimand.

An ambassador sent to the Emperor.

March 25, 1551, the Emperor's ambassador came to the Council to receive his answer. But they gave him none other, but that one should be sent to the Emperor within a month or two, to declare the matter. And accordingly, April 10, Wotton had instructions to repair in embassy to the Emperor, and to be ambassador ledger there: chiefly to give the reasons of the King and his Council, why

Anno 1551.

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the Emperor's ambassador, and the Lady Mary were denied to have mass said before them; and to make this resolution before the Emperor: "That if he would suffer "the King's ambassador with him to use his service, then "the King would suffer the Emperor's ambassador to "use his. But if he would not suffer the King's ambassa-"dor, neither would the King suffer the Emperor's ambas-"sador. And that as to his sister, she was his subject, and "therefore should use the service appointed by act of Par-"liament to be used by all his people."

Mallet sent to the Tower. Council-Book.

The Council forbade Dr. Mallet to say mass in the Lady Mary's family; which nevertheless he did, and was forgiven. Therefore, April 29, being before them, they asked him, why, after he had been once forgiven, he would again wilfully offend the laws in saying mass? &c. He could not deny but that he had done ill in it. But forasmuch as, beside this lewd doing, he had also persuaded others of the King's subjects to embrace his naughty opinions, he was committed to the Tower. This warning was no more than the King had given to his own servants.

The Lady Mary to the Council hereupon.

Hereupon the Lady Mary sent letters to the Council, dated May 2, and 11, and June 21, marvelling at the imprisonment of Mallet, her chaplain, for saying mass before her household; seeing it was promised the Emperor's ambassador she should not be molested in her religion, but that she and her household should have the mass said before them continually. They answered, "That because of their duty "to the King, country, and friends, they were compelled "to give her this answer: that they would see not only "him, but also all others, mass-sayers and breakers of or-"der, straitly punished. And that, as for the promise, they "had not, nor would give none, to make her free from the "punishment of the law in that behalf." But it seems mass was notwithstanding continued in her house; which gave great offence.

The King sends a gracious message to her.

253 In the month of July she was at Richmond: where the King, as before he had sent her a kind letter, so now he sent unto her a gracious and obliging message by the Lord Great

Master, the Lord Privy Seal, and one of the Secretaries. And on this occasion she wrote the King a letter, (which these noblemen seem to be the carriers of,) chiefly to shew how unwavering she continued in her formerly declared purpose about religion; and the rather, because some seemed to have informed the King of her inclinableness to conform to the late establishment of it. Which letter I think worthy the inserting, and was as follows:

Her letter to him. Titus, B. 2.

" Most excellent and noble Prince, and my most be-
" nign and good brodre.

" I do most humbly thank you for your great goodness, " favour, and liberality, which, as well by your Majesty's " own letters, as by the report and declaration of your " counsellors, the Lord Great Master, the Lord Privy " Seal, and your Grace's Secretary, I perceive it hath " pleased you to determine towards me. Whereunto I have " no more to answer, but that I shal ever remain your Ma-" jesties most humble suster and servant, according to such " letters as I have written to your Highness, and to such " advertisement as I have given to your Grace by your " said counsellors; which is correspondent and agreeable " to my first mind and answer, made at the first opening of " the matter to me. From the which, as I neither have va-" ried from the beginning, ne wol vary hereafter; so if any " man have said the contrary, I assure your Grace that he " hath don it without my consent or commission. Thus I " beseech our Lord to send your Majesty long life, with " good health, and perpetual felicity. From Richmond, " the 16th of July.

" Your Majesties humble suster and servant."

The resolution of the Lords for the Lady Mary. Council-Book.

August the 9th, there met at Richmond twenty-four Lords of the King's Council, to discourse concerning the Lady Mary: who agreed that it was not convenient she should be suffered any longer to use her mass against the order of the Book of Common Prayer appointed. And it was resolved, that the officers of the Lady Mary's house

Anno 1551. should be sent for, and charged not to suffer any other divine service to be used in her house, but such as was permitted by the law. And that the chaplains should be prohibited to say mass, and the servants of the house forbid to hear it. And a letter hereof to be sent from the King to the Lady Mary. And thereof they made an instrument signed with their hands and seals.

Her officers sent for.

August the 11th, a warrant was ordered to be sent to the officers of the Lady Mary's house, to appear before the Council on the 13th instant; and a second letter sent to the same import.

They appear.

August the 13th, [or rather the 14th,] at Hampton Court, appeared before the Council Robert Rochester, Comptroller of the Lady Mary's house, Edward Waldgrave, and Sir Francis Inglefield. It was, to let her know by them rather than by strangers, the less to molest her, that it was their order that the Communion-Book should be used hereafter in her family: and to inhibit her chaplains to say mass before her in her house, or in any other place; and neither 254 themselves, nor any of the family to hear mass, on pain of the King's displeasure. This message was given them with a letter from the King of that purport, to be by them delivered to her. Rochester made many excuses; but was commanded on his allegiance to see the matter executed. And in case her Grace should dismiss him out of her service, (as he pretended she would for doing this message,) he and the rest were commanded on the King's behalf not to leave the service and the house, but to stay and see the order fulfilled.

The contents of the King's letter.

In the letter which the King now sent to her, he reminded her of the speeches and letters that he had used with her formerly, to persuade her to obedience; as also the letters of the Council that had been sent to her for that purpose, to reduce her to conformity and agreeableness in religion. He observed, as he wrote, that she was more wedded to her own mind after all this than she was before. Insomuch, as she refused so much as to hear any learned man, to inform her rightly of these matters. He added, that he was minded to take a more earnest regard to the reformation of her family, for the preservation of the authority of the laws thus broken and contemned; and for the glory of Almighty God: which were the causes that he had sent for her officers. By whom should be signified unto her his commandment in respect of her family. He that will read the letter itself, I refer him to the Cotton library: it is not any where as yet published, as many other of the letters relating to this transaction are.

Otho, C. 10.

What followed upon this, I present as I found it in a manuscript of the said library.

Her officers' message to her from the Council.

Titus, B. 2. p. 68.

" This day [being Aug. 22.] Mr. Rochester, Sir Francis " Inglefeld, and Mr. Walgrave, officers to the Lady Mary's " Grace, were before the Lords, and declared unto their " Lordships, that upon Saturday the 15th of this present, " they arrived at Copped-hall, somewhat before night. By " reason whereof, they did not the same night execute their " charge committed to them at Hampton Court the 14th of " this present. The Sunday following, being the 16th of " this present, because they understood that her Grace re- " ceived the sacrament, (for so they termed it,) they did " abstain to deliver their letters before noon, considering " that the same would trouble and disquiet her. So as " after dinner taking commodity to declare their letters, " after that her Grace had read them, they made offer to " her to declare what charge they had received of the " Lords to execute; praying her Grace to be contented to " hear the same. Whereupon her Grace made answer, that " she knew right well, that their commission was agreeing " with such matters as was contained in her letters: and " that therefore they needed not to rehearse the same. " Howbeit then pressing her Grace, she was finally content " to hear them. And when they had done, she seemed to " be marvellously offended with them; and charged them, " that they should not declare that same they had in " charge to say, neither to her chaplains nor family: " which if they did, besides that they should not take her " hereafter for their mistress, she would immediately de- " part out of the house. Upon this, as the said Rochester,

How angrily she received it.

Anno 1551.

"Inglefeld, and Walgrave said to the Lords, that forasmuch as she oftentimes altered her colour, and seemed to "be passionate and unquiet, they forbare to trouble her "any farther; fearing that the troubling of her might perchance bring her into her old disease; and besought her "to consider the matter calmly with herself, and pass 255 "thereupon against Wednesday next, when they would wait "on her Grace, and know her further pleasure: which, "they said, they did, hoping to have found her then, upon "more ripe deliberation, and debating of the matter with "herself, more conformable. And in the mean time they "forbare also to declare to her chaplains and household "the charge they had received. But repairing to her "Grace the said Wednesday, being the 19th of this present, they did not only not find her conformable, but in "further choler than she was before; utterly forbidding "them to make declaration of their said charge and commission to her chaplains and household: adding, that "where she and her household were in quiet, if they would "by any means disturb her and them, if any inconvenience did ensue thereof to her or them, she would [attribute] it to the said Rochester, Inglefeld, and Walgrave: "which thing considered, they thought it better to return "without doing their commission, and declare this much "to their Lordships, without meddling any further, then "to proceed in the execution of their charge before they "had advertised their Lordships of the premises.

"The Lords having heard this much, commanded them "to attend until they should know further of their pleasures.

"The said Rochester, Inglefeld, and Walgrave brought "with them letters from the Lady Mary's Grace to the "King's Majesty." Thus far and no farther the Cotton manuscript, which is but a transcript out of the Council-Book. The rest I supply out of the Council-Book and the King's Journal.

Her officers again before the Council.

August 23, Rochester, Inglefeld, and Walgrave appeared again: and they were severally, one by one, charged with not obeying the King's injunctions, in not prohibiting the chaplains to say mass, and the family to hear it in the Lady Mary's house; but that, contrary to order and directions of the Council, troubled the Lady Mary, by doing the message to herself, and not to the chaplains and family. Hereupon they were strictly charged each one to repair to the Lady Mary's house, and do the charge enjoined them according to the order and directions of the Council, upon their allegiance, and by the King's special command. They all refused to do it. Rochester and Inglefeld said, they would endure any punishment or imprisonment: and Inglefeld alleged, that he could not find in his heart or conscience to do it. They were commanded to attend continually the Council, until such time as they should know their further pleasure.

The Lord Chancellor, and two other Privy Counsellors sent to her. Council-Book.

The 26th of August, the Lord Chancellor, [Rich,] Sir Anthony Wyngfeld, [Comptroller of the King's house,] and Sir William Petre, [Secretary,] were sent to the Lady Mary with a letter and message: and in default of her said officers, were to declare to her the meaning of that promise made to the Emperor in her behalf: and calling before them all her chaplains and household servants, to command the former to use no other service than what was by law established, and the latter not to be present at any other service, upon pain of most strait imprisonment. This message was carried Aug. 28, being Friday.

Her house is appointed to be watched. King's Journal.

Aug. 29, they made report to the Council of what they had done. And then it was appointed that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-chamberlain, and Secretary Petre, should see by all means they could, whether she used the mass. And if so, that the law should be executed on her chaplains. At this very time certain pinnaces were 256 prepared for secret conveyance away of the Lady Mary over sea. The doing of which was practised by the Emperor.

Her servants sent to the Tower. Council-Book.

Aug. 31, the Lady Mary's three servants aforesaid, who had been two days before committed to the Fleet, were sent to the Tower: and the Council ordered the Warden of the Fleet to convey them through the bridge to the Tower, to be had there severally: and the Lieutenant of the Tower to receive and keep them close prisoners from speaking to any man, and not to let them have pen, ink, and paper. And because she might have need of her Comptroller, another was sent by the King to supply his absence.

The Emperor's ambassador interposes for the relief of them. King's Journal. The answer given him.

Sept. 5, the Emperor's ambassador came to the Court, and required that the Lady Mary's officers should be restored to their liberty, and that she might have her mass, till the Emperor were certified of these things. He was answered, that the King needed not to answer except he listed, because the Ambassador spake without commission, which was evident by the shortness of the time since the commitment of the officers, of which the Emperor could not be so soon advertised. He was willed no more to move these piques without commission, in which he had been often answered. He was moreover told, that by this time the Emperor was advertised, [by the King's own ambassador, of his dealings with his sister,] although the matter pertained not unto him. It was told him also, that the King had done nothing but according to a King's office herein, in observing the laws that were so godly, and in punishing the offenders: and that the promise made to the Emperor was not so made as he pretended, [that is, that she should always have the liberty of having mass said in her family,] as was affirmed by Sir Philip Hoby, being at that time ambassador there.

Walgrave is sick in the Tower. Removed. Council-Book.

Sept. 27, Walgrave being sick in the Tower, his wife had leave to repair to him for his relief, and to provide for the recovery of his health. And Octob. 24. it was ordered, that he should be removed out of the Tower by the Lieutenant to some honest house, where he might be better looked to, for the curing of his quartan ague; remaining still as a prisoner, and to be forthcoming whensoever he should be called for.

They had leave to go home.

March 18, Rochester, Walgrave, and Inglefeld had leave to go out of the Tower for their health's sake to their own homes. And,

Set at liberty.

April 24, 1552, they were set at liberty, and had leave to repair to the Lady Mary, upon her request. But leaving the said Lady with her servants thus restored to her, let us proceed to other matters; looking back upon the year, and taking up several transactions in the state not yet mentioned.

CHAP. II.

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The King writes to King Sigismond, and the Duke of Florence. Payments of the army. Lord Darcy created. Merchants of Calais. The King takes up money. The college of Galway. The Council for Wales. Lords Lieutenants. Forts.

A letter to the King of Poland.

THE King, March 25, 1551, wrote a letter of thanks to Sigismond, King of Poland, on this occasion: some quarrel depending between Robert Helsen, the King's subject, and Ludolph Rull, a stranger, and, as it seems, one of Dantsig, about some matters of merchandize, their cause came before the senate of the said city; who were too partial to Rull, so that the other could have no justice: therefore an appeal came before the said King Sigismond: who gave a more favourable hearing of Helsen's cause: which being well taken of King Edward and his Council, a kind letter was addressed to him.

The King's request to the Duke of Florence.

A good understanding was maintained between the Duke of Florence and the King. There was now found out a new and more useful order of martial discipline in Italy, (which country now bred many good soldiers,) and chiefly practised under that Duke: which coming to the King's knowledge, he desired of the said Duke to have a plat or a scheme of the said new discipline: which he accordingly in two friendly letters communicated to the King: for which the King in March wrote him a letter of thanks. And lest any offence should arise to the Duke about a ship of his country which was laden hither with grain, and taken to the King's use, (of which the Duke had taken notice to him in a letter,) it being now a scarce time in England, the King certified the Duke, that, according to his request, there should be a reasonable price set thereon, to his contentation.

Though a treaty of peace were concluded with France the

Payments for the discharge of the army in France.

last year, by which he parted with Boloign and other places there, it was not before this year, in the month of March, that he could disband his soldiers in those parts, and ease his great burdens of payments to them. For the payment therefore of these debts, he remitted this March to Sir Richard Cotton, his treasurer there, 2000*l.* towards the charges yet unpaid for Boloign and Newhaven. More to him 1000*l.* towards the defrayment of the King's charges of Newhaven and Blackness. More to him 1000*l.* to be employed by him for the debts unpaid of divers soldiers and artificers, for service and work done at Dover, Boloign, Newhaven, and Blackness. More to Sir Maurice Denys, (who, I think, was treasurer of Calais,) 4000*l.* to be by him employed about the King's payments in his charge, or to be delivered over by him to Sir John Clere, treasurer of the King's army, as cause shall require. More to him 1000*l.*
258 to be employed by him about the King's payments, for the discharge of his soldiers yet at Calais remaining unpaid. To Sir Anthony Aucher (the King's victualler) 1000*l.* towards the payment of provisions at Boloign. More to him towards the preparation of certain presents of cupboards of plate, to be delivered, by way of his Majesty's reward, to the ambassadors that shall come to the Court out of France for ratification of the peace, 1200*l.* More to him in prest for conduct money of soldiers passing from beyond the seas to their countries, 200*l.* To Richard Taverner 333*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in prest, to be employed towards the payment of wages of certain English soldiers of the band of captain Cuff, Coniers, Barry, and others of Boloign, appointed to attend upon the King's person. To Lucas Fringar, one of the commissaries for the Almain soldiers, as well for his pains taking with Mr. Grimston for mustering the seven hundred Italians and Albanes [Almains] that came from the north, [where they had been, I suppose, in the army against Scotland, with which country peace was lately made,] as for conducting them from London to Dover, there to see them transported to Calais: and thence to take their journeys, for twenty days going and coming, after 10*s.* a day

for him and his servants, and their two horses, in the whole 10*l*. To the same Fringar, several sums to be paid by him to certain captains for their household servants; that is to say, to captain Hans van Brumswick, for his clerk and his boy, his two halberds, for his chirurgeon and his man, for his interpreter, his cook, his housekeepers; and the like to captain George Stener. To the Lord Waldeck 557*l*. 14*s*. which, with the sum of 226*l*. already by him received in prest, amounted to 784*l*. 14*s*. being the full payment of the entertainment of himself at 10*s*. per day, sixteen horsemen, and two coritsers, every at 12 gilders, making 4*s*. of sterling money by the month for thirty days; amounting for a month's payment to 57*l*. 4*s*. and so for a month's conduct, and also twelve months and an half of service from the 12th of May, that he hath served with the said horsemen, by the Council's order and appointment; and now was discharged.

Darcy created Lord Darcy. Lands given him.

April 7, was the creation of Sir Thomas Darcy, Knight, (a great man in this reign,) and the heirs male of his body, to the title of Baron of Chiche in the county of Essex, by the voice of the Parliament. At the same time, together with his honour, he obtained a noble gift of the King, namely, the house and site of the late monastery of Chiche St. Osyth, with the appurtenances, in the county of Essex. Which house and site the lady Mary had during her life, with divers other lands, &c. together with a further gift unto him of the manor of Lucton, alias Loughton, with divers other lands, &c. in the county of Devon. All which extend to the yearly value of 83*l*. 7*s*. 13¾*d*. paying yearly out of the manor of Thorp Kirby, alias Kirkby, and Walton, alias Walton-hall, in the county of Essex, which he hath in fee-tail, 29*l*. 12*s*. 6¾*d*. and for the tenths and tithes of the said late monastery of Chiche St. Osyth, after the death of the said Lady Mary, 37*s*. And for the manors of Thorp Kirkby and Walton, 11*l*. 16*s*. at the Court of Augmentations. And out of the manor of Lucton, which he had in fee-simple, 15*l*. 10*s*. 6*d*. And for the tithes and 259 tenths of the said manor, 5*l*. 6*s*. And for the manor of

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Shingford Paul, 52*s.* And for a close called Ancars Yngs, 13*s.* 4*d.* And for the lands in Knighton, 5*s.* 8*d.* And to take the profits from Michaelmas last. And to the rest, add his preferment to the office of Lord Chamberlain of the King's household, upon the decease of the Lord Wentworth.

Indenture between the King and Calais.

For the benefit of the King's town of Calais, an indenture was made in April, between the King's Majesty and the mayor, constable, and fellowship of merchants of the staple of the town of Calais, witnessing, that the King hath given licence to the said mayor, &c. for one whole year, from the first of April last, until the last of March then next coming, to ship and transport out of this realm unto the staple of Calais, all those their wools and woolfels, and fells called *shorlings* and *morlings*; and to have like conduct and wasting [wafting] for the sure conveyance of their goods unto Calais, as heretofore they have had; paying no more or larger sums of money, than for so much goods of staple merchandize as they shall ship and transport unto the staple of Calais, during the said year. And the said mayor, constable, and fellowship of merchants of the said staple, covenanteth to pay to the King's Majesty, at the 6th of April, and 6th of October, in the town of Calais, to the treasurer thereof, the customs or subsidies of the said merchandize, as they have been accustomed. And if the said mayor, &c. be destitute of any sum or sums of money in Calais, or at the arrival of their goods there, for the performance of their customs and subsidies at their days of payment prefixed, that, upon the notice thereof given to the Council, they shall have his Grace's licence of passport and safe conduct, to convey over out of the realm unto the said town of Calais, for as much money as they shall need from time to time, for that only purpose, and none other. When as otherwise, money *in specie* was not to be conveyed out of the nation. And this indenture was for the King's convenience, as well as the merchants, that he might have his money ready there for his use, without the change and danger of transporting.

The King's charges were such, that his own revenue

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The King takes up money.

would not suffice, but he was fain now, in the beginning of this year, to take up money at high interest of foreign merchants, and chiefly of one Anthony Fugger, a vastly rich man, and his nephews, bankers of Antwerp. For which he gave several recognizances. One was to him and his nephews, for the payment of 381,440 florens, Carols Flemish, at Antwerp the last of February next, or for every floren 20 stivers Flemish, dated April 15. Another recognizance of the same date to the same persons of 84,000 florens Carols, to be paid at the same place the last of April 1552. Another of the same date of 272,743 florens Carols, payable May 15, 1552. Another of the same date of 261,918 florens Carols, to be paid Aug. 15, 1552.

The King founds a college in Galway.

As good King Edward had been the author of many pious foundations for learning and the service of God in England, so about this time he was excited to such a work in Ireland. There was a grant by him made, April 16, to the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the town of Galway in Ireland, and their successors, of the impropriation of the vicarages of Galway, Mary, Rawyn, Moccully, Fowran, More, Roscan, Clare, and Kilcomen, Scowre, Scrine, and one parcel of tithe in Galway aforesaid, called *the Bishop's* 260 *quarter*, towards the sustentation of priests to minister the sacraments in the college of Galway. And that Patrick Blake shall be guardian of the same, and Thomas French, Darby Choyssen, John Talman, Darby Oucwain, and three more, to be singing vicars thereof. And that the said mayor, after the decease of any of them, may choose new in their rooms, to minister the sacraments and sacramentals at their discretion, so they be meet and able for the same.

The Council in Wales.

The King did in this month of April appoint, by a commission, a council for the government of Wales, consisting of a president, who was Sir William Herbert, and thirty persons more: whereof the Earl of Worcester, Viscount Hereford, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and the Lord Powis, were of the nobility. To these were given instructions, consisting in twenty-eight articles, by order of the King and his council. And a warrant also was signed to Sir John Wil-

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liams, to pay to the said president, and others appointed commissioners with him, for their diet, stipend, fees, wages, after a rate there set down; that is, for the diets yearly after the rate of 20*l.* per week. And for their yearly fees, to some 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and to others 10*l.* But to fifteen were no salaries at all assigned. And to have their foreign expences after the rate of 100*l.* a year. And for the wages of William Carter, armourer, for the keeping of the armour and artillery of Ludlow, six-pence per day.

Commissions for justices and lieutenants of the counties.

And as the King took this care of Wales, by setting those over that principality, so in the next month he took the like care of all the parts in England, by one and twenty commissions directed to the chief nobility: who were to be the King's justices for the counties, "to inquire of all treasons, "(as the commissions ran,) misprisions of treasons, insur-"rections, rebellions, unlawful assemblies and conventicles, "unlawful speaking of words, confederacies, conspiracies, "false allegations, contempts, falsehoods, negligences, con-"cealments, oppressions, riots, routs, murders, felonies, and "other ill deeds, whatsoever they were; and also all acces-"saries of the same: and to be his lieutenants also, for the "levying of men, and to fight against the King's enemies "and rebels, and to execute upon them the martial law; "and to subdue all invasions, insurrections, &c. as should "chance to be moved in any place, as they should repair to "the limits of their respective shires; with commandment "to all officers to assist them." These commissions not to be prejudicial to the commissions of *oyer* and *terminer*, before given out. The names of these lords justices and lieutenants were; the Duke of Somerset, for Bucks and Berks; the Earl of Rutland and the Lord Clinton, for Lincoln and Nottingham; the Earl of Sussex, Sir Roger Townsend, Sir William Fermor, and Sir John Robertson, [perhaps Robsert,] for Norfolk; the Earl of Warwick, the Viscount Hereford, and the Lord Paget, for Staffordshire; the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord La Ware, for Sussex; the Lord Chancellor, Lord Rich, the Earl of Oxon, the Lord Darcy, and Sir John Gate, for Essex; Sir William Herbert, for

Their names.

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Wilts; the Bishop of Ely, for the isle of Ely; the Earl of Warwick, for Warwick and Oxford; the Lord Marquis of Northampton, for Surrey; the Lord Cobham, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Thomas Cheny, for Kent and Canterbury; the Earl of Huntingdon, for Leicester and Huntingdon; the Earl of Derby, for Lancashire; the Earl 261 of Shrewsbury, for Derby; Sir William Herbert, for the principality and marches of Wales; the Lord Darcy, Lord Wentworth, and Sir Anthony Wyngfield, for Suffolk; Sir Robert Tirwhyt and Mr. Thomas Audley, for Huntingdon; the Lord Marquis of Northampton, for Northampton, Bedford, Hertford, and Cambridgeshire; the Earl of Bedford, for Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall; the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Wiltshire, for Southampton; the Lord Paget, and Sir Roger Cholmely, for Middlesex.

Care was also taken in May for fortifying the kingdom, and especially in the parts against France, for security against such a powerful neighbour. Two new forts were resolved upon for Jersey. And for the rendering the isle of Scilly more useful, provision was made for the better peopling and strengthening it. For the effecting whereof, certain commissions were given out, dated in May.

Two fortresses to be built at Jersey.

As, one for Jersey, to Helier de Carteret, John Clark, Clement Lemprier, esqrs. Ninian Saunders, gent. Lewis Hampton, clerk; Charles Mabion, clerk; Richard Dinnarick, Nich. Lemprier, Edw. Denmarick, Laurence Hampton, jurats; Hugh Perrin and Nich. Solomont, gentlemen; or to any six of them, whereof De Carteret and Clark, or one of them at least, to be one. These had power and authority to call before them the inhabitants of Jersey, by the advice of Sir Henry Powlet, knt. captain there: and to assess every of them to be contributaries, according to their goods and lands, towards the building of two fortresses, the one in the ilet of St. Helier, and the other in the ilet of St. Obyn [Albin] there. And also for a perpetual pension to be gathered of their lands, for the charges of the safe keeping of them. And to put their said order and cessement in writing, that it might remain for ever. With an authority also given them to appoint officers, to make all manner of provision for the edification of the said fortresses.

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Scilly to be surveyed:

The commission for the isle of Scilly was directed to Sir William Godolphin, knt. John Killigrew and John Godolphin, esqrs. The contents whereof was, for them personally to repair thither, and to make a perfect, diligent survey of all the same isle: and to set out the number of acres of land within the same; and to divide the same into so many parts as may serve for tenants and householders of husbandry, allowing them sufficient land for tilling, and sufficient pasture. And to grant the same for one and twenty years, reserving to the King reasonable rents. And for their better instruction, the King had sent them certain instructions inclosed. And lastly, to signify their doings in the Chancery, in distinct writing in parchment under their hands, within three months after they should accomplish the same commission.

And a fort built there.

Which was followed by another commission in June to John Killigrew, to take up and provide all manner of workmen and labourers of all sorts, and all such stuff, of what kind soever, as should be thought requisite or needful for furtherance and finishing of the new fortification within the said isle of Scilly.

Dover castle to be surveyed.

The King also, in the said month of June, sent letters for the survey of Dover castle, and according to the defects of it, to set speedily, without delay, upon the sufficient repair thereof.

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CHAP. III.

Embassies and businesses abroad into Scotland, and France, and to the Emperor. Dr. Wotton sent. His business about the Lady Mary's mass. The affairs of Ireland. The match with France. The French ambassador comes about it. Herman, Archbishop of Colen.

THIS was a busy year for embassies and agencies abroad with the Scots, the Emperor, the Irish, and the French.

Quarrels and contests were continually bred between the English and Scots, bordering so near upon one another. And so they were now again, since the late treaty of peace concluded between King Edward and the French King, wherein Scotland was included. Commissioners therefore were appointed, April 6, for the limits between England and Scotland: who were the Bishop of Litchfield, or of Norwich, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir Leonard Beckwith, and Sir Thomas Chaloner. They were to determine with the Queen of Scots, or her commissioners, the controversy lately risen about the borders: and also for taking and delivering of pledges, and all manner of spoils and piracies, and other attempts, done by either of their subjects. The meeting was to be about the 10th of May, upon the limits beyond Barwick, dividing England and Scotland. The commissioners on the Scots' part were the French ambassador, Monsieur de Lansac, then in Scotland, the Bishop of Orkney, or of Ross, the masters of Ruthen and Ayrskin. The Council sent to the Bishop of Litchfield to advertise him of his being one of the said commissioners, and to require him, in case he were in good health, (for he was now well aged,) to prepare for his journey, and to expect their further instructions. But, it seems, he got himself excused. For April 13, the Bishop of Norwich was ordered to repair to the borders of Scotland by May the 1st, or within three days after: and the commission, which was sealed April 15, was to Thomas Bishop of Norwich, and the three other before named.

Commissioners for the borders of England and Scotland.

This commission was set on foot by the French King's motion, out of his care for Scotland: who, in January last, sent his ambassador Lansac to the King, requesting favours for the Scots; as, to determine the debatable grounds for allowance to the Scots peaceably to traffick, and to fish in Tweed, restoration of certain Scots hostages, that had remained in England ever since King Henry's time. And this the French King backed with his own letters. To the which letters and embassy the King gave a favourable answer, both by his letters and his ambassadors Mason and Pickering. And though he had a right, as he said, to the

The French King calls upon King Edward for this commission.

aforesaid places, yet offered to stand to conditions to be agreed on by the commissioners on both sides.

Anno 1551. Dr. Wotton goes in embassy to the Emperor.

Nicolas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, was sent ambassador to the Emperor this April, and to take the Lady Regent of Flanders in his way. It was intended chiefly to 263 satisfy the Emperor, who had interceded for the Lady Mary to have the use of the mass continued in her family, *viz.* why it could not be permitted any longer, the laws being in force to the contrary: and because she was a subject, and so could not be exempted from the laws: and to expostulate with the Emperor, who had denied the King's ambassador in Brussels the exercise of his religion. In Wotton's credential letters to the Emperor, he is said to be one of the King's Council, and that the King had sent him his ambassador for the better continuance and preservation of the old amity and love between them. A letter also was framed for him to deliver to the Lady Regent of Flanders, to this import, that where the King had sent the said Wotton his ambassador, he could not suffer him to pass without visiting of her, and bringing his letters of commendation. For the defraying his expences, a warrant was made to pay to the said Nicolas Wotton from the 25th of March last past, until his return unto the King's presence, after the rate of five marks by the day for his diet, and to advance him for five months beforehand: and to allow him from time to time such money as he shall signify by letter he hath defrayed, for the posting of himself and his servants, with their transportation both outwards and homewards.

Morison revoked.

Wotton went in Morison's room, who now came home from the Emperor; and by his discoursing somewhat freely of religion to the Emperor and D'Arras, became unacceptable to him: which was the chief reason of his revoking.

Wotton's instructions. Concerning the English ambassador in the Low Countries.

Wotton was instructed to deliver himself thus to the Emperor, concerning the restraint of the English ambassador in the Low Countries from using his religion, "that setting "apart such offence as the Emperor had conceived against "the King's former ambassador, by his proceedings herein "with the Emperor, that had for divers considerations so "much reason for the King to require it, that he looked "not to be denied it of the Emperor, as long as he should "have any respect of honour or friendship. That as the "King required any thing of the Emperor, so he was ready "to do the like to him, minding to be answerable in any "point of good-will and friendship. That he required no "otherwise of the Emperor, than his ambassador had in "England; nor any more than what was granted and suf"fered by others to his ambassadors in other realms and "dominions; and the thing also was such as was usually "granted in all policies and commonwealths: nay, that the "Christians, where they lived in the ethnics' subjection, "retained their manner of religion; and the Turks among "Christians retained theirs; and the Jews likewise. Where"fore that the King did not doubt, but the Emperor, his "good brother, considering that they differed not in any "substance of their religion, but only in the form of certain "ceremonies and usages, having the same Christ and Sa"viour, the same books of Scripture that the Emperor had, "would agree hereunto, as reason and friendship required; "seeing the King's request was lawful, and usually granted "him in other places, and by the King not denied to the "Emperor, nor meaning thereby any disquiet in the Em"peror's countries. Otherwise the King must not think, "that the Emperor had so much consideration either of "friendship or honour, as others had. Of which thought, "he would be very sorry to have any such earnest occasion "given him by the Emperor."

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Concerning the Lady Mary.

Another point of the ambassador's business was, about a letter sent by the Emperor to the King, importing his motion, that the Lady Mary might use her accustomed religion for a further time, according to an assurance made, as he pretended, by the King to the Emperor. Concerning which, the ambassador was instructed to say, "that there "was no assurance or promise ever made by the King, but "only that he was content to bear, at that time when the "motion was made by the Emperor's ambassador, with her, "and to spare the execution of the laws for a time, until he

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" saw some proof of her amendment. And that nothing " else was promised, the Emperor's ambassador had seen " and heard by several testimonies of the Council. And " that both the Lord Paget and Sir Philip Hoby, ambassadors at that time with the Emperor, were examined " upon their faith and honour, and both constantly denied, " that ever they mentioned any promise touching the King's " sister, either to the Emperor or any other." Moreover, he was ordered to say, " that although the Emperor seemed " to move this unto the King, yet when he should understand how much against reason it was to be granted, he " would stay further motion: for that such order and form " of common prayer in the English churches, and usage " of the communion, was the very order as the primitive " Church of Christ used. Besides, that it was established " as a law of the realm by the consent of Parliament. By " the which the whole estate of the realm was ruled, and " the King himself, in all manner of causes, being such an " universal and high Court, as there was none in all the " English policy to be compared to it. Further, that the " example of breaking this order wittingly, were pernicious " and dangerous to all the realm; the reverence of the " King's estate, the execution of laws, and the authority of " the same, would be utterly gone. Wherefore that it was " the King's desire, that the Emperor would turn the case, " and to imagine this to be his own. Finally, that, all these " things considered, the King assured himself, the Emperor " should cease to move this matter, and would rather give " the King contrary counsel, for the love and tender care " he bore him.

" Yet, that he assured the Emperor, that in all things " wherein he might shew his natural affection to his sister, " he would heap it abundantly upon her, even a degree " above his natural affection, to demonstrate his earnest desire to gratify the Emperor."

Matters of Ireland.

In the same month of April, care was taken of the affairs of Ireland. It was thought fit to send for home Sir Anthony St. Leger, the King's chief officer in that kingdom;

the King declaring by letters, that he intended to make use of him, and to employ him nearer about him; and Sir James Crofts (who came thither the month before) was placed in St. Leger's room, who was made deputy in August last. Besides the main business of fortifying the havens, Crofts, with several others of the kingdom, was appointed to raise money for the King, by farming out his lands there, and selling the wards and marriages of such as were in the King's homage. Orders were also given out to the new deputy to punish by martial law the disorders of the soldiers, who were greatly complained of for their misdemeanours. The Lord Fitzgerald, the late Earl of Kildare's son, to encourage his loyalty and service of the King, had granted to him a good share of those lands that came to the crown by the said Earl's death. All this more particularly 265 is set down in the King's Warrant-Book, as followeth:

Sir J. Croft made Lord Deputy of Ireland.

" The office of Lord Deputy of Ireland to Sir James Croft, " during pleasure, with like authority as Sir Anthony St. " Leger had given him in his commission; and a fee of a " thousand pounds a year.

A commission to sell wards and let lands in that kingdom:

" A commission to Sir James Croft, Sir Thomas Cusake, " Sir George Aylmer, Sir William Brabazon, knights, " and Patric Barnwel, esq. or to three of them, whereof " the said deputy to be one; to demise, grant, and set to " farm for one and twenty years, and that under the great " seal there, as well all and singular those manors, lands, " &c. which hereafter may come into his Majesty's hands, " as those lands which he now hath within the same realm: " and to sell the wards and marriages of all and singular " the heirs [of those] that have heretofore died in the King's " homage, or hereafter shall die. Provided, that all woods " and underwoods growing upon any of the said lands so " demised, be unto the King's Majesty reserved, saving to " the tenants sufficient hedge-boot, plow-boot, and fire-boot.

And another to punish soldiers there.

" Another commission to the said deputy, and to the " marshal there, to hear and to determine all causes and " complaints against the King's soldiers of his army there, "and to punish the offenders according to martial law, "upon due proof to be had in that behalf. Provided the "said causes and complaints be determined within three "months after the same began, if the plaintiff follow his "suit.

Sir Anthony St. Leger recalled.

"A letter to Sir Anthony St. Leger, to repair home to "the King's presence; and that before his departure he see "Sir James Croft placed there: and to leave with him, by "bill indented, all such stuff, plate, and other things which "he hath and occupieth of the King's.

Letters declarative of the same.

"Four and twenty letters were also sent, all of one effect, "declaring, that for divers considerations, the King minded "to occupy Sir Anthony St. Leger about certain his necessary businesses here at home: therefore presently sendeth, "to supply the office of deputy there, Sir James Croft, as "by his letters patents to them shall more plainly appear.

A grant of lands to the Lord Fitz-Gerald.

"A letter was also sent in favour of the Lord Garret, "[Fitz-Gerald.] To the intent he may be the abler to do "the King better service, the King is pleased that he shall "have so much of those lands that came to the King's "hands by the death of the Earl of Kildare, his father, as "amounteth to the yearly value of 300*l.* And that they "cause a certain plain value and survey to be sent hither "to the Council, warranted and subscribed by them, and "such other officers as be required in such cases, to the "said yearly value of 300*l.*

A lease for Sir William Brabazon.

"A letter in favour of Sir William Brabazon, to make a "sufficient lease in reversion to him for one and twenty years, "of all such farms as he presently holdeth, by the demise of "the King's late father there."

Forces for Ireland ready to depart.

Forces were raised for Ireland, and lay in London ready to depart, and which should have departed before now. Therefore now, in April, orders were given forth by proclamation, that all captains and soldiers that of late had received prest, or had been entertained to pass into Ireland, either by the long seas, or by Bristow, should depart forthwith, or before a set day in the said month, toward the same:

and that no such person should remain in London after the same day, under pain of imprisonment, or other punishment at the King's pleasure.

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A surveyor of the mines and money in Ireland.

A surveyor also, *viz.* Robert Record, Esq. was constituted for the King's mines and coin in that kingdom. To whom a commission was directed in May, appointing him surveyor of all the mines of metal and minerals in the said realm: and that he, during pleasure, should as well rule and order the affairs and works concerning the said mines and provisions of the same, as to appoint and take all manner of provision, labour, and carriages, both by land and water, as well in the realm of England as Ireland. And the treasurer, comptroller, and seymaster of the late erected mints, and other officers, in all their alloys, assays, mixtures, meltings, blanchings, sheerings, and other their works, to use the counsel of the said surveyor. This for Ireland.

A great embassy into France.

A great and honourable ambassade was now also, in this busy month of April, preparing for France, from the English Court, soon after Sir William Pickering's departure thither. It was, to bring the French King the garter; and not only that, but chiefly to treat of a match. There went as chief ambassador, Par, Marquis of Northampton, a person of a very courtly and brave behaviour and gallantry, who had ten pounds a day allowed him for his diet; Sir Philip Hoby, a gentleman of the privy chamber, and often employed in embassies; and William Thomas, Esq. a clerk of the Council. There went also in the same quality Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, accustomed long to public business; Sir Thomas Smith, a very learned knight, and Dr. John Oliver, both civilians; besides a great company of other noblemen and gentlemen, that voluntarily accompanied. To one of whom the King lent 2000 French crowns, to be repaid at his return. And the loan of 4000 crowns apiece was then offered to all such as were minded to go into France, and would give bond for repayment, either in like crowns, or gold of like fineness. To the aforesaid ambassadors were also joined in commission, Sir William Pickering and Sir John Mason, ambassadors already in France. In the company went also Sir Gilbert Dethick, knt. Garter, principal king of arms; on whom attended Chester herald, and Rouge Dragon, pursuivant. Garter was allowed twenty shillings by the day for his diet, and twenty shillings more for his reward: the herald five shillings a day for his diet, and five shillings a day for his reward: the pursuivant two shillings and six-pence a day for his diet, and as much more each day for his reward. Garter was also allowed three yards of cloth of gold, two yards of cloth of gold tissue, and sixteen of blue velvet: which was for to serve for the banner, the mantle of the helmet, and the lining of the same, for the installation of the French King.

A match with the French King's daughter propounded.

It was not before June this ambassade arrived in France. The 20th of which month, the Marquis invested the French King, in his chamber, with the order of the garter. And the Bishop of Ely made the speech, explaining the purport of the embassy. And the same day in the afternoon, the motion for the marriage between King Edward and the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, was broke, and very well received.

Persons sent to, to attend the Court at the French ambassador's coming.

And because a like splendid embassy was expected from France, answerable to this now sent from England, the King, being minded to give all honourable reception to those that should come, in this same month of April, caused fifty-eight letters to be directed to divers brave English gentlemen, requiring them, upon the sight of those letters, to put
267 themselves in such readiness and furniture as they might, before the   day of June, appear at the court at   or elsewhere, according to their degree and state; for the honour of the King and realm to attend there. For that certain personages of good estate were looked for in ambassage from the French King.

The French ambassador comes.

In July came over the French ambassador, named Claude La Val, entitled Monsieur le Mareshal St. Andre, upon the same account, with a brave retinue, and landing at Rye in Sussex, was accompanied with a thousand English gentlemen and their men, on horseback. He was treated in Kent by Sir John Baker, and the Lord Cobham, at their houses;

met at Gravesend by the Lord Admiral, and forty other gentlemen; and so conducted by them in barges to Durham Place. One of the King's gentlemen, and another of his grooms, dying of the sweat, he removed to Hampton Court. Thither was the ambassador brought to the King. July the 14th, he delivered to him his letters, and dined with him; and after dinner, being withdrawn into an inner chamber, he made his speech to the King. To each part whereof the King answered extempore, most solidly and wisely, beyond his years, as he hath set it down himself in his Journal; whither I refer the reader. Three days after, the ambassador repaired from his lodgings at Richmond to Hampton Court, to present the King with the order of St. Michael. Some days after, he dined with the King again, and saw him shoot, ride, play on the lute, and was admitted into his bedchamber and study.

Hist. Ref. Coll. p. 30.

The match agreed on.

Matters were soon agreed on, and the portion and dowry settled; the former being 200,000 crowns, and the latter 10,000 marks. I have some letters of this ambassador to Secretary Cecyl: whereby we may understand the matter went chiefly through his hand; he appointing the ambassador his times when to wait upon the King, and to have the speech of him. To whom the ambassador betook himself for the forwarding and conducting his business. Him he desired to get his memorial finished, which he sent to Cecyl by his secretary; and also that the ratification of the marriage, and other letters, testifying the consent and approbation of the Privy Council, might be despatched: as he had wrote to the master of the King's horse, they should be sent speedily to France, by one of the gentlemen of his retinue. To this conclusion was this matrimonial business brought; as appears by this letter of the ambassador to Cecyl:

The ambassador to the Secretary. MSS. penes me.

" Te maxime rogatum velim, amicissime Cecili, ut juxta
" memorialem libellum tibi ab eo qui mihi est a secretis, ho-
" die mane relictum; rem nostram matures, et quantum
" poteris festinationem adhibeas. Ea autem de causa illud

"a te importunius postulo, quod nudiustertius D. Magistro equitum regis nostri significaverim, me brevi, una "cum literis matrimonii confirmatoriis, literas quoque alias "missurum, quibus testatum in posterum haberemus, probantibus et consentientibus regis vestri consiliariis, rem "confectam. Utrasque autem ad regem mittere statueram "per quendam ex nobilibus meis qui crastino die profecturus est. Bene vale, amicissime Cecili.

"Tuus omnino,
"Claudius La Vallus."

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The King hath the French lady's picture.

About December or January last, Guidot, an Italian merchant, who came from the French court, brought from thence a gilt cup to the King, and presented also the picture of the French King's daughter to him: which the King then delivered to the Earl of Warwick, and bade him keep it. It was thought that Guidot, a person made use of in messages between the French court and this, had secret instructions from the French Queen, to present that picture to the King; who was the most desirous woman in the world, that her daughter might be bestowed on the King. This might give the first occasion of moving for this match with France, that was now in hand, and so forward. And the Marshal of France being this July, as we see, ready to return home, the said Earl of Warwick being then at Otford, sent the picture to the Lord Chamberlain, to deliver it to the King, with advice that he should shew it to the Marshal at the day of his taking his leave of the King: which act of the King perhaps might much satisfy the Queen, when the Marshal should tell her of it, (whose practice the said Earl verily thought it was to send it,) that the same should appear to her not to be rejected.

The articles on the French side, drawn up while King Edward's ambassadors were in France, began in this form and tenor:

Articles of marriage on the French side. MSS. Foxian.

"Universis et singulis, ad quorum notitiam præsentes "literæ pervenerint. Nos Carolus, miseratione divina, tituli S Cæciliæ, sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ Presbyter,

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"Cardinalis de Lotharingia, Archiepiscopus et Dux Re-"mensis, primus Par Franciæ; Anna, Dux de Montmo-"rency, Par, Constabularius et Magnus Magister Franciæ, "insignis ordinis Sancti Michaelis Eques; Johannes Ber-"trandus, Miles, Sigillorum Cancellariæ Custos; Rober-"tus de la Marche, Dominus de Sedan, Franciæ Mares-"chalchus, ejusdem ordinis S. Michaelis Eques; Johannes "de la Cheney, Miles, Dominus Deury, Generalis Finan-"ciarum, in sanctiori et secretiori Concilio Christianissimæ "Regiæ Majestatis Consiliarii, Oratores, Procuratores et "Commissarii ejusdem Christianiss. Regis ad infrascripta "sufficienter constituti et authorizati, salutem.

"Postquam depositis armis et hostilitate remota per Dei "Opt. Max. favorem et gratiam, inter dictum Christianissi-"mum Franciæ, et Serenissimum Angliæ reges, reconcilia-"tis animis vetus ille et a parentibus suis regibus felicissi-"mæ memoriæ diutissime conservatus, et ab illis ad se "transmissus, amor et amicitia mutua redintegrata fuit; de "nulla re alia prius ac potius deliberandum princeps uter-"que censuit, quam quibus modis hic amor et affectus fra-"ternus, non solum in perpetuam stabilitatem conservari, "verum quo modo augeri etiam, atque adeo indies magis ac "magis adolescere in perfectissimum, quantum humanarum "rerum natura patitur, necessitudinis statum queat. In "qua deliberatione dum versantur, non suis vehementibus "affectibus satis indulsisse sibi sunt visi, quantumcunque "magnis alioqui se prosecuti fuerint officiis amicitiæ, nisi "et eo fuerint insuper vinculo copulati, quod a Deo summo "Parente in paradiso institutum omnium humanorum vin-"culorum fortissimum firmissimumque habetur. Quod non "animos tantum amore, verumetiam corpore consanguini-"tate conjungit, sanguinem sanguine copulat, et cognatio-"nis propagine necessitudinem contractam per multas æta-"tes et sæcula firmissime transmittit. Hæc est ejus natura 269 "sacrosancti ac divinitus instituti matrimonii.

"Quod quidem si mox locum habere potuisset, et affini-"tas tam optata sine ulla dilatione iniri conficique quivisset, "nihil utrique principi fuisset antiquius, nihil optatius, ut

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“statim foret orbi testatum, quam infucate ac vere Rex “uterque alterius amicitiam complectatur, quam cupiant “ardenter ambo eandem esse æternam, et per vincula nup“tiarum indissolubiliter copulatam.

“Sed quoniam isthuc nunc ætatis ratio fieri non patitur, “quod unum est proximumque quod hoc tempore fieri pot“est, de matrimonio contrahendo, cum primum tempus “ætasque permittet, inter præfatum Serenissimum Angliæ “Regem, et illustrissimam Dominam ELIZABETHAM præ“dicti Christianissimi Regis filiam natu majorem, commu“nicandum duxerunt.

“Nos igitur præfati Christianiss. Regis Franciæ Consi“liarii, Oratores, Procuratores, et Commissarii, sufficienter “authoritate de matrimonio prædicto contrahendo, cum il“lustribus, præclaris ac nobilibus viris Gulielmo Marchione “Northampton, Comite Essexiæ, Domino de Par, illustriss. “ordinis Garterii Milite, Magno Camerario Angliæ, et “dicti Sereniss. Regis Angliæ Pensionariorum Capitaneo “generali, Thoma Episcopo Elien. Johanne Mason Milite, “præfati Sereniss. Regis in lingua Gallicana Secretario, et “ad dictum Christianiss. Francorum Regem Ambassiatore, “Philippo Hobbye Milite, præfati Sereniss. Regis a cubi“culis, et munitionum bellicarum Generale, Willielmo “Pickering Milite, præfati Regis item a cubiculis, Thoma “Smith Milite, præposito [Collegii Etonensis] et Johanne “Oliver Legum Doctore præfato Sereniss. Regis Angliæ in “Cancellaria sua a libellis supplicatoriis, etiam Consiliariis, “Oratoribus, Nunciis et Commissariis ejusdem Sereniss. “Angliæ Regis ad infrascripta sufficienter et legitime depu“tatis et authorisatis, convenimus, concordavimus et con“clusimus, atque authoritate commissionum nostrarum, “quarum tenores inferius inseruntur, convenimus, concor“damus et concludimus articulatim prout sequitur.” And then the articles of the marriage follow, which would be too long here to insert. This is enough to shew in what forwardness this match was, and the form and manner of drawing up such matters; and lastly, who were commissioners on both sides, and their titles and qualities.

And this at last was the effect of this embassy, which began in April, and created work for some months after.

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Omphalius comes from the Archbishop of Colen.

Herman, that pious Confessor, late Elector and Archbishop of Colen, (who for adhering to the Protestant religion, and setting on foot the reformation of his country, was deprived by the Pope and Emperor,) sent his agent Dr. James Omphalius to the King, in October or November, with his letter. And in November the King answered the said letter, and friendly dismissed the agent, granting him a passport to return into Flanders, with three servants, three horses, three hundred crowns, and all other things necessary for his journey. The sum of which message appears not; but I conclude it to be concerning providing for the better state of the Protestant interest; and perhaps recommending Melancthon, and some other German learned men, to the King. He wrote also the next summer to the 270 Archbishop of Canterbury, to forward his business with the King; who being then in his progress, the said Archbishop sent Herman's letters to the Secretary, to be mindful of them.

CHAP. IV.

Sir John Gates advanced. Grants to him. Occurrences. The bishopric of Winton diminished. Regulation of coin. Coverdale preferred to Exeter. The sweating sickness. Henry Duke of Suffolk dies. A dearth. Orders to the Bishops. Bishop Scorie's letter to the King. Duke of Somerset's new troubles.

BUT return we now again to the month of April, wherein we must remark some other occurrences then happening, though of a more private nature.

Sir John Gates vice-chamberlain.

In this month of April was Sir John Gates, (sometime wrote Yates,) a groom of the privy chamber to Henry VIII. advanced to be vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guards to the King; and being, I suppose, but of mean

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Grants to him.

fortunes, was to be raised by his Prince, as were others of his condition; which cost the King dear. So Gates had lands given him to the value of 120*l.* per annum. He was about this year also, or the last, high sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, living at Chesthunt, and one of the King's commissioners, when the goods and chattels of colleges and chantries, in considerable proportions, came into his hands for the King's use. Which, it may be presumed, he having the fingering of, might convert some part thereof to his own use. But if he did so, of it he got himself cleared by a pardon, signed March 16, when, according to the Lord Chancellor's ledger book, it was wrote, "that he was par-"doned for all his accounts due to the King, for certain "plate, jewels, ornaments of household, and other goods; "and also for accounts of certain goods received, appertain-"ing to the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, "upon their attainder: and further, now lately for the "plate received of the college of Plecy in Essex, at the "time of the dissolution thereof." April 29, a patent was granted him of an annuity of 40*l.* to be assigned by the master and council of the Court of Wards, out of the manors of Marden, Bremcham, Smethcote, and the farm of Wilford in Wilts; and all the manors of Mayor, Flotbeck, &c. and other towns in the county of Cornwall: which came to the King's hands by the death of Silvester Davers, and by the minority of John Davers his son and heir, with the custody and marriage of the said John. Likewise he obtained a patent of the same date, whereby the King granted him the scite of the college or free chapel of St. Steven's in Westminster, with all the chapels and precincts of the said scite, except the upper buildings, now called
271 *the parliament house*, over the vault of the college chapel beneath: and also the advowson of the parsonage and church of Rothing Abbatissæ, alias Abbas Rothing, in Essex, belonging to the late monastery of Berking in the said county: and to have the issues and profits thereof from the time of the attaint of Sir Rauf Fane; and were extended to the yearly value of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

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Two walks in Waltham forest.

In the same fifth year of the King, in the month of October, he gave to the said Sir John Gates the keepership and walkership of two good walks in Waltham forest, *viz.* Chappel Hainalt and Le Hainalt, the two former keepers thereof being yet alive, namely, George Doddesworth and John Nodes; who yet, by two patents dated October 20, were to have the fees, during their lives, of eight pence a day, and twenty load of fuel wood, to be allowed them yearly by the woodward of the said walks, in recompence of the said offices granted to Gates: but his patents for these walks were not signed till Jan. 29. The said Sir John to have and occupy to him and his assigns during life; reserving unto the said George and John their said fees during their lives; and after their decease, or either of them, to come to the hands and possessions of Sir John Gates.

Manors in Essex.

In the same fifth year, he surrendered into the King's hands the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark; which King Henry had granted him by patent for life. In recompence whereof, the King, in the month of July, bestowed on him divers good manors in Essex, namely, Bradwel, Munden, and Lawford, and other lands, to the yearly value of 208*l.* 9*s.* 9½*d.* This hospital the King soon after gave to the city of London for their poor.

Offices in Southwark.

And in the same month, the Duke of Suffolk dying of the sweating sickness, Gates was made keeper of his great house in Southwark, with the garden, orchard, and park, and high steward of the lands and liberties thereof for his life. And also high steward of Paris Garden, and the liberties thereof, with the fee of 30*l.* per annum.

Manors in Hampshire and Surrey.

Still in the same month, the King granted him the manors of Sutton and Ropley in the counties of Southampton and Surrey; late lands belonging to the bishopric of Winchester, to the value of 145*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.* per annum.

Other lands in Hampshire.

In the seventh and last year of King Edward, he obtained from him in fee-simple the manor of Hursbourn in the county of Southampton, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 203*l.* 10*s.* 0½*d.* with a further grant, that there shall be for ever one market and two fairs at Ringwood, one of the towns granted him.

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And to add the mention of one benevolence more to this gentleman, which was before any of these above-mentioned, *viz.* in the King's first year. He had by patent, dated July 29, the lordship and manor of Barwick, with the appurtenances, in the county of Essex, parcel of the possessions of the duchy of Lancaster, and divers other lands and tenements in Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, and Northamptonshire. And this, in consideration of service, and for performance of the purpose of King Henry VIII.'s will. And besides all this, we may read of more favours shewn him in the process of this history. This gentleman, in short, as he was the Duke of Northumberland's favourite, so he perished with him in the Lady Jane's business.

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Geo. Van Paris. Warr. Book.

In April was the warrant to the Lord Chancellor Rich, to make out process and writ of execution for the burning of one George Van Paris, a chirurgeon, born in Flanders, having been condemned of anabaptism, averred by him to death, as the words ran in the said warrant. This was the Arian mentioned by the King in his Journal, and said to be excommunicated by the Dutch congregation, and after long disputation, condemned.

Altars to be taken down in Chichester diocese.

The see of Chichester being now vacant, upon Bishop Day's deprivation, the altars remained in many churches a good while after. For in May 1551. a letter from the Council was writ into the diocese to this tenor: "That
" where, notwithstanding the King's general commandment
" already passed for the taking down all altars within the
" realm, divers stand yet within the diocese of Chichester;
" that substantial order be taken forthwith for the pulling
" down all altars within the churches and chapels of the
" said diocese, and for the setting up of tables in their
" stead in some convenient place of the chancels again."

A triumph at Greenwich.

May the 3d was a great triumph at Greenwich. The King and all his company wore black and white: (being in mourning perhaps for somebody:) as the footmen and trumpeters, their hats and cloaks, the banners and the spears, in those colours. The other part, which was the Earl of Hertford, and with him a great company of lords, knights, and other young gentlemen, wore all yellow silk. So were their trumpeters' hats, the banners, and footmen, and their spears and trappings of their horses, all in yellow. And they ran at the ring and at tourney with swords.

An earthquake.

May 25, about Rygate, Croyden, and Darking, was felt an earthquake, and especially at Darking: insomuch that there, and elsewhere, pots and pans and dishes, fell down and moved about.

Two great northern earls come up.

May 31, the Earls of Derby and Shrewsbury came to town out of the north: both accompanied most splendidly with men and horse. Whereof the latter was attended with seven score horse, and afore him forty velvet coats and chains, and all wearing his own livery; unto his own place in London, which was called Coldherber.

A new settlement of the bishopric of Winton.

In this month of May, when Ponet was made Bishop of Winchester, after the deprivation of Gardiner, a great alienation was made of the lands and revenues anciently belonging to that bishopric, according as it was required of the said Ponet, when he first came to the see, or rather conditionally to his preferment thither. Then he passed away to the King the manors of Marden, Twiford, Marwel, Waltham, &c. in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, lordships, tenements, rents, &c. and in effect all the temporalties of that rich bishopric. And to make all sure, letters were despatched to the Dean and Chapter to confirm the grant of the said Bishop by their full consent and seal of the Chapter, as in that case by the order of the laws is required and accustomed. Then did the King give to the Bishop and his successors, in consideration of the said Bishop's surrender, a great many rectories, as that of Bremmer, and of the chapel of Charford and Hale, and the rectory of Regborn in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, to the value of 2000 marks, to be held *in liberam eleemosynam*, and to take the profits from Michaelmas last. He granted him moreover, for some recom-

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pence for all this taken away, that his first-fruits, (which before were charged in the King's books at 3885*l.* 3*s.* 3¾*d.*) should be now reduced to 2000 marks; and that for his 273 tenths, from henceforth he should be taxed at 200 marks, and no more, to be paid yearly; that he should have ten years' space to pay his first-fruits in; that bonds should be taken for payment, from the Bishop only, without sureties to be bound with him: and that all the bonds and writings for the first-fruits of his former bishopric, *viz.* of Rochester, should be delivered him up; which the King forgave him. And for the putting all this into effect, a warrant was issued out to the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Council, and to all others, being officers of the Court of First-fruits and Tenths. The King also gave him a licence to enter into his bishopric, and to take the profits thereof, without paying any thing therefore, notwithstanding a statute made in that behalf, in the 26th of Henry VIII. The import whereof was, that no spiritual person should enter upon his benefice before he had paid the first-fruits, or given bond and security to pay them. A pardon also was granted him of all pains, penalties, and sums of money that might be forfeited and due to the King, for entering into the bishopric of Rochester, contrary to the said statute.

The lands of the bishopric of Winton disposed to courtiers.

The King soon gratified his servants with the lands and manors of this bishopric; as Sir John Gates, Sir Philip Hobye, Sir Henry Semur, Sir Andrew Dudley, knights; Henry Nevyl, and William Fitzwilliams, esquires. For in July following were these parcels given away:

To Sir John Gates, the manors of Sutton, Ropley, &c. in Southampton and Surrey, of the yearly value of 145*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.*

To Sir Philip Hoby, the manors of Marden, &c. in the county of Southampton, of the yearly value of 87*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*

To Sir Andrew Dudley, the manor of Witney, &c. of the yearly value of 180*l.* 7¾*d.*

To Sir Henry Semour, lands to the yearly value of 186*l.* 4*d.*

To William Fitzwilliams, the manor of High Clere, &c. to the yearly value of 84*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*

To Henry Nevyl, the manor of Margrave, &c. to the yearly value of 114*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*

Sir Thomas Wroth also had an annuity of 100*l.*

This alienation to be confirmed by the Chapter.

And for the further confirmation of this alienation made by the Bishop of Winchester, it was thought requisite to have it allowed and consented to by the Dean and Chapter, under their seal. Whereupon in August a letter was sent to Sir John Mason, knight, that he should repair to Winchester, and to agree with the Bishop to meet them there at a certain day; and to cause all the canons, prebendaries, and others whom it concerned, to assemble in the chapter-house, for confirming the said lands, before Michaelmas next; and to advertise the Council the day, that order might be given to the King's learned counsel to be there at the same time.

The city of Winchester to be freed from suit and service to the Bishop.

And, to take up all these matters together, another letter was sent to this Bishop in behalf of the city of Winchester; namely, to take order, that the city and citizens, and their successors, might be freed from their suits and services heretofore made to that Court, called *the Palm Court*, and all other liberties he had to the same, clearly exonerated and discharged by his sufficient writing under his seal, and confirmed by the Chapter seal according to his promise. 274

An extraordinary licence to Chidley.

In this month of July, the King was pleased to grant somewhat an extraordinary licence to George Chidley; whether for some remarkable merit in him, or out of the King's special inclination and affection to him; *viz.* that he should wear his cap in the King's presence, or elsewhere, without let or trouble of any man.

A command to the warden of the stanneries.

The King also now took care of his tin, one of the ancientest and choicest commodities of this land. Some disorders arising amongst the tinners, he gave order to the warden of the stanneries of Cornwall, who, I think, was the Earl of Bedford, to summon four and twenty of the most substantial and discreetest tinners of every stannery, into some convenient place, and there to consider and re-

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view the laws and customs, and to take notice of the irregularities committed; and to redress and reform the things that were amiss, for the quietness and good government of the tinners, the preservation of the stanneries, and the common wealth of the realm: and that command should be given, that the same laws and orders be strictly put in execution.

Regulation of coin.

Another of his great cares, which employed his thoughts and endeavours all along his reign almost hitherto, was for the amending of the coarse money of his kingdom, and bringing down the good to a true value. For as the King had taken order for his coin, both gold and silver, in the year 1549, *viz.* setting a price upon the several pieces of gold, that they should not go above the due value; and for calling in a coarse sort of money, called *testourns* or *testons*, which passed for twelve pence, though scarce half so much in intrinsic value; so now this year the King and his Council had further cares about coinage, for the further regulation of it. For still the testons went current for above the value. There was therefore, this July, a proclamation for shortening the fall of money to a day. And another proclamation the same month, that the testourn should go at nine pence, and the groat at three pence in all places of the realm at once. Another proclamation came forth the same month of July, for the punishment of them that would blow rumours of abasing and enhancing of the coin, to make things dear. And in August (to take up here at once the transactions of this money-business all together) the teston was again cried down from nine pence to six pence, the groat from three pence to two pence, and the two pence to a penny, the penny to an halfpenny, and the halfpenny to a farthing. In September there was a great deliberation concerning coin, occasioned chiefly because there were divers standards. For at this time a shilling fine had been reckoned for two shillings. The same month a proclamation was set forth touching the prices of cattle, of hogs, pigs, beeves, oxen, muttons, butter, and cheese; which were set after a reasonable price, but not fully so good cheap as when coin was at the perfectest; but within

The teston.

King's Journal. Proclamations for the same.

a fifth part of it, or thereabouts. The same month a letter was directed to the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Great Master, and the Master of the Horse, to meet at London for the ordering of the coin.

Delibera-tion upon a device for money. Warr. Book. 275

In the same month of September, there was a letter undirected, but, I suppose, to the foresaid personages, authorizing them to call before them such expert, skilful men, as they should think meet; and debating with them such determinations and devices, as before the King's Majesty and his Council have of late been propounded and purposed for the state of the coin. And if the same shall be most profitable, then to proceed to put the same in ure. And if any other way shall be found more convenient to be followed, in alteration either in part or in the whole of the same determination, then also to proceed in putting the same in execution: whereof they were to certify the King and his Council.

The Lords' report about it.

The same month, the Lords abovesaid, at London, tried all kinds of stamping; but of the fineness of 9, 8, 6, 4, and 3, proved, that without any loss but sufferable, the coin might be brought to eleven ounces fine. For whereas it was thought before, that the testourn was through evil officers and ministers corrupted, it was tried, that it had the valuation just, by eight sundry kinds of melting. And 400 pounds of sterling money, a testourn being but six pence, made 400 pounds eleven ounces fine, of money sterling. Whereupon they reported the same; and then it was concluded, that testourns should be eleven ounces fine: the proportion of the pence according to the gold: so that five shillings of silver should be worth five of gold.

The stamp resolved on.

In the same month (so close did they follow their business) it was agreed, that the stamp of the shilling and sixpence should be, on one side a king figured to his shoulders in parliament robes, with a chain of the order: the stamp of five shillings of silver, and half five shillings, should be a king on horseback, armed with a naked sword hard to his breast. Also, that York's mint, and Throgmorton's in the Tower, should go and work the fine work; and in the

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And the mints set to work.

city of York and Canterbury should the small money be wrought of a baser state. And officers for the same were appointed. And October 1, a commission was signed for the making of five shilling pieces, half five shillings, groats, and sixpences, eleven ounces fine; and pence, and halfpence, and farthings, four ounces fine.

A proclamation against melting down the King's coin.

This great work also cost divers proclamations. One was dated in September, that none should melt any testourn, or shilling, groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny, or farthing, or any other coin of silver, being current within the realm; to make vessel, plate, or any other thing: upon pain of forfeiture of four times the value of the money so molten; and to suffer imprisonment and other pains.

Another for calling in testons.

Another proclamation in October was signed for the calling in testons and groats. That they that listed, might come to the mint, and have fine silver of twelve pence for two testourns.

Another, declaring the several values of gold and silver coin.

Another in the same month, declaring that the King's Majesty had ordered and established to be made within his mints these several coins, as well of silver in fineness of the standard, as also of gold, as hereafter ensueth; that is to say, one piece of silver monies, which shall be current for five shillings of the lawful monies aforesaid. Another piece, which shall be called *the piece of two shillings and sixpence*, of the lawful monies. The third piece, which shall be called *the sterling shilling*, current for twelve pence. The fourth piece, which shall be half of the said shilling, shall be current for six pence. Also, that the King had ordered to have four pieces of small monies made likewise current: that is to say, the first piece shall be called *a penny*, with a double rose, and shall be current for a penny
276 of the lawful monies aforesaid: the second shall be called *an halfpenny*, with a single rose: and the third piece *a farthing*, with a portcullis. [The fourth piece is here wanting, perhaps half a farthing.]

The several gold coins.

And of the coins of gold as here ensueth: that is to say, the old sovereign of fine gold, which shall be current for thirty shillings of lawful money of England. Another piece of fine gold, called *the angel*, shall be current for ten shillings. The third piece of fine gold, which shall be called *the angelet*, half of the *angel*, current for five shillings. And further, an whole sovereign of crown gold shall be current for twenty shillings. The second piece of crown gold, which shall be called *the half sovereign*, shall be current for ten shillings. And the third piece of crown gold, which shall be called *a crown*, current for five shillings. The fourth piece of crown gold, which shall be called *the half crown*, shall be current for two shillings six pence of the lawful monies aforesaid.

And the King straitly charged and commanded all manner of persons within his realms and dominions, to receive and pay the said several pieces of money, as well of silver as of gold, at the several rates before rehearsed, upon pain of his high displeasure, and to be further punished as his Highness should think convenient.

And his express commandment was, that all such base monies which his Majesty had lately by his several proclamations reduced to the value of a lower rate, should pass and go current in payment in like manner and sort as his Highness's last proclamation had declared; until such time as his Majesty's mints might with diligence convert the same into his said new coins: which he minded to have done with all possible expedition.

And his Majesty signified to all his loving subjects, that if they brought in a quantity of monies now current into his mint within the Tower of London, they should have the same received there by tale at the value, as they were then current, upon bills. And they should, in as convenient time as might be, be repaid for the same monies then current, by tale in other the King's new money afore declared.

Another against false rumours of the King's new coin.

Another proclamation was set forth in December following: which charged and commanded all the King's true subjects, not to credit certain vain, false, and seditious rumours concerning certain pieces of his Highness's coin, now made, which had been well stricken, that his Majesty's arms did not appear in the same; and to be seditiously declared:

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these persons, it seems, building upon this conceit, that the stamp of the King's arms made the money current; because the ancient monies usually had that impression.

Another against buying and selling it.

Yet another came forth the same month, prohibiting the buying and selling of coin at other prices than the same was current by the King's late proclamation.

And thus, after several months, was that great business of the coinage brought to perfection in the fifth year of the King: which was one of the glories of his reign. But now to return to the month of July again, which we have not yet done with.

The King exercises on horseback.

July 6, (that very day two years after, wherein the King died,) he rode gallantly through Greenwich park, accompanied with the Earls of Darby and Warwick, the Lord Admiral, Sir William Herbert, and other knights and gentle- 277 men, trumpets sounding, and all the guards in their doublets, [that is, back and breast in armour,] with their horses, and with bows and arrows, and halberds, two and two together. Here the King on horseback ran at the ring, with other lords and knights. The Earl of Warwick aforesaid had met the King there with an hundred men of arms, and great horses, and gentlemen, in coats of velvet embroidered. The same night the King supped at Deptford in a ship with the Lord Admiral, and the Lords of his Council, and many gentlemen.

Coverdale made Bishop of Exon.

In this month of July, that eminent confessor Miles Coverdale was placed in the bishopric of Exeter, and had a licence of entry into the same; a wealthy bishopric before, valued in the King's books at 1565*l.* 13*s.* 6¾*d.* yearly; now impaired by the last Bishop, that it was set in the King's books but at 500*l.* and no more, and the tenths to be 50*l.* hereafter yearly. And Coverdale was to be discharged of that first year's tenths, and of all arrearages in the old Bishop's time. To which old Bishop [Veyzy] it was granted, upon the resignation of his bishopric, to enjoy all annuities granted to him out of the lands of the bishopric, whereof he had made a state in fee-simple to others, namely, to the Earl of Bedford and other noblemen. And also, to enjoy certain rents granted out of the bishopric to certain persons that were then come into his hands. And that the said Bishop might plead in any court by the name of John Veyzy. These conditions he obtained for his resignation, that he might have a subsistence for his life. And all was granted him accordingly in this month of July.

The sweating sickness.

The plague of *sweat* was this summer very severe, and carried away multitudes of people, rich and poor, and especially in London; where in one day, *viz.* July 10, died an hundred people; and the next an hundred and twenty. And it came even into the King's family about this time; which caused him to retire to Hampton Court. The King had given order to a great many persons, both of the nobility and gentry, to attend the French ambassador, as well to shew the King's magnificence, as the honour he intended for the said ambassador. But in this month of July, a proclamation came forth for all gentlemen to return home again that were appointed to attend against the coming of the Frenchmen, and not to pester the ambassador's lodging for fear of the sweat.

The Duke of Suffolk and his brother die of the sweat.

Among the persons this sweat took away, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and the Lord Charles his brother, were greatly lamented, not only because of their quality, but their hopes; who, July 16, died both in one bed. They were both members of the University of Cambridge, and admitted in King's college, and put under the tuition of that accomplished scholar, Dr. Walter Haddon, Professor of the Civil Law, and University Orator. To whose memory he dedicated a copy of elegant verses, which began thus:

Et vivos colui meos alumnos,
Et nunc prædico mortuos alumnos.
Vos, dulces pueri, valere vester
Haddonus jubet, ut potest jubere, &c.

They died both this fatal July at Buckden, at the Bishop 278
of Lincoln's house, whither they were retired to avoid the sickness, being all the male issue of that most illustrious Prince Charles Duke of Suffolk, and of his second wife Ca-

tharine. She had obtained of the King the wardship and marriage of the young Duke her son, and also the wardship and marriage of Agnes Woodhil, [or rather Woodvil,] I suppose, of the right noble house of the Woodvils; Elizabeth, a daughter whereof, was wife to King Edward IV. and her sister to Henry Duke of Buckingham. This young lady being brought up in her house, with her said son, she seemed to intend to match with him.

The hopefulness of these young noblemen.

The Duchess, out of her tender regard to them both, came to Cambridge with them, and sojourned there about the time that Martin Bucer went thither: to whose inspection and counsel she commended them. Upon their funerals, Dr. Haddon made an eloquent oration before the University. Therein he described Duke Henry, not yet arrived to man's estate, to have been a very excellent person, well learned for his years, and much addicted to literature: that his parts were such, as he imbibed, with the greatest ease, whatsoever he was instructed in: that all his discourses were upon learned arguments, and his delight in the conversation of learned men; good store of whom he had always about him, procured at first by his mother's care; and more he took to him, according as he perceived their parts, and fancied their conversation. His custom was, when he and the rest of his learned retinue were together, to propound some question, of which he himself would first speak, and then desire to hear them, what they had to say about it. He had a prompt and fluent utterance, yet attended with a becoming modesty, which, as it preserved him from boasting and conceit of himself, so from despising others. This style of his, Haddon took notice of, and exhorted him much to read Tully, for the further improvement of it; adding, that by conversing diligently a year or two in that author, he would prove a better Ciceronian than himself, how well soever the world said he imitated that author. This counsel was given him in the winter, when an ague interrupted this illustrious youth's studies. But as soon as he recovered health, he fell upon the reading Tully with all vigour, according to his tutor's advice, which he called, like a true scholar, his *command.* His younger brother Charles was a youth of the like parts and hopes. Both which being thus immaturely cropt off, the honour fell. But the Marquis of Dorset, having married the half sister of these noblemen, was in October invested with the title of the dukedom, and the estate was divided among many heirs: for May 6, 1552, a special livery was granted by the Treasurer to Sir Richard Candish, knight, Sir William Sydney, knight, Thomas Lovel, esq. Christine Darnel, widow, Walter Aiscough, esq. and Elizabeth his wife, coheirs of the late Duke of Suffolk, and the Lord Charles Brandon, to enter into their purpartie of all the lands of the said Duke and Lord.

Marquis of Dorset made Duke of Suffolk.

As for the said Duke's great capital messuage or mansion in Southwark, the office of keeping thereof, together with the garden, orchard, and park, was in July granted by the King to Sir John Gates for life; with the office of high steward and bailiff there, of all the lands, tenements, and liberties of the same; and also of the office of steward and bailiff of Paris Garden, and the liberties thereof; with 279 the fee of 30*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

Sir J. Gates made keeper of the Duke of Suffolk's house in Southwark.

His brother Charles also, by the King's favour, was steward of the lordship of Sheriff-Hutton, and constable of the castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire: which office and constableship were granted, upon his decease, to Sir William Pickering, knight, a worthy and honourable gentleman, and employed much in embassies, with all the fees and profits thereunto accustomably arising, together with the herbage and panage of the park thereunto belonging.

Sheriff-Hutton, upon Charles L. Brandon's death, comes to Sir Will. Pickering.

July 10, by reason of this new sweat, the King removed from Westminster to Hampton Court: for there died certain beside the Court, which caused the King to be gone so soon. The Lord Cromwel in Leicestershire died, and the Lord Powis, Sir John Luttrel, knight, a noble captain, Sir Thomas Speke, knight, who fell sick at the Court; Sir John Wallop, of the order of the Garter, and captain of the castle of Guisnes, a soldier of great worth and desert; and one Sir Peryn Negroo, knight, besides the two young

Many other great persons die of the sweat.

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Dukes. All these died in July, within a few days one of another. As in the next month, within two days, three considerable heirs were carried off with the same infection; *viz.* August 20, Henry Williams, son and heir of Sir John Williams, after Lord Williams of Thame. August 22, the son and heir of the Lord Sands; and Sir Richard Lister, son and heir of the Lord Chief Justice of that name.

From the 8th of this month of July unto the 19th, there died in London of this sweat 872, and no more in all, as was certified in to the Lord Chancellor.

A dearth.

Another judgment beside this sickness lay upon the nation at this time, and that was a dearth, which continued along this year, there being little prospect of the fall of provisions; and corn remained excessively dear after harvest: which was the occasion (that I may bring it in here a little before its due place) that a commission in the month of December was issued out to John Lord Mordaunt, Sir John St. John, Sir Urian Bruerton, knights; Nicolas Luke, Francis Pygot, and Lewis Dives, esquires, for the county of Bedford; and thirty-two commissions of the like effect were also issued out to others throughout the nation: to inquire by all ways and means, how the enhancing of the prices of corn, victuals, and other things, contained in a proclamation annexed to the said commission, had grown, and daily grew, by the insatiable greediness of divers covetous persons in the several counties; and to punish such as should disobey any thing contained in the same. For the supply of the city of London with corn for the winter, the King obtained leave of the French King to transport 1200 ton of wheat out of his country. So that this scarcity sprang rather from the covetous practices of many, in advancing the prices of things, and hoarding up the fruits of the earth, rather than from any unseasonableness of weather, or thin crop in harvest. And this the state was sensible of, as appeared by the commissions above mentioned, and by this order of Council that follows.

Commissions for inquiry into it.

Orders to the Bishops for prayer. Coun. Book.

July 18, letters were sent from the Council to all Bishops, to persuade the people to prayer, and to see God better served: which was upon the apprehension of the judgment of the sweating sickness, then sorely afflicting the nation, and the dearth.

280 And this summer the King and his Council issued out orders to all the Bishops, charging and commanding them in their own persons, and that their preachers and ministers in their several dioceses, by their command, should preach against the sin of covetousness; which now grew most insatiable among the people, insomuch that each went about to devour other: and that the Bishops and preachers should for this crime threaten men with God's grievous plagues, not only such temporal ones as then lay upon the nation, but such as should be likewise inflicted in the world to come. Which order of Council, I suppose, was procured by some good men in the Court, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Secretary Cecyl, or Cheke of the privy chamber; not only in respect of the monopolizing of corn, but also upon A. the contemplation of that tearing and rending from the Church, the Universities, the hospitals of the poor, and from one another; which some of the courtiers and great men practised, together with their enclosures; and by their example spread over the whole kingdom. So that all common justice and honesty was scarce any where to be found.

And to preach against covetousness.

But notwithstanding this order from the Court, soon after was an unreasonable piece of covetousness shewn at the Court itself. For William Thomas, a clerk of the Council, (who hath been mentioned before,) greedily affecting a certain good prebend of St. Paul's church, and to get it settled upon himself and his heirs, procured some of the King's Council to direct their letters to Ridley, the Bishop, for that purpose: which occasioned an earnest address from that good man to Cheke, Gates, Wroth, and Cecyl, and some others, whom he took to be men that feared God, to prevent it; (having designed this prebend for Grindal, his own chaplain;) and expostulating earnestly with them, what a discouragement this would be to the preachers of God's word, if their rewards should be thus ravished from them.

Thomas, clerk of the Council, would draw a prebend from the church of Paul's.

Bishop Scory's letter to the King concerning ecclesiastical discipline.

To this I add the mention of a sermon preached the last Lent at Court, by a famed preacher, Scory, (after Bishop of Rochester,) against two evils among others then very much felt. The one was, the want of ecclesiastical discipline, whereby great wickednesses were committed without any censures or punishments: the other was, covetousness; whereby the poor was so much wronged by the rich, by the means of enclosures, and converting tillage into pasture. For the redress of which evils, with some other, he made then humble suit to the King. And of these two, this preacher, being in August made Bishop of Rochester, thought fit to remind the King again, in his letter of thanks for his advancement.

The sickness suddenly abates.

The sweating sickness, though so violent in July, yet the next month it marvellously abated: insomuch that in a letter which the King wrote in his progress, dated August 22, to Fitz-Patrick, he said, that the most part of England at that time was clear of any dangerous or infectious sickness.

The French King installed.

The King went, August 24, from Hampton Court to Windsor, where the French King was stalled of the order of the Garter, with a great banner of arms embroidered with *fleurs de lis* of gold bossed, and mantle of tissue, and the helmet clean gilt, and so the sword.

The King on Michaelmas day wore the robes of the order of St. Michael, with escalop shells of France. And 281 the same time was chosen of the order of the Garter, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Darcy; who was installed Oct. 3, ensuing: coming in the place of Sir John Wallop, deceased.

Lord Darcy of the order.

Month's mind of the two Dukes of Suffolk.

The *month's mind* for the two Dukes of Suffolk, late deceased, was kept Sept. 22. So the more solemn celebration of the funerals of great persons, about a month more or less after their interments, used to be called. It was performed with two standards, two banners, great and large, ten bannerols, with divers coats of arms; two helmets, two swords, two targets crowned, two coats of arms, two crests, and ten dozen of escutcheons crowned; with lamentation that so noble a stock was extinct in them.

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Annuities to some French.

In September the King granted these annuities to several Frenchmen, *viz.* Francis de Bignon, 37*l.* 10*s.* Abraham Parady, John de Len, [Loen perhaps,] Nic. du Menir, Galliot Tassat, 27*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* each: and Colin le Cout, 18*l.* 5*s.* to be paid from the 1st of January last. These seem to have been learned ministers, fled from their own country for the persecution.

Somerset's new troubles. Vitellius, F. 5. This MS. varieth from the King's Journal in a day.

Now began the Duke of Somerset's new troubles. For October 15, he and the Lord Grey were sent to the Tower; and the next day were committed to the same place his Duchess, and many more of his friends and servants, as Sir Rafe Vane, Sir John Thyn; and also Sir Thomas Holcroft, Sir Michael Stanhope, Mr. Hammond, Mr. John Seimour, Mr. Walley, Mr. Nudigate, Mr. Banister, Mr. Brayne, Mr. Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Thomas Arundel and Lady. The 21st of the same month, the Lord Paget was carried to the Fleet by the guard; and the 8th of November following, together with the Earl of Arundel, was sent to the Tower: both whom were charged to have been privy to Somerset's practices, and were fain afterwards to make their submissions. And November 25, the Lord Dacres of the north was committed to the Tower, as it seems, for the same crime.

The city commanded to be upon guard.

Next, the Duke of Northumberland (for so was Warwick newly created) and his party, to make the pretended treasons of Somerset and the rest appear the more formidable, on the 22d of October, with much shew and ceremony, were all the crafts and corporations of London commanded to repair to their halls: and there it was shewed them, that the Duke of Somerset would have taken the Tower, seized on the broad seal, and have destroyed the city; and then to have gone to the Isle of Wight. After this declaration, they were charged each corporation to ward at every gate in London, and to have a walking watch through the city.

A commission for despatching Chancery matters.

The Lord Chancellor Rich not being able to attend upon Chancery business by reason of his sickness, a commission was dated October 26, to John Beaumont, esq. Sir William Portman, Sir James Hales, Sir Richard Rede, John Olyver,

and William Cook, (the first whereof was Master of the Rolls, the three following judges, and the two last civilians,) to hear and determine any manner of matters before the King in his Chancery, between his subjects, now hanging, or hereafter to be exhibited; with authority to award out all manner of process that had been accustomed therefore: and to punish all manner of contempts, and do all other circumstances necessary for the same. And with a commandment to all the officers to attend upon five, four, or three of them.
282 And all things done by them, to stand in like force as if they were done by the Lord Chancellor himself.

CHAP. V.

The Marquis of Dorset advanced. Polydore Virgil. A Lasco. The army mustered before the King. The Scots Queen entertained. Reports in Germany. Sir James Croft. Lord Admiral goes into France. Barnaby Fitz-Patrick. Guisnes to be surveyed.

The Earl of Warwick succeeds Dorset in the north. Council-Book.

BUT to go on with the transactions of the state this year. October 14. the Marquis of Dorset petitioned the King to be recalled from being warden of the north, by reason of his inability. For Feb. 15, it having been thought necessary, for weighty considerations, to send a man of honour northward, it was resolved to send the Marquis of Dorset, as warden general of the north. The King yielded this nobleman his request, and appointed the Earl of Warwick to succeed him. And October   the Lord Chancellor had commands to make out a patent to that effect, with as much preeminence and authority as any of his predecessors ever had, and full fee, and leave to constitute deputy wardens under him: and he was allowed an hundred light horsemen. But it was not before May 11, 1552, that he was ordered to go into the north: that is, till he had overthrown the good Duke of Somerset, that was in his way, and had made himself the greatest man in the court, save the King, and had even him at his pleasure.

The Marquis of Dorset, as well for his good service, as for that by way of marriage he was like to have claim to the dukedom of Suffolk, was created to that degree. Then was created also, Warwick Duke of Northumberland, Wiltshire Marquis of Winchester, and Sir William Herbert Lord Cardiff, and after Earl of Pembroke; and Secretary Cecyl, Harry Nevil, Sidney, and Cheke, made knights.

The Marquis of Dorset made Duke of Suffolk.

In this month of October some care was taken of each University; for October 2, a commission went forth to visit the University of Oxon: and the 12th, Mr. Car was ordered to succeed Mr. Cheke in the Greek lecture at Cambridge.

Orders for the Universities.

October 14, and November 1, to Polydore Virgil (who was now about returning to his own country of Italy, having obtained a passport last March for himself, and four servants, and three horses, and other necessaries) 100 marks were ordered, as a gift from the King. November 9, the two former orders of the Council, of giving him 100 marks, being made void, this day it was ordered, that 300 crowns, after the rate of five shillings a crown, be given him as a gift from the King: which gift the Duke of Northumberland acquainted him with. And for it he applied himself to Secretary Cecil.

A gift from the King to Polydore Virgil.

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And November 19, to Johannes A Lasco, another learned foreigner, were given 100 crowns (the Council-Book saith 100 pounds) as a reward from the King.

And to John A Lasco.

But for a farewell to Polydore, these few words. He was an Italian by birth, but had lived forty years in England, and served both the Henries, the Seventh and the Eighth, and was preferred in this Church to the archdeaconry of Wells, and to the prebend of Nonnington, in the church of Hereford; and wrote the English history in twenty-six books, and other works. His judgment was for priests' marriage, and against worshipping images; but in other respects an earnest Papist. This fourth year of King Edward, he had petitioned for leave to depart to his own country, which was granted him. And an order, by patent, to that effect, dated June 2, whereby he was also indulged to enjoy the

The King's licence to Polydore.

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profits both of his archdeaconry and of his prebend during his life. An exemplification of which patent, Mr. A. Wood hath given in his *Fasti Oxonienses*. And besides this licence, the King presented him also with the gift abovesaid. But for the unfaithfulness of his history, especially of the ancient Britons, he hath left a stain upon his name. And Henry Lloid, a learned Welshman, in his description of Wales, gives this censure of him: "Either he never saw "nor read the ancient histories of this realm, or dissembled "the same, to the praise of himself, and the honour of the "Romans, as well spiritual as temporal, and to blaze forth "their acts and deeds within this realm: and on the other "part, doth either openly slander, or privily extenuate, or "shamefully deny the martial prowess and noble acts, as "well of Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as of Britons. That "he never saw the ancient writers of the British history, as "the British chronicle, the history of Gildas, Ponticus "Verunnius, Mat. Paris. And being a stranger born, and "ignorant in the histories of this realm, as of those tongues "and languages wherein they were written, could never "set forth the true and perfect chronicle of the same. But "having a good grace, and a pleasant style in the Latin "tongue, and finding himself in a country where every "man either lacked knowledge or spirit to set forth the "history of their own country, took this enterprise in hand, "to their great shame and no less dispraise." And Sir John Price writ his British history on purpose against the envious reports and slanderous taunts of the said Polydore.

Vol. i. p. 638.

A censure of him.

Add, that the Lord Coke shews him to err in time, title, and cause, where he is undertaking to relate the original of the Court of Wards. 1. For the time of the beginning of this court, Polydore makes it to be granted to King Henry III. anno Dom. 1219: whereas Glanvil, who wrote in the reign of Henry II. treated of wardships due to the King and other lords; and so also did Ockham, who lived in the said King's reign. 2. Polydore makes this wardship to come from the grant of the subject to the King; whereas the truth is, all tenures by knight's service, which since the

Polydore's errors about the court of wards. Lib. xvi. p. 288.

conquest draweth ward and marriage, were either created or reserved by the King. And, 3. He utterly mistaketh the end of the creation of these tenures by knight's service; which were originally created for defence of the realm by the King's own subjects; which is more safe, than to trust 284 to foreigners. Thus the Lord Coke.

The army to be mustered before the King.

The King was minded now to see his standing forces, horse and foot, muster before him; and the rather, that he might be in a readiness, in case any rising might happen, as was apprehended in the month of October, by the discontented Duke of Somerset and his party. So there were ten letters written in October, and directed to certain of the chief officers of the army, to have the Gendarmory and bands of horsemen which were appointed there, in a readiness to be seen by his Majesty the Sunday following Hallontide next, being the 8th of November. And a like letter was despatched to the Marquis of Northampton, [captain of the band of pensioners,] to have the band appointed him in a readiness the same day, with all the pensioners, and men of arms, attending on the court.

Horses sent to the French King.

In this month of October, the King sent to the French King, now as it seemed in good amity together, sixteen fine horses, by Sir Jaques Granado; who had a passport for that purpose to carry them over, and all other necessaries for himself and the said horses.

The Scots Queen at court.

In the beginning of the month of November, the Queen Dowager of Scotland was at the English court; where she was entertained by the King and the court with all possible respect, according to her high quality. The King afforded her much of his communication: whereof, when she came home, she gave this testimony, "That she found more wis-"dom and solid judgment in young King Edward, than she "would have looked for in any three princes that were then "in Europe." The King at this her being at his court gave her a ring with a fair table diamond.

Orders and letters for this Queen's reception.

The relation of this Queen's passing through England from France is thus set down in the Council-Book. October 25, a letter was sent by the Council to the Lady Mary

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and Lady Elizabeth, to signify the arrival of the Queen of Scotland at Portsmouth, and her coming to the King's presence, and her passage through the realm. Also the like letters were sent to divers noblemen and ladies, to attend upon the Lord Marquis of Northampton, and the Lady Marchioness his wife, for the receiving of the Queen Dowager at Hampton Court. October 27, letters also were sent to Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wingfield, and other gentlemen appointed to receive and attend upon her; and to signify to the Council what they have done in receiving of her, and when she intended to be there. Another letter was sent to Sir Percival Hart, to prepare himself to come up to Whitehall, with his wife, to accompany her into the north parts. October 28, letters were sent to the sheriffs, and other gentlemen of the shires, near the parts where she should pass, to receive and conduct her through their limits, in such wise as might seem best for his Majesty's honour, and their own estimation; and to give order for the quiet behaviour of the King's subjects towards her and her train. November 1, a commission was given to Mr. Dudley and Richard Shelly, to take up horses and carriages, and all other necessaries for her journey homewards, and for her usage and entertainment by the way. November 2, the Duchess Dowager of Suffolk was commanded to lodge her at her house at Stamford; Mr. Chester to lodge her at his at Royston. Sir Rafe Sadler was ordered to entertain her,
285 and see her well accompanied, and her train well used for their reasonable money, at her passing through Hertfordshire. November 16, the Lord Ogle was ordered, as the Scottish Queen passed by the borders into Scotland, to complain of the want of justice, that had happened through the default of her ministers, and of a heavy murder committed.

Her reception. Vitellius, F. 5.

From one of the manuscripts in the Cotton library, (which formerly seems to have been a journal of one who belonged to the Heralds' Office,) I take this account of the manner of this Queen's reception at London and at court. November 2, the Queen of Scots came to London from Hampton Court, and landed at Bernard's castle, and came riding to the Bi-

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shop's palace, with many lords, the Duke of Suffolk, Marquis of Northampton, Lord Warwick, Lord Willoughby, Lord Haward, Lord Russel, Lord Bray, and divers more lords, knights, and gentlemen. Then came the Queen, and all hers and our ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of an hundred. Many great gifts were sent her by the mayor and aldermen, and others, as beeves, muttons, veals, swines, wild fowl, bread, wine, beer, spices, quails, sturgeon, salmon, wood and coals. November 4, the Queen rode unto the court, attended with a great train of noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies. At the court gate stood all the guards in their best coats. There the Earl of Pembroke saluted her, and brought her to the hall door: and there the Duke of Northumberland met her, and brought her into the hall: where the King's Grace meeting her, saluted her, and embracing and kissing her, took her by the hand, and led her up into the chamber of presence, where was a banquet. And when all was done, she took her horse, and was conducted unto the Bishop's palace to supper; and there she lay till the sixth day. At which time she rode through London unto Bishopsgate, accompanied with the Duke of Northumberland, and an hundred great horse with him, the men arrayed in coats of velvet embroidered, hats of velvet, and white feathers, and chains of gold; together with the Earl of Pembroke, with an hundred great horses, mounted with gentlemen in coats garded with velvet, wearing chains, hats and white feathers; and every man with a new javelin in their hands, and a badge: then came the Lord Treasurer, with an hundred great horses, and the riders in coats of mail, with badges, *viz.* the falcon of gold, and javelins; with great numbers besides of lords, knights, gentlemen, and ladies. There the Queen was presented at the gate by the Chamberlain of London with 100 marks out of the chamber, and so went forward on her journey.

Report in Germany of killing the King.

In the beginning also of the month aforesaid, a great rumour ran, and spread as far as foreign countries, that some of the chief nobility about the King had plotted to lay vio-

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lent hands on him. From Antwerp the report fled to Strasburg: and the Elector Palatine had it soon brought to his court; who sent to Strasburg to Christopher Mount, an agent for England there, to know of him the truth of it. Mount did what he could to satisfy every one, that it could be nothing but an idle fame. The occasion, doubtless, was the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset, whom his enemies resolving to remove, had raised a noise of his intention of seizing the King's person, and making an insurrection. And that noise easily improved into a report of killing the King: which also it is not improbable the conspi-286 rators against the Duke might studiously give out, to render him the more odious, and to abate that love the people generally had for him. But Mount hereupon writ an earnest letter, Nov. 12, to both the secretaries, informing them of this report, and entreating them to give him the truth of the matter, that he might the better satisfy others, and all good men: concluding, there could be no such monsters in the world, to lay their hands upon a prince of so great accomplishments of body and mind. His letter being short, I will here set down.

Mount's letter from Strasburg to the secretaries. MSS. penes me.

"Quinta decima præteriti mensis novissimas hinc ad vos "dedi literas, magnifici Domini Secretarii, quæ medio mihi "tempore constare potuerunt, modo scribo. Ex Antwerpia "ad nos scribitur, magnam esse in Anglia commotionem. "Nempe, quosdam inter primos habitos viros vitæ Sereniss. "Regis insidiatos esse. Ego hanc causam ut vanam arbi"tror. Neminem enim tam immani et belluina natura esse "suspicari possum, ut qui hoc jubar exoriens, tantisque "virtutibus, animique et corporis rarissimis dotibus illustre "et amabile, delere et opprimere in animum inducere pos"sit. Itaque suppliciter vestras magnif. oro et obsecro, ut "nos ex præsenti solicitudine eripere maturetis. Quotidie "enim ab optimis quibusque viris interrogor, an Anglia "talia monstra aboriri potuerit. Optime valeatis, Argen"tina, 12. Novemb. anno 1551.

"Palatinus Elector proprium apud me nuntium habuit, "ut hujus rumoris causam disceret. Optimi quique viri so- "liciti sunt de Sereniss. Regis salute et regni tranquillitate."

To the Right Honourable Sir William Petre, or Sir William Cecil, knights, Principal Secretaries to the King's Majesty.

A proclamation about cessing the prices of cattle.

A proclamation was set forth in this month of November, declaring, that the King's pleasure was, that the proclamation set forth for the cessing the prices of cattle and other victuals, and all pains, forfeitures, &c. therein contained, should from thenceforth cease, and be put no farther in execution; [some inconvenience, it seems, being found in this stinting the prices of food.] The proclamation for assessing the prices of cattle and provision, to which this seems to refer, came out 1549, and may be read in the foregoing history.

Sir J. Croft gratified.

For the good service that Sir James Croft had done in Ireland, who was sent over thither the latter end of the last year; now in November a letter was sent to him from the King and Council, that the King had given him 1000*l.* and had received him into his service in the privy chamber; and that he should have in wages of his household servants forty able horsemen, at twelve pence per diem, and sixty footmen, at six pence per diem.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Parliament that should have met November 4, whether the cause were the remainder of the sweating sickness, or something else, was put off till a further time. Wherefore the King wrote letters in September to the Lord Chancellor, commanding him to take order for a prorogation until the first of Hilary term; and to learn how many rooms were void by the death of divers knights of the shire, and burgesses, and to signify the same to his Majesty: and that able men might furnish the house, the Council, 287 October 28, made an order, that not young persons, but grave and elderly, should be chosen for the Parliament.

The French King has a third son.

The French King now had a third son born, entitled Duc d'Engoulesme. For him Jarnac, the French ambas-

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sador, desired the King from his master to stand godfather: to which the King gave this answer; That he was glad of the news, and thanked the King his master that he should be godfather to his son, being a token of the good-will he bore him. And that he would despatch, for the accomplishment thereof, the Lord Clinton, lord admiral.

The Lord Clinton goes ambassador to France to christen the French King's child: and

The Lord Clinton, in this said month of November, was despatched ambassador into France; Sir William Pickering being ambassador leiger there before, and so continuing. One point of his embassy was, to christen the French King's son in the King's name: for which that Lord had a particular commission from the King, under seal. And there was a letter of order writ, to deliver him 500 marks in French crowns, at six shillings the piece, towards his charges in the voyage. What the expences were, when he stood proxy for the King at this royal infant's baptism, may be seen by this warrant following: "A warrant dated in January to the Lord Treasurer, for the payment of 292 "French crowns to the Lord Admiral; which he gave in "reward to the governor, the nurses, and other ministers "about the King's youngest son, lately christened by him "in the King's name, naming him Edward Alexander." At this ceremony the Lord Clinton presented the Queen with two gold flagons with chains, weighing 165 ounces, from the King. And for this office that nobleman was gratified by his master, when he came home, with two good lordships, one in Yorkshire, and another in Somersetshire.

To transact the match.

But there was another great point wherein the present embassy of this Lord consisted, namely, to transact the matter of the match between King Edward and the French King's daughter: for which there was a commission to him and to Sir William Pickering, jointly and severally, to hear all manner matters with the French King, concerning the marriage between the King's Majesty and the Lady Elizabeth, the French King's daughter, and the confirmation thereof according to their instructions, which they must receive. The instructions delivered them consisted in three articles.

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Barnaby Fitz-Patric sent into France for breeding.

In the Lord Clinton's company went by order Sir W. Stafford, Sir Adrian Poynings, Sir John Norton, Sir John Terry, Sir Richard Corbet, Mr. Brook, Mr. Nevyl; and, among the rest, Barnaby Fitz-Patric, a young Irish gentleman, and one of the chief gentlemen of the King's privy chamber, and much favoured by the King, having been bred up with him from a child. Him the King, taking this opportunity, sent into the French King's court, furnished him with instructions under his own hand for his behaviour there, which are preserved in Fuller's history; appointed him four servants, gave him 300 French crowns in his purse, and a letter to the French King in his favour, declaring, that the King had sent him thither to remain in his court to learn fashions, for the better serving him at his return. He was instructed to converse with Sir William Pickering, the English ambassador, as much as he could. 288
And when he was there, the King held a correspondence by letters with him.

Letters of thanks to the French King.

Letters were sent this same November to the said Pickering, that it was the King's pleasure, that at his next going to the French court, he would pray the King to permit his Majesty to have a thousand tun of wheat, which the citizens of London desired to buy of him, for the dearth was great in the city. This was readily complied with by the French King; and more than the King's request, that is, twelve hundred tun, was permitted to be transported. The said King likewise paid civilities to Fitz-Patric, taking him into his court. This caused King Edward in December to write a letter of thanks to him, both for his liberal grant of twelve hundred tun of wheat to be bought in France for the relief of the city of London, and for his gentle receiving of Barnaby Fitz-Patric into his service, and placing of him in his privy chamber. In February following, I find, orders were given to pay Barnaby Fitz-Patric his annuity of 150*l.*

Guisnes to be surveyed.

A letter in this above-named month of December was sent to the Lord Clinton, to repair, immediately at his return from the French King, to the castle of Guisnes; and there calling to him the captain of the same, to view and consider the same castle, the town, the buildings, and the fortifications, and the wants, decays, or needs there: and thereupon to weigh what buildings and fortifications were already begun, and of what importance; and whether they needed to be altered, or what else might be better devised: and that he should set order with the surveyors there, for the going in hand with the same. This order was sent, I suppose, upon information of some defects of that town and castle. And now the Lord Clinton being in France, it was thought fit to take that opportunity to send this great and expert captain to view the strength and weakness of that piece, and to give his orders for the security thereof; the English court having always a jealous eye upon the French, lest they might, some time or other, take their advantage against those places in France belonging to the English.

A commission for Guisnes and Calais.

There was also, in the same month of December, a commission given forth to Sir Richard Cotton and Sir Richard Bray, knights, to repair with certain instructions to the said castle and county of Guisnes, as also to the town of Calais, and to certain other pieces on that side of the seas. And there shewing their commission, to hear their opinions and advice, as well of the counsellors in each of the said pieces, as of other officers there, concerning the works, buildings, and fortifications of the said pieces. Such was the circumspection of the King and his Council, over their confines upon France, notwithstanding this present appearing friendship with that king.

The Lord Admiral comes home. Council-Book.

The Lord Admiral returned from his embassy, and these other charges committed to him, December 30, and then delivered to the Lords the ratifications of the marriage between the King's Majesty and the Lady Elizabeth, the French King's daughter, under the great seal of France. And it was resolved, that the same treaty should be delivered to the Lord Treasurer, to be by him reposed in the treasury of the Exchequer, to remain there of record in safe keeping.

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The English jealous of the Emperor. The Bishop of Ely hath the great seal: delivered up by the Lord Rich. His rise and wealth. Some account of the Bishop of Ely. Richard Turner, B. D. A mint at York. Merchants of the Stilyard.

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The Emperor prepares a fleet in winter.

IT was hardly practicable for the King to keep all fair at once with France and the Emperor: but as the King's friendship seemed to become cordial with one prince, the other grew into jealousy, as though the friendship diminished towards him. And this was the case at this time with the Emperor, after these mutual respects with France before-mentioned. And the good understanding with the Emperor began to be much doubted, especially now in December, upon account of a fleet that was setting forth immediately by the Emperor's order. Mons. de Bever, a sea officer, was newly come to the Emperor, and after six or eight days was despatched towards Zealand, to rig out, as the speech went, a great number of ships, at this unseasonable time of the year; some reported sixty sail, others, thirty: and that he was to go with the same for Spain in all haste; or, according to others, after Christmas. Skipperius, the Emperor's admiral, lay then also in Zealand about maritime affairs. Of this, Sir Thomas Chamberlain, the King's ordinary ambassador, wrote to the Lords of the Council in much doubt about it: for he could not tell what to make of that bruit, that ships should be sent to Spain; considering the Emperor had as good ships in Biscay, and enow, and meeter ships for the wars, than those in that country: which made him remember the year 1536, or 1537, when the Emperor being then in Spain, a number of hulks were bruited to be sent out of Flanders thither, and after were discovered to have sought landing in England, as he heard then say; praying God they did not mean to attempt again. And to encourage some such purpose of invasion, reports were thrown up and down in the Low Countries, of the

England jealous thereof.

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weak condition of England at this time. And so did the ambassador inform the lords: "These people (as the tenor "of his letter ran) do verily think things to be worse in "the realm than I trust they shall find to be. God forgive them that cause our poor country to be slandered "and talked of, as presently it is."

England fits out to sea.

But it was certain, whether upon these movings of the Emperor, or for some other cause, that the King also was making preparation for the seas: insomuch, that the President of the Lady Regent's Council asked Chamberlain the reason of it: to whom he replied, that he had not heard thereof; but if any such were, he supposed it was to keep the narrow seas from rovers: for, he said, these wars were not to be looked for to be other than before had been seen. 290 that when the Emperor having war with France, and we neuter, the poor merchants were robbed on each side: and for any other purpose, he could not guess. Thus might one see they were in jealousy of England. But to look at home.

A great muster. Vitellius, F. 5.

The King was bred up to arms as well as learning: for the royal youth was warlike and active, and loved to exercise himself in feats of arms. December 7, (the King's Journal makes it the 4th,) in Hyde-park was a great muster in his presence, after this manner: first came the King's trumpeters; and then the Lord Bray, in gilt harness, captain of the pensioners, and a great banner of the King's arms: then all the pensioners in complete harness and great array, in white and black, five and five in a rank: and after them came their servants, in number an hundred, with great horses and harness, in white and black, and spears. The second company was led by the Lord Treasurer, being an hundred men of arms, with broidered coats, red and white, with spears: his standard a falcon of gold. The third company belonged to the Duke of Northumberland, being an hundred men of arms, in velvet embroidery, with trumpeters: his standard a lion crowned gold, and ragged staff. The fourth captain was the Lord Marquis of Northampton, with an hundred men of arms, in yellow and black; spears, pensils, and trumpeters: his standard the maidenhead. The fifth was the Earl of Bedford, with an hundred men of arms, in red and white: his standard a goat white, a trumpeter, pensils, and spears. The sixth the Earl of Rutland, with an hundred men of arms, in yellow and blue: his standard a peacock, and pensils. The seventh the Earl of Huntingdon, with fifty men of arms, in blue; spears, standard, and pensils: his standard a maunch. The eighth the Earl of Pembroke, with an hundred men of arms: his standard the green dragon. The ninth the Lord Cobham, with fifty men of arms, in black and white: his standard the Saracen's head. The tenth the Lord Chamberlain, with fifty men of arms, coats of white and red, and spears; their coats in broidery, pensils: his standard the maiden's body. The eleventh Mr. Treasurer Cheny, with an hundred men of arms, all black; spears and pensils, besides costerels: his standard the rose in the sun. There is some variety in the numbers of the men as set down in King Edward's Journal. The horses were all fair and great. They marched twice about St. James's, and so went away.

The great seal fetched from the Lord Rich. Chanc. Goodrick's Ledger-Book, Jul. B. 9.

On Monday, December 21, *anno regni Reg. Edwardi VI. quinto*, letters were brought from the King, and delivered to the Lord Rich, by William Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, John Duke of Northumberland, president of the council, and Thomas Lord Darcy, lord chamberlain of the household, at his house in Great St. Bartholomew's. (Sir John Hayward, writer of the reign of this King Edward, adds the Earl of Pembroke, falsely, and leaves out the Marquis and the Lord Darcy, defectively.) And being in an inner chamber there, between the hours of eight and nine in the morning, he delivered them the great seal. About ten of the clock, the same lords offered and presented it to the King, in the new palace of Westminster, in his chamber there, in the presence of divers nobles and others. The King kept the seal with him till the next day, *viz.* Tuesday, December 22, on which day, about ten a clock, the King committed and delivered it to the reve-

Delivered to the Bishop of Ely.

rend father in Christ, Lord Thomas Bishop of Ely, *durante beneplacito*, to keep, exercise, and use it: and then ordained and appointed the said Bishop keeper of the great
291 seal: present the aforesaid Marquis of Winchester, Duke of Northumberland, Lord Darcy, William Peter, and William Cecyl, knights, principal secretaries to the King; Robert Bowes, Philip Hoby, John Mason, knights; Thomas Powl, comptroller of the Hanaper, Thomas Cotton, deputy of John Hales, clerk of the said Hanaper; Anthony Skynner, one of the examiners of the Court of Chancery; Edmund Walter, and Edmund Day, and others. The same day a warrant came to the Chancellor of the Augmentations, to pay him for the wages, diet, and livery of himself, and the ministers of the Chancery, in as large manner as the Lord Rich or any other had, serving in that place.

Made Lord Chancellor.

The King's Journal tells us, that the seal was sent for from the Lord Rich, considering his sickness; and that it was delivered to the Bishop of Ely during his sickness, as though it were designed to be restored him again. And to this agrees, that he was only made keeper of it during pleasure. But January 19, the Lord Rich's indisposition continuing, and therefore he probably desiring to be eased of the office, the Bishop was made Lord Chancellor. And that because, as *custos sigilli*, he could execute nothing in the Parliament that should be done, but only to seal ordinary things, as the King writes. And a warrant was sent to the Bishop of Ely, to make out a commission to the Lord Treasurer, to take the said Lord Chancellor's oath.

King's Journal.

Why the Lord Rich laid down his place.

Hayward imposeth his own fancy upon his reader, rather than the truth, when he frameth the motive that prevailed with the Lord Rich to lay down his place: which he thus setteth down: "That he having built a fair estate, and "perceiving what nimble ears were born to listen after trea-"son; also for that a Parliament was towards, and doubt-"ful what questions might arise, made suit to the King, "that, in regard of the infirmities of his body, he might be "discharged of his office." If the historian had spoke this as his conjecture, it might have passed better: but to tell us what was in that Lord's mind, and to report it the true cause of his abandoning his chancellorship, when he openly alleged another cause to the King; this is scarce allowable: for, surely, that which the said Lord asserted, namely, his infirmity, was at least one true cause that inclined him to relinquish it, being not able to attend the business it required: for he was certainly, the year before, visited with a sore sickness, at Leez in Essex, with forty more of his family, as appears by the King's Journal: which, I doubt not, was some infectious disease; the relics whereof might hang upon him a great while after. And it is certain, in October the Master of the Rolls, and three judges, and two civilians, were appointed commissioners to despatch the matters of the Chancery, the Chancellor being indisposed. But if any worldly respects made him incline to quit his place, one might be, that he did not like the proceedings in religion, being himself a favourer of the old superstition; and another, his friendship to the Duke of Somerset, now under a cloud, with whom he saw he must fall; and therefore thought best to resign voluntarily, rather than to be forced so to do. It appeared also, that the said Chancellor was declining at court some months before, by the anger the King and Council had expressed against him; and that for a matter indeed which deserved commendation rather, seeming to shew his care and circumspection how he set 292 the great seal to any thing: for his rule was, not presently upon a few privy counsellors' hands, to seal any important matter with the great seal. It happened in the month of September 1551, a letter came to him, signed with the hands of eight counsellors, to pass somewhat under the great seal. But he delayed to do it, and sent the same letter back again, enclosed in one of his to the Earl of Warwick, requiring more hands. At this great offence was taken with the Chancellor, and a letter was despatched to him from the King, declaring his mislike of this his doing. The Earl of Warwick, I suppose, was concerned in this, and the broad seal was to be set to somewhat of his procuring for himself, or his friends. And to have this stop put

King's Journal, p. 19.

to it by the Chancellor, created some impatience in him; and he might resent it.

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His wealth procured under King Edward.

Yet Hayward saith true in this, that "he had built a fair "estate." A great part of which he had obtained under this King, either by gift or by purchase: which, as I find them set down particularly in the King's Book of Sales, and partly in the Warrant-Book, were thus. *An. reg. Edw.* 1°. For fulfilling King Henry VIII's purpose, and in consideration of service, the King gave him, by patent dated June 1, the manor of Hatfeld Broadoak in Essex, and divers other lands and tenements in the said county, yearly value 80*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* and 13*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* reserved.

Item, anno reg. 3. For 240*l.* and in consideration of divers spiritual promotions, [which he had formerly got, but now parted with,] the King, by patent dated Feb. 12, gave him the manor of Wansted, with its rights, members, and appurtenances, in Essex, and the park there, and divers other lands and tenements, parcel of the said manor; yearly value 12*l.*

Item, anno reg. 4. He obtained of the King in fee-simple all the house and scite of the late priory of Pretewel, alias Pritelwel, in the county of Essex, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. to the yearly value of 45*l.* 4*s.* to be holden *in capite*, by the tenth part of a knight's fee: paying yearly for the same 4*l.* 11*s.* and to take the profits from Michaelmas last. Dated in March.

Item, anno reg. 4. Of the King's special grace, and in consideration of service, he granted him, by patent dated April 16, the manor and lordship of Brainktree, with its appurtenances, in Essex; and the advowson of the vicarage and parochial church of Coggeshal in Essex, parcel of the late possessions of the Bishop of London; yearly value 39*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Item, A gift to the Lord Rich, *anno reg.* 5. September, (in consideration of his faithful service, and for 500*l.*) of the lordship of East Woodbury in Essex, with divers other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 67*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*

Item, anno reg. 7. June 24, a purchase was made by the same Lord Rich, of the honour of Raleigh in Essex, with the hundred of Rochford, and Rochford in the same county: value yearly of 113*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

293 This Lord (to mention a passage or two concerning him, while we have him before us) was among those that were produced witnesses on Bishop Gardiner's behalf, anno 1550, when he declined the taking an oath, and being sworn in common form; saying, "That honourable personages, being of dignity and office as he was, were by the laws of "the realm privileged not to be sworn in common forms."

His saying concerning swearing persons of honour. Fox, 1st edit. p. 792.

His son and heir was Richard Lord Rich, born about the beginning of King Edward's reign: who in his younger years travelled to Rome, and was there in the year 1570. For a testimony whereof, as though it were a matter of religious merit, he procured formal letters testimonial from James, cardinal of St. Mary in Cosmedin, the Pope's vicar-general, with his seal appendent. In which instrument the said Lord is exactly described[a], "to be of the county of "Essex, and diocese of London; to be aged about two and "twenty, of middle stature, without a beard, having scars "upon the joints of two of his fingers of the left hand, and "another in the middle of the palm of his right. That he "was present in person in the office of the notary of the "court; and that George Nevel and Walter Hinton did "there see, know, and speak with him." Such narrow notice, it seems, was taken of the English gentlemen that came to Rome. But this testimonial was seized, and came into the hands of the Secretary of State, and laid him under a cloud in the English court. But begging pardon for this digression concerning the Lord Rich, I proceed to inquire into the qualities and abilities of Bishop Goodrick, that succeeded him.

Some account of Chancellor Goodrick.

Hayward hath represented the parts of this Bishop, and his merit of so high a dignity, to be very slender. "A man," saith he, "if happily able to discharge this place, assuredly

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[a] Mediocris staturæ, imberbem, habentem cicatrices super juncturis duorum digitorum manus sinistræ, necnon aliam, &c.

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"no more." But it is agreeable to his ordinary practice, to make very ill representations of the clergy, especially such as favoured the Gospel. The Bishop of Sarum, in his History, gives a character of this Chancellor, quite contrary to that of Hayward; namely, "That he was a busy secular-"spirited man, and gave himself up wholly to faction and "intrigues of state; and that though his opinions always "leaned to the reformation, it was no wonder, if a man so "tempered would prefer the keeping of his bishopric [in "Queen Mary's days] to the discharge of his conscience." A hard farewell of a man of eminent figure, a long time, in the State. I do acknowledge it his great failing, that he complied with the religion professed under that Queen, if he did so. And he seems likewise to have been of the faction against the Duke of Somerset: for at Ely house they met: which house he had let out, or lent to the Duke of Northumberland, as I conjecture: for he lived not there himself, but in Warwick-lane.

Image of both Churches.

Abating this, according to the collections we can pick up concerning this reverend man, he is misrepresented, and his memory wronged to posterity. In King Henry's days, he sided with those that laboured a reformation of corrupt religion: insomuch that John Bale joined him with several kings, archbishops, and bishops, as Archbishop Cranmer, Archbishop Herman, [of Colen,] Bishop Barlow, Bishop Bird, Bishop Thurlby, Bishop Latymer; whom he 294 took to be prophesied of, Rev. xvii. to *hate the whore*, though they were before the horns of the beast. Under King Edward he was one of the learned bishops appointed to purge the public service from the old superstitions, and to frame the Book of Common Prayer. He was in many weighty commissions in this reign. I find A Lasco once applying to him in behalf of his church of strangers; to whom he was very kind and assistant. He used learned reasons with Bishop Day, and argued with him before the Council, for taking away Popish altars. And for his abilities in matters of state, he was long nurtured up therein, by being employed both by King Henry and King Edward.

Anno 1551.

In the great embassy to France in May 1551, he was one of the ambassadors, with Sir Philip Hoby and others; and the Bishop was the mouth of the rest, and made the speech to the French King: to which the Cardinal of Loraine made answer. Archbishop Parker, who knew him well, praised him for his impartial administration of justice. And in his epitaph, extant in Godwin's Catalogue, it appears he was not only employed by, but acceptable to, the two Kings in many actions both concerning the Church and commonwealth, and was often employed abroad in embassies to foreign princes, and at home a privy counsellor. And his wisdom, integrity, and abstinence is there commended. Under King Henry he had two great men belonging to him, *viz.* Thomas Smith, LL. D. (after knighted, and made secretary of state,) was his chancellor; and Richard Cox, D. D. his chaplain, whom he preferred to King Henry, to be tutor to Prince Edward. What preferments befell him afterwards, under King Edward and Queen Elizabeth, are sufficiently known.

Petrus Valentius almoner to Goodrick.

To whom I will add, for a third, Petrus Valentius, an honest learned French Protestant, chaplain to this Bishop, and whom he made his almoner in Ely, where he continued for above twenty years: an instance of whose integrity follows. While William Wolsey of Well in Cambridgeshire, and Robert Pygot, lay prisoners in Ely gaol, (afterwards burnt in that town,) among others that came to see them, came this Valentius: who calling them kindly by the style of *brethren*, said, "That according to his office, he was "come to talk with them; for that he had been amner "there twenty years, and above. He desired them to take "his coming in good part. And he promised them, that he "would not endeavour to pull them from their faith; but "he both required and desired them, in the name of Jesus "Christ, to stand to the truth of the Gospel, and God's "word; beseeching God Almighty, for his Son Jesus "Christ's sake, to preserve both him and them in the same "unto the end: for, as he added, calling them *brethren* "again, that he knew not himself, how soon he should be

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"at the same point with them." These and such like words he used: which coming so devoutly from him, caused all to water their cheeks; because it was contrary to the expectation they had of him.

A patent to Turner for a prebend of Windsor.

The first use the new keeper made of his seal committed to him, was for the preferment of a learned and painful preacher of the Gospel, who had divers years, under King Henry, suffered much for his holy profession, and good zeal in preaching against Papal corruptions, in Kent; well known to Archbishop Cranmer, who nominated him to Secretary Cecyl for Archbishop of Armagh, and gave this character of him, *Nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat,*
295 *nisi Jesum Christum.* The man I am speaking of was Richard Turner, B. D. whose patent was sealed December the 24th (two days after the Bishop had the great seal) for a prebend in the college of Windsor, which Simon Simons, lately deceased, had. This Turner had formerly been Fellow of Magdalen college, Oxon, and the chief occasion of the first Concordance in English; which was done by Marbeck, a singing-man of Windsor. Turner, about the latter end of King Henry, seeing him diligently transcribing the English Bible for his own private use, and well observing him to be an industrious and ingenious man, advised him to set about the framing of a Concordance, with directions to him therein: and he effected it. This Turner died in exile in the following reign.

A mint at York.

Two days after, *viz.* December 26, he sealed with the great seal the establishment of the King's mint within the city of York, and articles for the same: which patent was delivered to one Mountford, officer in the said mint, who was left behind, and appointed to tarry and receive the same. The establishment of which mint was subscribed and examined by Sir Walter Mildmay, and contained eleven articles. The officers were, George Gale, esq. under-treasurer of the mint; John Wind, comptroller thereof; Richard Lee, assay master, and John Monnes, provost of all the moneyers of the mint. Between the King and these was an indenture made, that they had undertaken before the King, to make certain monies after the standard, as in the same was mentioned.

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The merchants of the Stilyard put down.

The merchants of the Stilyard, called also the *merchants of the Haunse*, who were Almains, were put down this year, and their liberties seized into the King's hands; and afterwards remained in like condition with other stranger merchants. These were merchants here in Henry IIId's reign, and before, and brought in grain, cordage, and other naval provisions, flax, and hemp, linen cloth, wax, and steel; from whence the place in Dowgate ward, where they dwelt, was called *the Steelyard*. The Kings of England encouraged them at first, and gave them large privileges; and among others, of shipping out woollen cloth. They were permitted to have an alderman among them, who was their chief magistrate. The mayor and aldermen of the city granted them divers liberties; as, to lay up their corn in inns, and to sell it in their garners. And they in like manner, on their parts, were bound to several duties; as, among the rest, to repair Bishopsgate. But at length they brought in so much corn, that it beat down the price of it here, to the injury of our husbandmen in the country. And the English in time grew merchants themselves, and traded abroad in the commodities that these Almains did. Whence arose great envies among them, and many complaints were by the English merchants put up against them, till in the end they were suppressed. But to shew the last rencounters they met with, because it belongs to this time. "December "29, the aldermen and merchants of the Stilyard appeared "before the Council: and to them the information of the "merchant adventurers was delivered, and a copy given "in writing: to which they were to answer January 20. "And an order was sent to the King's Solicitor General, "Mr. Goodrick, Mr. Gosnold, and the Recorder of London, to consider and overlook the information of the merchant adventurers, and the answer of the merchants of "the Stilyard, and to weigh the cause with all circumspection and wisdom; and to signify their judgments thereupon; and to keep their conferences secret. On Fe- 296

Council-Book.

Anno 1551. "bruary 9, the case of these merchants was heard before "the Council, and referred to a further hearing. In the "mean time the Recorder of London, and other learned "men in the law, should view the charters and writings of "these merchants. February 24, the decree passed against "the merchants of the Stilyard, and is registered at large "in the Council-Book." In the King's Journal the decree is briefly set down; and the sum thereof was, that they were no sufficient corporation; that their number, names, and nations were unknown; that they coloured strangers' goods; that they shipped 44,000 cloths in a year; and all other strangers together shipped but 1100. A few days after, ambassadors came from Hamburgh and Lubeck on the behalf of these merchants. And March 2, they were committed for answer to the Lord Chancellor, the Secretaries, Sir Robert Bows, Sir John Baker, Judge Montague, and some others. And, (to bring all this matter together, though it fall in the years following,) "May 11, 1552, the "Lord Chancellor, Secretary Cecyl, Dr. Wotton, Sir John "Baker, Sir Robert Bows, Justice Mountague, the Re-"corder of London, Mr. Gosnold, and Mr. Goodrick, were "to reply to the ambassador of the Stede, touching the "sentence pronounced against the merchants of the Stil-"yard, and to devise what may be answered thereunto, so "as it may consist with equity, justice, and his Majesty's "honour. July 8, the ambassador of the Stedes was an-"swered and satisfied, saving in two things, *viz.* 1. For li-"cence to take upon the old custom such merchandises as "arrived here since their coming thither. And 2. For the "term of their grant to be prolonged. The same day or-"ders were sent to the customers of London, declaring "that the King licensed the Stedes to carry out a certain "number of cloths, and a certain quantity of lead, for their "old custom, in consideration that the premises were pro-"vided before the decree made touching the resuming of "the privileges into the King's hand." October 11, further proceedings against the merchants of the Stilyard was referred to the Exchequer. The next year, *viz.* April 23,

King's Journal.

Council-Book.

Warr. Book.

1553, the company and fellowship of the Haunses obtained a licence to bring out of their countries all kind of merchandises, being of their own commodities, as they have heretofore used to bring in, until the feast of the Nativity next, and the same to put to vend, paying the customs, as they have done before. And in May, the same year 1553, a warrant was issued to the customers of London, to receive of the merchants of the Stilyard, for all such wares as they shall bring into this realm between this and Christmas next, only such customs as they have been wont to pay. This favour was obtained to them, as it seems, by the solicitation of the messenger from the cities of the Stedes, Dr. Apollonius; who had his passport from hence May 13, to go safely beyond sea, carrying also the King's letters to the Stedes with him. Now to look back again.

Persons appointed to assist the L. Keeper.

In January the Master of the Rolls, Portman, Hales, and Rede, judges; Dr. William May, Leyson, Oliver, Bellasis, Cook, civilians, were commissionated to assist the Bishop of Ely in hearing matters of Chancery.

CHAP. VII.

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The King's chaplains. William Thomas his grants. Thomas Rose, Hugh Goodacre, eminent divines; preferred. The King's deliberations. Annuities for the chaplains. The bishopric of Bristow fleeced. Inquiry into the King's revenue. Commissions.

Six chaplains appointed for the King. King Edw. Journal.

IN this month of December, it was thought fit the King should retain six chaplains in ordinary; who should not only wait upon him, but be itineraries, and preach the Gospel all the nation over. Two of these six to be ever present at court, and four absent abroad in preaching. One year, two in Wales; two in Lancashire and Darby. The next year, two in the marches of Scotland; two in Yorkshire. The third year, two in Devonshire; two in Hampshire. The fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex; and two in Kent and Sussex. And these six to be, Bil, Harley, Pern,

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Grindal, Bradford, and the sixth dashed out in the Journal, but probably was Knox; for he was one of the preachers in the north, at Newcastle and elsewhere, and had a salary paid him out of the Exchequer. But the number was reduced to four, (Bradford also being left out,) who were styled, *The King's ordinary chaplains.*

Warr. Book.

Grants to Thomas, clerk of the Council.

William Thomas, who the year before had been admitted one of the clerks of the Council, (of whom before something was said, and more may be hereafter,) had his fortunes to make, and so crowded in, with others, upon the King for his liberality. He obtained a patent for life, the 27th of this December, of a toll of all cattle, merchandise, and other customs and subsidies, within the towns of Prestend, Beelth, and Elvel, in the marches of Wales; and of salt-fats, &c. in the county of Worcester; and an annuity of 40 marks of the fee-farm of the city of Hereford; to have for term of life, after the decease, surrender, &c. of William West. And (to lay these matters together) another patent, May 12, the next year, for an annuity of 40*l.* payable out of the Exchequer, *durante beneplacito.* On which day an annuity of 50 marks was granted to Bernard Hampton, another clerk of the Council, payable as the former. And to Armagel Wade, another clerk, 50*l.* yearly And the next year, (*viz.* 1553,) March 31, a custody was granted to the said William Thomas, esq. of two parts of the manor of Bradesly, and of the parsonage of Cicester in Glocestershire, and all other lands and tenements in Bardesly, Weyilswel, Barkley Herons in the said shire, and in Reding and Windsor in Berks, by the yearly value and rent of 19*l.* and not above: which lately were Anthony Bourchier's, but now in the King's 298 hand, by reason of the minority of Thomas Bourchier; and also the custody of the said Thomas during his minority.

Bernard Hampton.

Armagel Wade.

Other grants.

Warr. Book.

And besides all this, I find that in January 1550, he had a good pennyworth of the King, *viz.* the purchase of the manor of Lentwarden in Herefordshire, with divers other lands; among the rest, the capital messuage and demeans of the manor of Tedleston. In September this year, 1551, the King, by way of gift in fee-simple, granted him the manor of Garway, with the appurtenances, in the county of Hereford, and several other lands. In the which year Thomas was one of those that were appointed to go over in quality of ambassador to the French King, in a most splendid manner, with the Marquis of Northampton, about a match with that King's daughter, as was said before, when he was allowed forty shillings a day for his diet. He was also once employed by the Council in a secret journey; for the expences of which they made him allowance.

Rose, vicar of West Ham.

January 18, the seal was passed for a presentation to the vicarage of West Ham in Essex, to be enjoyed by Thomas Rose, that had endured much imprisonment and danger for his godly zeal towards religion; and was so well thought of by Archbishop Cranmer, that he was nominated also for Archbishop of Armagh, at the same time with Turner before mentioned.

Goodacre hath a plurality.

It was not long after, *viz.* March 19, that the seal was granted for a plurality to Hugh Goodacre, M. A. vicar of the parish of Shalfleet, in the Isle of Wight, and chaplain to Ponet bishop of Winchester, to hold two other benefices of any yearly value. This man I the rather mention, because of his great abilities in learning, and for being nominated with the two others mentioned above for the Irish archbishopric: which he obtained, and went over into Ireland to superintend that province, and died there.

Things by the King propounded to be deliberated:

The time of the year being now more proper for deliberation than action, in the month of February the young King had his thoughts, becoming mature years, bent upon the present juncture of affairs both abroad and at home; and put down with his own hand, in a memorial, divers things to be deliberated well upon. And, first, endeavours having been made by the King to set on foot a treaty of peace between the Emperor and the French King, which as yet took no place, the King made a note what was further to be done for the compassing of that matter.

About peace abroad.

About the Deputy of Ireland.

Sir James Croft was now deputy of Ireland. The King, for the better taking care of that kingdom, made it another point of his consideration, whether Croft should still re-

Anno 1551. main deputy, or some person of nobility to be placed in his room. And for the easier government of that people, whether it would not be convenient to have three councils there. And if so, then to consider who should be the persons of which those councils should consist, and the properest places where they should hold their residence.

About the Parliament. The Parliament now sitting, and many bills brought in, the King made another note for him to consult, what number of acts should be passed, and which.

About the Rolls. He set it down also, among his matters to be considered, who should succeed Beaumont in the office of the Rolls, 299 that he might be the better and more honestly served in that place. For as for Beaumont, he was now put in prison for forging a false deed, as from the Duke of Suffolk, deceased, to the Lady Powis. And other of his deceits were, not long after, discovered.

And the mint. Lastly, having set up a mint at York, he thought it fit to be considered, whether any pence of the Tower, or baser standard, should be there coined.

And in the back-side of this memorial, are these learned lawyers' names written by the Secretary, *viz.* Mr. Saunders, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Attorney, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Carrel; as fit persons, out of which a master of the Rolls might be chosen, to succeed Beaumont.

A proclamation against frays in churches. A proclamation came forth Feb. 20, prohibiting frays and fightings in cathedral churches, and bringing in horses and mules into the same: whereby may be gathered what indecencies and profanations were now practised in churches.

Annuities for the King's chaplains. There was an annuity by patent, dated March 13, of 40*l.* granted to Edmund Grindal, B. D. and chaplain to the King's Majesty, *durante beneplacito*, with a *Liberat dormant.* The same annuity, of the same date, was granted to William Bill, D. D. John Harley, B. D. and Andrew Perne, D. D. This I take out of the Lord Chancellor Goodrick's Ledger-Book, and the Warrant-Book: whether the two other chaplains, Bradford and Knox, mentioned in the King's Journal, were discharged, or their patents for their annuities were not yet finished, might be doubted. But it ap-

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John Knox.

pears, though Bradford and Knox were nominated for chaplains, yet the four former were only retained. And Knox had an annuity of 40*l.* for his good service in preaching in the north, till he should have some place in the church conferred on him. It was out of respect to him, I suppose, that one William Knox, perhaps his brother or relation, had in September 1552. a passport granted to him, to bring in or carry out of any haven in England, all such merchandises as were permitted by the law, to endure for one whole year. And to make the said traffick in any ship of the burden of an hundred tun.

Wm. Knox.

A manor got from the Bishop of Bristol. Council-Book. Warr.Book.

Sir George Norton prevailed with some of the Council to obtain the King's letters, which were dated in December 1550, to Bush, bishop of Bristol, to get from him the good manor of Leigh in Somersetshire, belonging to his bishopric: and in exchange South Petherton, the parsonage thereof, &c. was to be made over to him; to which the Bishop would not yield a great while: insomuch that a letter was sent from the Privy Council to him; marvelling that he had not granted the King's request for Sir George Norton, (the same, I suppose, that was high sheriff of Essex,) considering he was offered as considerable a recompence. And therefore the King eftsones required him not to deny it. This letter was dated January 7. Another letter was sent to him, that, setting apart all excuses, he will send up one to the Council to give order in his behalf, having with vain excuses, as the King was informed, abused his Highness. On February 8, the Bishop of Bristol appeared before the Council, touching his answer to be made to this request for this knight, who desired, upon reasonable recompence, to have the said manor. The Bishop then affirmed, that he had granted it in lease to his brother Bush, and upon this condition, that if his successor, the Bishop that hereafter should be, would dwell upon it himself, that then Bush 300 should suffer him to have it, taking of him recompence for the charges already bestowed upon it; which amounted to above 200*l.* besides the rent limited in the lease. And although the Council persuaded the Bishop as much as was

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possible, to tender the King's request in this cause, yet he would in no wise yield thereto, but departed, refusing to commune of the matter: but afterwards he was wrought upon to part with his lease. For March 8, the Council wrote to him, "that whereas he had accorded to exchange "the manor, so he might have it during his life, the King "desired him to assure the reversion of it, and not to make "any other lease of it than is already made." Which the Bishop did perform. And in September the King granted back to him the said manor, with the appurtenances, for his life, without account rendering, in consideration of his gift thereof to the King in fee-simple.

And granted to Sir George Norton.

And then immediately the King granted the reversion of the said manor of Leigh to Sir George Norton, after the Bishop's death, to be holden by the hundredth part of a knight's fee, with a grant to him and his heirs, to have like courts, franchises, and perquisites of court, as the said Bishop, or any before him, have had.

A commission for inquiry into the King's revenue.

The King's necessity, and the jealousy of the integrity of his officers that handled and received his revenues, made him think fit to issue out a commission in January to the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Bedford, Sir John Gates, Sir William Petre, and others; to call before them the heads and inferior ministers of the Court of Exchequer, the Court of the duchy of Lancaster, the Court of Wards and Liveries, the Court of Augmentations, the Court of First-fruits and Tenths; charging and commanding them to make before the said commissioners perfect and full declaration, in writing under their hands, of all the King's revenues, profits, and casualties within their several charges and offices, answerable in the said courts before the date of the said commission, and of all rents, resoluts, fees, annuities, pensions, and other deductions. And divers other commissions of this nature, for calling to account the King's officers employed in his revenues, or other benefits accruing to him by chantries, church-plate, jewels, bell-metal, &c. and for making certain sales of his lands, were issued out the ensuing year.

CHAP. VIII.

301

Dr. Redman dies. Some account of him. Commissions for making ecclesiastical laws. Bullinger's correspondence in England. Dr. Cox's letter to him. Conferences about the sacrament. The Duke of Somerset's end: brought about by Northumberland and some others. Somerset's friends and dependents. Edward Seimour restored.

STILL to take up a few more scattered matters, happening within the compass of this year, relating chiefly to religion and learning. Anno 1551.

In the month of November, Trinity college in Cambridge lost her learned master, and the church of Westminster her reverend dean, Dr. Redman; one of the solidest and best read divines in the land; and to whose judgment great deference was paid by all: and therefore he was appointed one of the divines to compose the Common Prayer Book. Alexander Nowel, or Noel, the master of Westminster school, (afterward dean of Paul's,) set forth a little book, containing the said Redman's last judgment of several points of religion in controversy; especially concerning the doctrine of the sacrament, according as he had received it from the mouth of that learned man, a little before his death. The book was drawn into articles: whereunto were subscribed the names of Dr. Yong, Mr. Cratford, Noel's fellow teacher in Westminster school, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright, Rich. Elithorn, Dr. Redman's servants. These, together with Alexander Noel, subscribed severally their names to every article, before Dr. Cox, then dean of Westminster. The copy was exhibited to certain of the King's Privy Council: and from them came to the printer's hand. And Fox hath published this tract in his Martyrology.

The death of Redman.

Noel's book of Redman's judgment. Preface to Noel's answer to Dorman.

The occasion of this declaration of Redman was thus, as Noel sets it down in his preface to his answer to Dorman: Dr. Redman, in respect of some of his friends, durst not in

Redman on his death-bed sends for Noel.

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his health utter the truth, as he knew in his conscience; but of his own accord, now in the last conclusion of his life, sent for Noel, when he was in his deathbed, and setting all worldly respects aside, as he said, confessed and acknowledged the abuses and errors of Popery, in his hearing, to the confirming of Noel's faith.

The Papists charge Noel with forgery.

But Dorman charged Noel for publishing the abovesaid book, as though he belied that reverend man: and that to honest, learned, and good men, then living, it was notoriously known he did so. But Noel, for his own vindication, appealed to the rest that were subscribers, as witnesses, as well as himself. Nay, and Dr. Yong was he that had first laid this charge upon Noel, though this very man subscribed his hand to as much of the treatise as he heard. And Noel
302 moreover protested before God, as he should answer it at the dreadful day, that Yong subscribed with him and others, as was printed in that little book of the conference between Dr. Redman and him. Yea, and further, that Dr. Yong of his own accord made offer to Dr. Cox, that he would exhibit to him in writing, subscribed with his own hand, a larger treatise concerning Dr. Redman's judgment, touching his allowing of the said articles: and also what his judgment was, touching other articles then in controversy. Noel added, that he thought himself for ever bounden to Dr. Redman, and did heartily thank God therefore. And that he was so little ashamed of any infamy that should grow unto him, and so little afraid of any lie by him uttered of Dr. Redman, that he did before God most heartily rejoice in that truth, which he heard of the said reverend man.

Redman, whether a Papist.

By this it may appear that Redman was reckoned a Papist, however he made a shift to live in the outward communion of the then established Church, and was named to be one of those that were to assist at the compiling of the Common Prayer. It is certain, he was accounted by Dorman, and the Papists in those times, as one of theirs: and so he was accounted by Protestants then also; and therefore his judgment was so much made use of by them:

that a man who in all his life before stood so much against the Protestant doctrine, particularly of justification by faith, and wrote against it, (whatever his inward thoughts of it were,) should in the last sands of his life revoke this, and disallow so many other Popish errors, which he was never known to disallow of before; but now he was going to die, the truth would out. It was not sufficient then to denominate a true Protestant, to live in the public communion of the Church, because so many Papists, it is plain, then did so: nor that he was of the number of those divines that were appointed to prepare a public office of prayers. For Bishop Day, another of them, was a strong Papist: and so was Robertson affected; and not much otherwise was Bishop Skip. In truth, in the composing of that Office, choice was made, not so much of men with respect to their opinions, as to their great learning and knowledge in the usages and practice of the ancient Church. And it may be a question, whether these, though nominated to this work, assisted at all in it, any more than Heth, bishop of Worcester, that was nominated, with others, for correcting of the Ordinal, yet would have no hand in it.

Made a sermon at Bucer's funeral.

Redman preached at the funeral of Martin Bucer, when the University buried him: wherein he bestowed much commendation on him: which was the more remarkable, because he had been no friend to Bucer's actions nor opinions, and there had been some discord between them in certain points. Whence Nicolas Car, in his letter to Cheke concerning Bucer's death, said, that by Redman's oration the glory and esteem of Bucer was augmented. "And so "much the more," said he, "we congratulate his virtue, that "he who sometime opposed Bucer's doings, and was thought "to dissent from him, yet could not find any matter with "which to reproach or charge him." And again, "That "he should be praised and extolled by such as were his an"cient friends, might seem to proceed from favour and "affection; but to be spoke well of by one whom he did "disagree from, and oppose, was a sign of some singular "excellency to have been in him." In truth, it redounded much to Redman's integrity, that though there had been some differences between them, yet he would not, now he was dead, say any thing to hurt his good name.

303 As to Redman's condition and studies, he was nearly related to the learned and sober prelate Tunstal, bishop of Durham; he studied both at Cambridge and Oxford for some years, and then went abroad, and tarried at Paris a long time: came back well learned in Latin and Greek, about the year 1531, and so improved by a diligent reading of Tully, that Cheke and Smith, both sufficiently known, being excited to imitate him, became afterwards the greatest scholars in England; and both preferred in the court. Afterwards he wholly addicted himself to the study of divinity; wherein he excelled, in the opinion of all. He was of an agreeable conversation, modest, kind, and good to all, even enemies; troublesome and hard to none. Such an artist in his sermons for the forming of a Christian life, as Ascham (one that then lived in the University) professed he hardly ever heard the like. In his opinions concerning the marriage of priests, and some other controversies, he declared himself to be of a right judgment, in the public schools. He differed from Protestants in the doctrine of justification by faith only; but without sharpness. And the great reason why he did so was, because he was afraid of a licentious life, which some would be apt to take up from it, if it should have been taught the common people. But what his last thoughts were of that point we saw before.

His condition. Ascham, Ep. ad Sturm. lib. i. Epist.

A commission for framing ecclesiastical laws. Warr. Book.

As yet the realm remained without a body of ecclesiastical laws, the old ones being not proper for a state that had renounced the Pope and his superstitions. Therefore a commission, dated Octob. 22, was directed to Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Nicolas bishop of London, and Richard Cox, almoner; Peter Martyr, Rowland Taylor of Hadley, Bartholomew Traheron, John Lucas, and John Gosnold; to consider of all the King's ecclesiastical laws, according to a statute of Parliament made 3 *reg. Edwardi VI.* Wherein thirty-two persons were appointed for the same purpose; which might be reduced to eight: and to gather and put in order in writing all such of them as they should think convenient, and other laws ecclesiastical, as they should think meet to be used within the realm: and to deliver the same unto the King, that they might be further considered, according to his statutes. There was also a commission dated in November, to the same purpose, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, Cocks, (alias Cox,) Peter Martyr, William May, Rowland Taylor, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick; to confer together concerning the ecclesiastical laws. This commission superseded that made in October; wherein three persons were nominated, which it was thought convenient afterwards to change, *viz.* the Bishop of London, Traheron, and Gosnold, for the Bishop of Ely, May, and Goodrick. These commissioners finished at last this great work; and the King lived not long enough to get it enacted: and so it fell, and that great labour frustrated.

Bullinger's advice concerning the reformation in England.

There was a great deference given by our reformers unto the learned in the church of Zurich, and letters of ecclesiastical moment passed between each. As namely, between Bullinger, the chief pastor there, and Dr. Richard Cox, dean of Westminster and chancellor of Oxford. That grave man did very earnestly admonish the said Cox of his duty in the Church and University, and adjure him to mind the charge intrusted with him: which Cox took in very good 304 part, and as coming from the Spirit of God, as he expressed it in his letter to him, writ in May this year; acknowledging, how slow and heavy men are commonly in God's business, and how diligent and studious in their own. Bullinger also gave him counsel about reforming of the Church; advising him to use his interest, that divine worship might not be defiled by Popish ceremonies and customs. To which advice, I conjecture, the employment of Cox, in correcting the divine Offices to be used in this Church, gave occasion. Cox replied, "that his mind and judgment was, that all "things in the Church ought to be pure, simple, and far re-"moved from the rudiments and pomps of this world. But "that his authority was but small; wishing the bishops "were of his mind and belief, and so leaving the care and "event of things to God, concluded."

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Sends certain books to Cox.

Bullinger also this year, by an agent hither, named Joannes ab Ulmis, sent the said Dr. Cox, together with a long and kind letter, two books, *viz.* Calvin's Treatise concerning the Concord between the Churches of Geneva and Zurick, in the matter of the Eucharist: and the other, his fifth Decad of Sermons. Of whose mind in the former matter, *viz.* that of the sacrament, Cox declared himself to be. Cox, and some others of Bullinger's friends, procured Ulmes a fellowship in St. John's college in Oxford.

And some scholars to Oxon.

Bullinger in these days sent over divers young men to Oxon, to study there: of whom Cox took particular care. His answer to Bullinger's letter remains yet in the great monastery at Zurich, bound together with many other choice letters of the same nature, in a volume. A transcript of which answer I here present the reader.

Clarissimo et doctissimo viro, Henrico Bullingero, domino, et fratri suo charissimo, Ric. Cox, Cancellarius Oxoniensis.

Ex archivis ecclesiæ Tigurin.

"Cum tanto beneficiorum cumulo me exornare atque "honestare digneris, Bullingere in Christo frater observantissime, ex devincto sane quam devinctissimum reddidisti. "Laconicas et jejunas meas literas, tantum non justo volumine, eoque doctissimo, et legenti mihi jucundissimo, compensasti. Pergis præterea duplici munere me beare, nimirum tractatu D. Calvini de Christianissima Concordia "inter vos in negotio Eucharistiæ, et V^{ta} Sermonum tuorum "Decade: quam nocte hesterna mihi porrexit Jo. ab Ulmes. "Pro utroque munere quantas possum maximas ago tibi "gratias. Utroque autem vehementer oblector. O! si det "aliquando clementiss. Deus, ut in cœnæ sacræ tractatione "ad eundem veritatis scopum universa Christi collimet Ecclesia: inter legendum libros tuos, maxime cum occurrerit quod me pie affecerit, non desinam tui memor esse, et "Deum precibus meis pulsare, ut te Ecclesiæ suæ diutissime "servet, et Spiritu suo Sancto magis ac magis imbuat.

"Cum autem me tam candide et Christiane te officio com-"monefacis, et ad munus obeundum tam serio extimulas, "et tam religiose adjuras, id ego interpretor, a Domini "Sanctiss. Spiritu factum esse, nequid in ipsius negotio "languide aut negligenter agamus. Sentio enim in dies, "quam simus in Domini rebus desides, et quam in nostris "studiosi et impigri.

"Porro, salubre et sanum tuum consilium in Ecclesiæ "Dei reformatione, eo libentius amplector, quod cum fide "mea, qua me benignus Dominus in hisce rebus donavit, 305 "per omnia consentis. Ego enim existimo in Ecclesia omnia "debere esse pura, simplicia, et ab hujus mundi elementis et "pompis, longe alienissima. Sed in hac nostra Ecclesia, ego "et eruditione et authoritate infirmus, quid possum præ-"stare? Tantum conari præsulibus nostris eandem mecum "mentem et fidem optare possum, et Domino interim nego-"tii sui curam et eventum committere. Dignissimus es, mi "Bullingere, in quem magna beneficia conferantur qui tam "grato animo accipis ea beneficia, quæ vel omnino nulla "sunt, vel certe levissima. Juvenes illi duo, qui apud nos "aliquanto degerunt, digni sunt sane ob pietatem, et ardens "in bonis literis studium, favore et benevolentia omni pio-"rum. Reliquos duos, qui nuper hac advéntarunt, et quos "tantopere mihi commendares, vel tua causa, quanta pos-"sumus humanitate tractabimus. Non omittam tuo nomine "salutem dicere magnis illis heroibus, et tui studiosis. Dom. "Jesus te diutissime servet incolumem, et Ecclesiæ suæ re-"staurandæ animum addat et vires. Vale. Westmonasterii, "5 Maii, 1551.

"Tui studiosissimus, et in Christo
"frater amantissimus,
"Ric. Cox."

Bullinger sends an address to Northumberland.

The aforesaid Ab Ulmis particularly applied himself to the Duke of Northumberland, desiring, as is probable, his favour towards those of the religion in those quarters of Switzerland, and presenting Bullinger's commendations to him. The Duke received him with all humanity, and pro-

Anno 1551. fessed much favour and kindness towards Bullinger: and for his sake promised that he would take into his patronage an ingenious young man of that country, named Alexander, whom Cecyl and Cheke had gotten into the King's school at Westminster. But the Duke's great and public employs made him neglect his promise for a great while, after he had made it to Ulmes, and others, almost half a score times: such a right courtier was Northumberland. For Cheke had addressed to the Duke in this behalf, whom he found very kind, and ready to do it. Bishop Hoper also, upon the motion of Bullinger, had solicited the Duke in Ulmes' and the youth's behalf. To whom the Duke very lovingly said, "that he would indeed be a friend to them." But now the next year, Ulmes being to return home, and nothing yet done, he wrote an earnest letter to Cecyl, who, he said, could do much with him, and was so much commended for his favour to such as were studious in good arts, and who before had of his own accord offered him all friendship, and most obligingly given him his hand; praying him now to acquaint the Duke, that he being ready to return to Bullinger, recommended Alexander once again to him, being very poor, and destitute of money: desiring nothing of his Grace, but that he would at this time, for Bullinger's sake, help him a little with his liberality. And how little soever it should be, they would receive it thankfully, if it were but twenty shillings a year; and that by his means he might have a scholar's place, if it might be. Such a courtier was this great nobleman, promising much, but performing little. But we may see hence, what great countenance and respect 306 that reverend learned man of Zurich had in the court of King Edward. But Ulmes being gone, a letter was procured from the King to St. John's college, to grant to this Alexander, under the name of Alexander Smutches, the fellowship there, which Ulmes had left.

Two private conferences concerning the Eucharist.

On two certain days, the one in November, and the other in December, two friendly conferences concerning the sacrament were instituted privately, for satisfaction in that great point of the *presence*, (the former was held in the house of Sir William Cecyl, secretary of state, the latter in the house of Sir Richard Morison,) between divers learned persons of the clergy and laity, of both persuasions. Mention whereof was made in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer more largely.

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P. 269.

And a third.

Arth. Oxon. p. 178.

We are told by a late author, of a third disputation now held. And that the houses where these disputations were managed, were the Earl of Bedford's at the Savoy, Sir William Cecyl's at Chanon-row, and Sir John Cheke's at the White Friars, lately dissolved. And that Fecknam, then a prisoner in the Tower, was borrowed thence by Sir Philip Hoby for this disputation, to satisfy Protestants, who then thought that their religion could not be denied. And that these disputations were afterwards prorogued, and carried into the country; and first into Worcestershire, to Pershore there; where Hoper, the bishop, disputed with Fecknam; and then to the cathedral church of Worcester. But upon what authority he saith all this, I know not.

The Duke of Somerset's end.

January 22, the Duke of Somerset, the King's uncle, after a former trouble, out of which he emerged, falling into new misfortunes, was beheaded on Tower-hill for felony; brought about by a faction, headed by the proud Duke of Northumberland: this being the King's second uncle he saw lose his head in his reign, in less than the space of three years.

It was then reported, that the chief assisters of Northumberland, in bringing this Duke to his end, were the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Wriothesly, and Sir Richard Southwel, great Papists, and the two former then under a cloud; and therefore very enemies to the Duke. These Northumberland useth, soon after bringeth again into the court: and who in such favour now with the King as they? By this means, it is said, many false rumours and forged letters were sent about, to the defamation of the Duke, and to make him criminal. And not long after they had done the Duke's business, Northumberland had no further need of them, and instead of getting them preferred, as was promised them, they were all kicked off again. Nay, it was said, the Lord Paget was the fourth person assisting in this tragedy:

Anno 1551. who, indeed if he were one of these conspirators, (as in truth he was a Papist,) he was guilty of a very base and perfidious act to his old master, who was a great friend to him, and confided much in his counsel, as we have heard. The account of this secret intrigue was related by one that lived in those days, even Ponet, bishop of Winchester, that succeeded Bishop Gardiner, when he was deprived, if he be indeed the author of that book, which is said to be published in the year 1556, entitled, *A short Treatise of Politic Power*, and reprinted 1642. His words about that matter are these: "When Wriothesly, Arundel, and Southwel "conspired with the ambitious and subtile Alcibiades of "England, the Earl of Warwick, after Duke of Northumberland, to pull the good Duke of Somerset, King Ed-
307 "ward's uncle and protector, out of his authority, and by "forging a great many false letters and lies, to make the "protector hated, brought to pass Warwick's purpose; "who then for a while but they three? Wriothesly, that "before was banished the court, is lodged, with his wife "and son, next to the King. Every man repaireth to "Wriothesly, honoureth Wriothesly, saith unto Wriothesly as the Assyrians did to Haman, &c. And all things "be done by his advice, and who but Wriothesly? Arundel is promised to be next to the King, groom of his "stole, and comptroller of his house at the least. Southwel, for his whisking and double diligence, must be a "great counsellor in any wise. But what was the end? "The Earl, as crafty as the best, seeing that his desires "should not take place, if these men might have what they
Wriothesly. "hoped for, so enhanceth the matter, that Wriothesly is "fain in the night to get him out of the court to his own "home: where, upon narrow examination, fearing lest he "should come to some open shameful end, poisoned himself, or pined away for thought.

Southwel. "Southwel is committed to the Fleet; where being examined, he confessed enough to be hanged for, and had "gone very near it, had not his examiners, upon hope of "his amendment, breaking out of his eye, but not out of

" his heart, obtained the Earl's favour. And at the Earl's " suit, Arundel escaped, otherwise had his head with the " axe been divided from his shoulders."

Arundel. Paget.

What became of Paget, we shall hear hereafter. Only let us take up here what the same author writes of this nobleman in the same place. " And now at length was " Paget, the master of *practices*, handled; that will have " one part in every pageant, if he may by praying or pay" ing put in his foot.—But what doth this master or proctor " of practices? Doth he not dissemble with the Earl of " Warwick, serveth his turn in all that his wits would serve? " But what at length becometh of our practising Paget? " He is committed to ward, his garter with shame pulled " from his leg, his robes from his back, his coat armour pull" ed down, spurned out of Windsor church, trod under foot, " and himself at length with great favour obtaineth, that he " might redeem the rest of his corporal pains with open con" fession at the bar of the Star-chamber on his knees, of his " bribery, extortion, dissimulation, ambition, robbing of the " King, and such like virtues; whereby he became noble." And in the end, what became of Northumberland himself, the great wheel of all, that procured the Duke of Somerset's death? He also perished, not long after, unpitied by all. And this was the sad conclusion of that once most illustrious Prince and flourishing Duke.

The disturbance on Tower-hill.

He was beheaded soon after eight of the clock in the morning; being brought to his execution the sooner, to prevent the concourse of the people who would be forward to see the last end of one so well beloved by them. And further, to provide against any disturbances, besides the King's guard attending there with their arms, there were near a thousand men, of the liberty of the Tower, present also with their halberds, from Ratcliff, Limehouse, Whitechapel, St. Catharine's, Stratford Bow, and from Hogston and Shoreditch. Both the Sheriffs were also present. But notwithstanding all this guard, a little before the Duke died, there happened on a sudden a rumbling noise, as though it had been guns shooting off, and great horses coming: which 308

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produced a very great terror among the people; of whom there was a greater conflux than ever had been observed before on such an occasion, notwithstanding it was so early. They that were on one side of Tower-hill, thought verily that those on the other were fighting with, and killing one another. Whereupon the people, guard and all, in their haste, fell down upon the ground, tumbling over one another with their halberds: this increased the consternation and belief in every body, that there was nothing but immediate death to be expected: which made all endeavour, might and main, to escape away. And in their flight, and crowding one upon another, near a hundred persons were thought to have fallen into the Tower ditch. And many others fell down into cellars, and other dangerous places. But all this fright was groundless. And after, when things were a little pacified, the Duke having concluded his speech, piously received the stroke of death. His body was put into a coffin, and carried back to the Tower, and buried on the north side of the choir of St. Peter's.

His royal nephew had made him great, as by many and lofty officers and honours, so by the large possessions he granted him: which it shall not perhaps be unacceptable to some, if I number up.

His possessions granted him by the King. Book of Sales.

Anno reg. 1. He had by patent, dated July 23, the town and manor of Marlebridg, [Marlborough perhaps,] late parcel of the possessions of Catharin, late Queen of England, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Wilts, Southampton, Dorset, Somerset, Oxon, Cornwall, Devon, Hereford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Warwick, Wigorn, and Middlesex: the value *non patet*. Commonly it is so set down in the Book of Sales, when the lands passed are of great value; it being, I suppose, thought fit to conceal the value of them, to avoid envy. But rent reserved. This grant was, "in consideration of services, and of the pro-" mise of Henry VIII."

Item, an. reg. 1. Another patent, dated July 28, granting him the manor of Mildenhal in Wilts, and divers other lands, tenements, and possessions in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Glocester, Devon, and Surrey. The value *non patet*, with rent reserved. And this, "in consideration of services, and exchange of possessions," which lately were belonging to the prebends of Newthorp and Wylton in the county of York; and other lands, tenements, and possessions in York, Somerset, Devon, and Wilts.

Item, an. reg. 1. *Erectio Ducis Somerset*, with the annual rent of 40*l.* going out of the manors of Crokehorn, Stokegorsey, and Wyke Fitzpain, in the county of Somerset, lately parcel of the possessions of Henry, late Marquis of Exeter. The test of the patent bore date February 26.

Item, an. reg. 1. A patent, dated July 9, granting him the prebend of Newthorp and Wylton in the county of York, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of York, Nottingham, Southampton, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Lincoln, Bucks, Somerset, and Glocester. The value *non patet*. "In consideration of the tithes of Ramesbury in the "county of Wilts, and for service."

Item, an. reg. 1. By a patent, dated July 16, the King granted him the lordship and manor of Plympton at Exminster, with the appurtenances, in the county of Devon, 309
lately parcel of the possessions of Henry Marquis of Exeter; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Devon and Middlesex. And this in consideration of his house, scite, and capital messuage of Shene, and other things in the county of Surrey. The value *non patet.*

Item, an. reg. 2 July 11. The King gave him the manor of Wymborn in the county of Dorset, parcel of the possessions of the duchy of Lancaster, and the manor of Stonden, North Stonden, and Okel, with the appurtenances, in the county of Wilts and Berks; and divers other lands, tenements, and possessions in the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Berks, Norfolk, Southampton, and Glocester. The yearly value 106*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* And this in full consideration both of the King's donative and royal benevolence.

Several of the late Duke's goods given to Gates.

But now all the Duke's treasures and lands whatsoever came to the crown, together with his personal estate. One part whereof was granted to John Earl of Bedford, *viz.*

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Covent Garden, and seven acres, called *Long Acre.* Sir John Gates, vice-chamberlain to the King, who now was grown into great favour, obtained another part. For the King gave him all the Duke's rich furs, and much of his costly household stuff: and withal, the goods and chattels which lately were Sir Ralph Vane's, attainted with the Duke. The bedding and furniture of Sion house, of which the King had constituted Sir Thomas Wroth keeper, were bestowed on the same Sir Thomas.

Revocation of several of the Duke's doings. Warr. Book.

Certain matters likewise of the late Duke's doing were now intended to be revoked by Parliament. Whereof one was, that whereas he, upon his marriage with Anne, his second wife, had by act of Parliament cut off the entail of all his estate from the issue of his first, by whom he had John Seimour, esq. that all might be settled upon the issue of the said Anne; this the said John petitioned might be revoked: and there was an act of Parliament intended to be made in February, at the petition of the said John Seimour, esq. eldest son of Edward, late Duke of Somerset, and Catharine Filol, one of the daughters and heirs of Sir William Filol, knt. deceased, for the repealing of a statute made at Westminster, 32 Hen. VIII. concerning the entailing of all such lands as the said Duke then was seized of, or thereafter should be, in fee-simple, fee-tail, or otherwise, unto the said Duke, and Lady Anne, his second wife, and to the heirs male of their bodies, lawfully begotten.

And a match being agreed upon, to be celebrated between Henry, the Duke's son, and Catharine, the Earl of Oxford's daughter, by certain indentures signed by the said Duke, and this Earl also, was laboured to be annulled. And a bill was in April prepared to be enacted by Parliament, that two indentures made between the said late Duke of Somerset, and the said Earl of Oxford, and certain other recognisances, shall be void, and of none effect, concerning the marriage between the Lord Henry, the said Duke's son, and Catharine, daughter to the said Earl.

His hatchments pulled down at Windsor.

And soon after his execution, his coat of arms in Windsor castle, set up there, as he was one of the Knights of the

Garter, was ordered to be pulled down: for the King in February wrote a letter to   declaring his Majesty's pleasure, that he should repair to Windsor immediately, and take down the hatchments of the late Duke of Somerset, attainted and put to execution, in sort as others had been in like cases.

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The Duke fell not alone; but several of his retainers and friends fell with him; and among the rest, his most faithful and trusty friend the Lord Paget: whom, though they could not find sufficient to put him to death, yet they sequestered from his place of chancellor of the duchy: which was committed to Sir John Gates, a creature of the Duke of Northumberland's. For in the Warrant-Book I find a letter dated in November, (that is, the next month after the taking up of the Duke,) to Mr. Vice-chamberlain, "that "where by sequestration of the Lord Paget, chancellor of "the duchy of Lancaster, there is stay made in that court "of processes, and other things, that of order and course "should pass out of the said court, under the privy seal "and great seal, that he should, during the King's plea"sure, keep the said privy seal and great seal: to the in"tent to seal such writs and commissions only, as by the or"der of the same court be accustomed to be granted, either "for making of sheriffs, or other justices, for the order of "the said lands: so he place the attorney, and others of the "said court, thereto: and in any wise to forbear sealing any "leases without special order and commandment from the "King's Majesty." This sequestration continued against the Lord Paget, and the office remained in Gates's hands till the next March 1552: when a commission was given out to him, authorizing him still to keep the great and privy seals of the duchy, and to despatch all things pertaining to that office; with authority to appoint a vice-chancellor. And soon after Paget surrendered his place, and was fined deeply in the Star-chamber.

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His friends fall with him.

Lord Paget sequestered from his office of chancellor of the duchy.

Sir Michael Stanhop was a relation and friend of the Duke's, and was attainted, and died about his business. He had a house well furnished at Bedington in Surrey. The

Sir Michael Stanhop.

goods and chattels remaining there, Thomas Lord Darcy obtained.

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Sir Ralph Vane.

Sir Ralph Vane, or Fane, was another that fell with the Duke, and was attainted and executed. He had the honour of Penshurst, the manor of Ensfield, and other manors and lands in Kent: all which were granted to Sir William Sidney, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber; together with the park of Penshurst, and all the chattels, lead, utensils, vessels, horses, mules, and other things upon the said manor.

Sir Miles Partridge.

Sir Miles Partridge was likewise another that sunk under the Duke's calamities. To him belonged the great messuage called Kew, in the parish of Mortlake in Surrey. This, with all the issues and profits of it, was granted to Sir Henry Gates, another gentleman of the privy chamber, brother to Sir John Gates. And to him also came the goods and chattels in or belonging to this house. Yet for the subsistence of his widow was somewhat granted. For I find a grant to the Lady Jane Partridge for life, of the manor of Kenne in Devon, of the yearly value of 57*l.* 12*s.* 0¾*d.* but this not before April 1553.

Sir Thomas Arundel.

Sir Thomas Arundel perished also with Somerset, a west country gentleman, though it were the next day (the jury being shut up all night) before he was found guilty. His mansion-house, which was the college or chantry of Slapton in Devon, was purchased of the King by John Peter of Exeter, gentleman; the father perhaps of Sir William Peter, secretary of state; together with the manor of Norton,
311 and other possessions belonging to the said Arundel. Other of his possessions, *viz.* Kingston in Somersetshire, and Chiselborn in Yorkshire, two manors, the Lord Clinton obtained.

Lands given to Sir Edw. Seimour.

As most of the Duke of Somerset's estate was dispersed away from his posterity and relations, so a small part of it was granted to Sir Edward Seimour his son, who had been almost a year after his father's attainder, neglected, and no provision made for him. But about the month of September 1552, the King gave him by patent divers lordships,

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part of his father's possessions; namely, Walter, Shedder, Stowey, with a park thereunto belonging, and the hundred of Winterstock in Somersetshire. And in February 1552, the said Sir Edward became ward to the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland's eldest son.

Care taken about Seimour, the Duke's son by a former venter.

The Duke's eldest son, named Edward [miswritten perhaps for John] Seimour also, by a former wife, *viz.* the Lady Catharin Filol, or Filocks, a daughter and heir of Sir William Filol, or Filocks, of Woodlands in Dorsetshire, had this right done him, wherein his father the Duke seemed to have done him wrong: that a patent was granted him, to be restored to as many of the lands as were his mother's, and sold away by the Duke without her consent; and that this should be made good to him out of the lands that the heirs begotten of the body of the Lady Anne, his second wife, should have. This was in conformity to an act made in the fifth and sixth years of this King, entitled, *For the limitation of the Duke of Somerset's lands.* And the letters patents directed to the Lord Marquis of Winchester, master of the wards, to take order with him, according to the said act, to have to the said John Seimour the lands in like state as he should have had the foresaid lands of his mother, in case no sale thereof had been made. Let me add, that March 25, 1553, a bill was ordered by the King and Council to be prepared, that it might be enacted by Parliament, for the restitution in blood of Edward Seimour, son and heir of the late Duke, attainted, and begotten of the body of Catharin Filol.

BOOK II.

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CHAP. IX.

The King's debts. More's Utopia in English. Epistles of Bucer's death; and other books printed now. Bible printed in folio. Bishop Ridley's ordination of Ministers. A Parliament. Private acts. A bill for apparel. Forms of wills and testaments.

The King's debts.

THE King's debts now ran high. He had taken up great sums from banks and persons beyond the seas; and was indebted this year to them the sum of 132,372*l.* 10*s.* of this sum, 1000*l.* was for a diamond. Besides debts within the realm, 108,807*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* The total sum amounted to 241,179*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* The particulars whereof may be seen in the paper following.

MS. penes me.

A brief of all the King's Majesty's debts, external and domestic, Feb. 1551, *anno* 6° *Edw. VI.*

Debts beyond the seas.

Payd,	£.	£.	s.	d.	
Impr. To the Schetz,	10700	48100	0	0	Payable 15 Nov. 1552.
To Lazarus Tucker,	10700				
To the Fuggars,	26700				
Payd,					
Item, To the Fuggars,	20000	21400	0	0	Payable 15 Feb. 1553.
The interest thereof,	1400				
Item, To the Schetz, And Rentleger,	....	14000			Payable 20 July, 1553.
Item, To the Fuggars,	24000	27352	13	4	Payable 15 Aug. 1553.
The interest thereof,	2360				
Item, To the Schetz for the Diamond,	....	1000			
Item, To Francis Van Hall,	....	17426	13	4	Payable ult. Aug. 1553.
Item, To John Rauntzow, knt.	....	3093	3	4	Payable 1 Sept. 1553.
Sum total		132372	10	0	

Debts within the realm.	£.	s.	d.
To the Household	28000	0	0
To the Chambre	20000	0	0
To the Wardrobe	6075	18	0
To the Stable	1000	0	0
To the Admiraltie	5000	0	0
To the Ordinaunce	3134	7	10
To the Surveyor of the Works	3200	0	0
To Calleys	15000	0	0
To Barwyck	6000	0	0
To the Revels	1000	0	0
To Silley and Alderney	1000	0	0
To Ireland	13128	6	8
To Winter, for his voyage to Ireland	471	4	6
To Barthilmewe Compagni, [the King's merchant]	4000	0	0
To Portesmouth, and the Isle of Wight	1000	0	0
To the Men of Armes	800	0	0
To the Lieutenant of the Tower	997	7	4
	108807	4	10
Summa totalis of the debts *externe*, and within the realm	241179	14	10

For the King was forced to take up great sums of money sometimes from the bank, or some of the rich merchants abroad in the Low Countries: as of the Schetz, that is, one Jasper Schetz and his brother: of the Fuggars, that is, one Anthony Fuggar and his nephews, Tucker, Rentleger, Van Hall, Rantzow, Rolinger, &c. And when the King borrowed money, he often made use of the credit of the city and citizens of London; sometimes the mayor and city, and sometimes some of the eminentest men therein for reputation and wealth, were bound for payment. And the King gave them his security. So I find a recognisance, anno 1551, to Jud, mayor, and the city, to discharge them, and their successors, and their goods, as well beyond the seas, as on this side, for the payment of certain sums of

The King took up money abroad upon the city's credit.

Warrant-Book.

money they stood bound for, to the Fuggars, for the King: and a grant, anno 1552, to the mayor and city of London, to discharge them, their heirs, and executors, of 103,707 florens Carols, money of Flanders, to Guolphango Rohlingero, to be paid to him at the payment of the gold mart, anno 1553. Of that Anthony Fuggar, the King this year bought a very fair jewel, containing four rubies, marvellously big, one orient and great diamond, and one great pearl. It cost the King 100,000 crowns.

Hoby sent in embassy to pay the King's debts.

But to be punctual in his payments, and keep up his credit abroad, the King, in the month of February, despatched Sir Philip Hoby to the Lady Regent in embassy, but indeed chiefly to pay his debts to the Fuggars, and to borrow more money. His instructions, in short, were:

314 "For the discharge of such debts as the King owed to Anthony Fuggar and his nephews beyond the seas.

His instructions. Galba, B. 12.

"The said Sir Philip shall, at his said ambassade to the "Lady Regent, take in good safety with him, at the hand "of the Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer of Eng-"land, the sum of an hundred fourscore one thousand, six "hundred fourscore and five crowns of the sun, as of his "Majesty's treasure; and shall see the same sum well and "duly, and as secretly as he may, conveyed to Antwerp. So "that he may have the sum there before the last day of this "month of February.

"And at his coming thither, shall, with all secrecy, un-"derstand the value current there of the said crowns of "the sun. And that done, he shall consider the sum that "his Majesty shall owe to the said Anthony Fuggar, at the "last of this month; which is, three hundred fourscore one "thousand four hundred and forty florens Carols Flemish; "every floren at twenty stivers.

"And for the remnant of the debt, to take and borrow "of the merchants ten thousand pounds Flemish, upon "the interest of seven in the hundred, for the space of six "months, or such reasonable interest as he may. And his "Majesty's bond, under the great seal of England, and the

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" bond of the city of London, being for the same, upon the " payment duly made, he shall instantly receive both the " said bonds.

" *Item*, The said Philip Hoby shall receive of William " Daunsel, the governor of the English nation there, or " such other as shall be appointed by the letters of the " above-named treasurer, such bullion and silver, as he hath " there until this time, for the King's Majesty's use: and " the same he shall cause safely to be brought into the " realm to his Majesty's use, upon a warrant of a licence " to also received by the said Sir Philip Hoby, " of Jasper Schetz, and his nephews, for the value of 3000 " marks weight. And to reserve to himself, for reward of " his charges and expences for this his ambassade, the sum " of 200*l*." After this business done at Antwerp, he was to repair to the Regent, then at Bruges, and shew the wrongs done by their ships to the English merchants, and other the King's subjects.

Taking up money of foreign merchants begun by K. Henry.

This practice of taking up money of foreign merchants was first begun by King Henry VIII. And these debts, that now lay heavy upon the King, were either such as his father left, or were contracted by his uncle the Duke of Somerset.

A grant to the town of Kingston.

February 20, *anno reg.* 6, an indenture was made between the King and the mayor and burgesses of the town of Kingston upon Hull: wherein the King granted them and their successors, the custody and government of the castle there, and two block-houses, standing upon Drypole side, in the county of York, for the more surety, preservation, and keeping of the said town, together with all the lands, gardens, and waste grounds, lying within the walls of the said castle and block-houses, with all the profits and commodities thereunto belonging, without any account making unto the King. And the said castle and block-houses to be from thenceforth exempt, and clearly distinct from the county of York, and reputed and taken as part, and parcel, and member of the town of Kingston. And in consideration hereof, the said mayor and burgesses cove-

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nanted with the King, at their proper cost and charges, to repair and maintain the said castle and block-houses, with the jetties, and all the banks, as often as need should re- 315 quire; and to keep safe, and maintain all such munitions, ordinances, and implements, as they should require of his Highness, for the defence of the said castle and block-houses. They were also empowered, from time to time, to make and ordain acts, ordinances, and constitutions, for the preservation and keeping of the said castle and block-houses: and that the mayor and burgesses should have the nomination, election, and assignment of such persons as should have the custody, rule, and charge of them, and the putting in and removing of every such person without interruption, let, or impediment. And the King gave them, towards the maintaining and supporting of the said, &c. 50*l.* to be taken of the rents and issues coming out of the manor of Myton in the said county of Kingston. The King also granted them the advowson, gift, and presentation, and right of patronage, of the hospital of the holy Trinity, near unto the town of Kingston. And they covenanted with the King, to put into the said hospital, as often as it should be vacant, an able and honest person to be master and incumbent there, and to provide and foresee, from time to time, that the issues and profits of the said hospital should be employed and bestowed upon the maintenance and relief of the poor people there, according to the foundation thereof: and for the performance of the premises, the mayor and bailiffs were bound unto the King in 200*l.* forfeiture.

Archbishop Cranmer's answer to Gardiner.

This year Cranmer vindicated his book of the sacrament, set forth the last year, and replied unto by Gardiner and Smith. This answer was called, *An Answer of the most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester*, against the true and godly doctrine of the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, &c.

This year also was translated and printed in English,

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Utopia printed in English.

Translated by Robynson.

that famous book of Utopia, writ in Latin by the ingenious Sir Thomas More; entitled, *A fruitful and pleasant Work of the best State of a Public Weal.* Printed by Abraham Vele, at the Lamb in Paul's Churchyard, in a small octavo. The translator's name was Raphe Robynson, citizen and goldsmith of London, as he styles himself; done at the request of George Tadlowe, citizen and haberdasher of London. Not, as I suppose, that Robynson followed the occupation of a goldsmith, or was of any other occupation in the city, whereby he got his livelihood; for he was a scholar of Corpus Christi college, Oxon. But it was usual in those times for gentlemen, that were no traders or artificers, to take their freedoms of some of the companies, and held it as a matter of credit and reputation to be freemen of London. And the companies would sometimes give the freedom of their societies to certain persons to whom they intended to shew a respect. This book the translator dedicated to Secretary Cecyl. It is replenished with excellent reading, and pleasantly carried on by way of dialogue, feigned to be between the author and a great traveller and philosopher at Bruges, while More was ambassador there from the King of England.

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The author, Sir Thomas More, bred up in Archbishop Morton's family.

By a passage in the book, it appears the author, Sir Thomas More, was bred from a child in the family of a very eminent statesman, Thomas Morton, cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England. For so he writes, "The pleasant remembrance of that cardinal, "[Moreton,] in whose house I was bred up of a child." In this family, we may conclude, More gained much advantage in learning, and wisdom, and state policy. For that great man thus he describes: "He was a man of mean "stature, and thorough stricken in age, yet bare his body "upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence "as was pleasant to behold: gentle in communication, yet "earnest and sage. He had great delight many times with "rough speech to his suitors, to prove (but without harm) "what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every "man. In which, as in a virtue much agreeing with his

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"nature, so therewith were not joined impudency, he took "great delectation. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, "and pithy: in the law he had profound knowledge: in "wit he was incomparable: and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature "singular, he by learning and use had made perfect: the "King put much trust in his counsel: the weal public "also in a manner leaned unto him. In the chief of his "youth, he was taken from school into the court; and "passed all his time in troubles and business, and was continually troubled and tossed with misfortunes and adversities. And so by great and many dangers, he learned "the experience of the world." In the family of so complete a man was the author of the Utopia bred up.

Cheke's epistle of Bucer's death.

Besides the Utopia, these books also were printed this year: an account of the much lamented death of Martin Bucer, in certain epistles; *viz.* an epistle of Sir John Cheke to Peter Martyr, of the said Bucer's death, dated March 10; and another epistle of the same person to Walter Haddon, of the same subject; and a third epistle wrote by Car to Cheke, of the same reverend person's death, dated from Trinity college in Cambridge, the ides of March: also epigrams upon the death of the same, in quarto.

Bucer's book, De Regno Christi.

The said Bucer presented his book in manuscript, *De Regno Christi*, to King Edward, as it seems, about new-year's-tide, as his new-year's-gift; himself being then sick, and dying the next month. In his epistle there to the said King, he thankfully acknowledged his liberality to him and Fagius, his fellow, lately dead; for receiving them, being exiles, placing them in the University of Cambridge, and assigning them so liberal salaries, and ordering the commencement of the same, some months before either of them could enter upon their function in the said University, by reason of both their sicknesses: he acknowledged also the King's beneficence to him, in taking pity of his indisposition, and granting him 20*l.* for a stove, for the relieving of his poor body, broken with age and sickness. The book itself treated of the *kingdom of Christ;*

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what it ought to be in this world; what things it peculiarly claimed; and what things it had common with worldly kingdoms; and how salutary, or rather necessary it was, to all orders of men, to have it established among us; lastly, by what ways it may and ought to be restored by kings, princes, and magistrates. This book, indeed, was not printed till the year 1557, when Bucer's children procured the press at Basil to be employed in it, dedicating it to 317 Christian, King of Denmark. Therein they gave the reason why their father dedicated the book to King Edward; namely, that that King had an ardent love to the glory of Christ, and the welfare of his realms; and endeavouring to excel others in all kinds of virtue, he sent for men endued with learning and piety to come into England, offering them ample rewards. Among whom, Bucer, their father, was none of the least. For him the King made much of, above the rest, received him into harbour, and took care he should teach divinity in one of his Universities, and preach Christ's gospel. Therefore the King's love of religion, and his subjects, which appeared most singularly in that Prince, and the study of good arts, to which he was wholly devoted; these excellent qualities, and his great good-will towards men of learning and piety, moved their father, that he intended, under his name, to publish his book.

Castalio's Bible.

Another book came forth, published by another learned foreigner, and dedicated to the King. It was Sebastian Castalio's Latin Bible, with his annotations. Printed at Basil, in folio.

Firmicus's Astronomicωn.

And yet another printed there, with an epistle prefatory to the said King, being Julius Firmicus's *Astronomicωn*, in eight books.

Liturgia Sacra Peregrinorum.

At London also was printed, *Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia Peregrinorum profugorum propter Evangelium Christi, Argentinæ. Cum Apologia Valerandi Pollani.* Octavo.

A defence o

baptizing children.

Lastly, *A most sure and strong Defence of the Baptizing of Children, against the pestiferous sect of the Anabaptists. Set forth by that famous Clerk, Henry Bullinger,* *and now translated out of Latin into English, by John Veron Senonoys. Imprinted at Worcester by John Oswen,* 1551.

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The Bible printed.

The holy Bible, of Tho. Matthews's translation, with all the prologues and annotations upon every chapter, (which had been once complained of, by the Popish Bishops, to King Henry, and so were left out in a former edition,) was now printed in folio, for Tho. Petite.

Erasmus's Paraphrase.

Erasmus's Paraphrase on the four Gospels, and the Acts, now came forth in a second edition, printed by Edw. Whitchurch.

Two foreign printers privileged.

Let me add here, now we are upon the mention of books printed, that in April this year, two foreigners, printers, the one an Italian, the other a Dutchman, had privileges granted them to print certain books, which, it seems, our English printers had not skill or learning enough to do. For one Laurence Torrentinus, printer to the Duke of Florence, had a privilege here, for seven years, to print the digests and pandects of the civil law of the Romans. And that none should print the same, during the said time, without his licence. And John Gipkin, a Dutchman, lately made free, and now bookseller of London, for a privilege for ten years to print, or cause to be printed, the Herbal, compiled by William Turner, doctor in physic: which Herbal is the groundwork of Gerard's Herbal.

Countess of Pembroke's burial.

On the 28th of February was buried the noble lady Countess of Pembroke, and sister to the late Queen Catharin. She died at Bernard's castle, and was carried unto St. Paul's in this order. First there went an hundred poor men and women, in mantle frieze gowns: next followed the heralds, and then the corpse: about which were eight bannerols of arms: then came the mourners, lords, knights, and gentlemen: after them, the ladies and gentlewomen
318 mourners, to the number of two hundred in all: next, came in coats two hundred of her own and others servants. She was interred by the tomb of the Duke of Lancaster: and after, her banners were set up over her, and her arms set on divers pillars.

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Lady Elizabeth comes to court.

March 17, the Lady Elizabeth, the King's sister, rode through London unto St. James's, the King's palace, with a great company of lords, knights, and gentlemen; and after her a great number of ladies and gentlewomen on horseback, about two hundred. On the 19th, she came from St. James's through the park to the court; the way from the park gate unto the court spread with fine sand. She was attended with a very honourable confluence of noble and worshipful persons of both sexes, and received with much ceremony at the court gate.

Ordinations of Bishop Ridley.

These ordinations passed this year, under Bishop Ridley's hands, zealous to furnish his diocese with faithful, honest, and evangelical pastors, which, in these early times of the reformation, were very scarce. His first ordination was celebrated May 19, when seven deacons were ordained, and five priests: their names, for brevity, we omit. The next ordination was August 2, at Fulham, when only one was ordained, and he deacon, and a Frenchman, named John Veroneus, Senonens. Dioc. in Gallia: *i. e.* of Sens in Champaign. Again, August 24, in his chapel at Fulham, were ordained one deacon and three priests; whereof the foresaid Frenchman was one. The said Veron was minister of Ludgate, and wrote divers tracts in English, and was taken up for religion in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. Again, Sept. 29, were ordained seven deacons: whereof one named William Clark, M. A. of Littlebury, was then of the age of fifty-seven; and another was Robert Crowley, who was after an exile, and under Queen Elizabeth minister of Cripplegate, and wrote some things. In the Bishop's register he is styled, "stationer of the parish of St. "Andrew, Holborn." Again, October 4, were ordained three deacons; whereof one was Christopher Dixe, of St. Mary Somerset, London, tailor, and one priest. Again, November 2, were ordained two priests and two deacons: of the priests, Crowley was one. Lastly, March 6, in the oratory of Robert bishop of St. David's house, in Gracechurch-street, at the sign of the Cross-keys, the said bishop ordained one priest, named Alexander Leighton, of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, by allowance and order of the Bishop of London.

Anno 1551.

A sessions of Parliament.

The Parliament holden by prorogation began to sit January 23, and continued sitting till April 15, following; this being the fourth session: where, besides many public acts printed, were these private acts made:

Private acts.

An act for assuring lands to the city of London.

An act touching the marriage of the Marquis of Northampton. [Whereby his marriage was declared lawful, as by the law of God indeed it was, any law or canon ecclesiastical to the contrary notwithstanding.] This bill was brought in by order of Council, *viz.* " That it be enacted, " for legitimating, as well the marriage of the said Marquis, " and Elizabeth his wife, [his former wife yet living, from " whom he was divorced,] as the children born between " them." Dated in February.

An act for the foundation of a grammar-school at Pockington.

An act for frustrating assurances to the Duke of Somerset, made by the Earl of Oxford: [of which somewhat was said before.]

319 An act for St. Peter's church in Westminster.

An act for the limitation of the Duke of Somerset's lands.

The act for treason.

One of the public acts made in this Parliament was for the punishment of divers treasons. In which act, it was provided favourably for the subject: as, that there should be two witnesses in case of treason; and that the witnesses and the party arraigned should be brought face to face; and that treason should not be adjudged by circumstances, but plain evidence. This bill, before it passed, was learnedly argued by the lawyers in the house, and especially Sir Nicolas Hare and Mr. Stamford; the former whereof was one of the judges, and the other the Queen's sergeant at the trial of Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, who was arraigned in Queen Mary's reign to have been in Wyat's treason. This Throgmorton was in this Parliament, and heard this argument debated by them: which he made use of afterwards at his said trial. He then said, there was a maxim and principle in the law, which ought not to be violated, "that "no penal statute may, ought, or should be construed, ex-"pounded, extended, or wrested otherwise than the simple "words and nude letters of the same statute doth warrant "and allow." And he told Serjeant Stamford, that among divers good and notable reasons, then by him in that Parliament declared, he noted this one, why the said maxim ought to be inviolable; which was, "that considering the "private affections, many times both of princes and minis-"ters, within this realm, for that they were men, and "would and could err, it would be no security, but very "dangerous to the subject, to refer the construction and "extending of penal statutes to any judge's equity, as he "termed it; which might either by fear of the higher "powers be seduced, or by ignorance and folly abused." By which means Throgmorton escaped.

A bill of apparel.

There was a bill prepared (as it seems, this sessions of Parliament) for the restraining of the excess of apparel, and for directing people's habits according to their qualities; though it took not effect. And the King's own royal pen drew it up, after the example of his noble father, who used to draw up many bills to be enacted in Parliament, and to supervise, correct, and interline many more. And because our design is to preserve as many of the writings of this young and blessed Prince as we can, I shall transcribe it from the original, and present it here.

The rough draught of a bill for the restraining and directing of apparel, drawn up for the Parliament by the King himself.

E MSS. Guil. Petyt, Armig.

No man, but of the blood royal, to wear cloth of gold, of purple colour, or any other purple.

Under a duke, no man to wear cloth of gold tinsel.

Under an earl, not to wear sables, or black jennets, or cloth of silver.

Under a baron, no man to wear cloth of gold, or cloth of silver, or luzarnes furrs, or any embroidery of gold and silver, or damasken work, or goldsmiths work.

Under the degree of a knight of the Garter, no man to wear blue or crimson velvet, nor any cloth made out of this realm, nor embroidered of silk.

320 No man under the degree of a knight, (except gentlemen that may dispend 500 pounds lands, or gentlemen of the King's chamber,) to wear any velvet, or furr of maternes or buge, or any furrs growing out of the realm.

No man to wear satin or damask, except he may spend 100 pounds during life, or else be a gentleman, and the King's sworn servant. Nor yet to wear any ostrige feathers, nor furrs of conies.

No man that is not worth 200 pounds, or else 20 pounds in living certain, to wear any kind of chamblet.

No serving man, under the degree of a gentleman, to wear any furr, save lambs furr; no taffata, nor sarcenet in his hose, nor no velat in his cap, scabberd, girdle, &c. nor any cloth above 10 shillings the yard.

No man under the degree of a knight, to wear any gilt thing.

No man under the degree of a gentleman, to wear any silk points.

No husbandman, shepherd, &c. to wear any cloth above shillings the yard.

Their wives may wear that their husbands do: and so may their sons and daughters, being under their tuition.

The forfeiture is, to all that be gentlemen, the loss of apparel, and the double value thereof. To all others, it is the loss of the apparel, and sitting five days in the stocks.

In the court, the Usshar may seize the apparel. And if he commence not his action within fifteen days, then the Lord Chamberlain. Likewise on the Queen's side, her Usshar and Chamberlain.

Any man to seize apparel worn out of the court.

Proviso, That all maiors, bailiffs, &c. and all others that have accustomed one certain apparel of their office or vocation, to wear the same still.

Proviso for ambassadors, That their men, coming from beyond sea, wear their masters livery that they wear beyond sea, till their masters give them new. Likewise for all such as be in service beyond sea.

Proviso for all to whom the King giveth any livery or apparel.

Proviso for players.

Provided, That upon coming of great embassades, or foreign princes, the Lord Great Master for the household, the Lord Chamberlain for the chamber, may give license, and assign unto those that be under their charge in the King's service, whether they be ordinary, or else extraordinary, to wear for the time of that present occasion, such array as to them shall seem convenient.

The value of their lands or goods to be tryed by the valuation of his subsidy going last before, if there were any within three years before: otherwise to be tryed by their oaths.

No husbandman to wear any dyed cloth, nor leather tanned or dressed out of the realm.

No man under the degree of a baron, to wear any gold that weigheth not one whole ounce.

They may wear in the trapping of their horse none other than they may wear in their own apparel.

The act to take place after Whitsuntide.

No man to wear any chain that weigheth less than ten ounces of gold.

For the close of this year, I cannot but observe, how wills 321 and testaments now ran, and how different the wording of a will in King Edward's days was from one drawn up in the reign of King Henry his father: whereby we may gather, how at this time of day, by the knowledge of the gospel, superstition generally wore off in the nation. Now testaments ran in this tenor: "I commend my soul to God "my Maker, faithfully believing to be saved by the shedding of Christ's blood, and my body to be buried in order "as a Christian." Which words were in the will of John Norton of Dedford, in the fifth year of King Edward, 1551. And in the same year this was part of the last will of John

Forms of wills and testaments. Cranm. Reg.

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

Byshop, of Skraptoft in the county of Leicester: "First, "I give and bequeath myself to Almighty God, beseeching "him to accept it, of his mercy. Second, my body to be "buried in the parish church of Skraptoft aforesaid: and "for my mortuary, according to the custom of the realm." Whereas before, I meet with wills thus worded. In the year 1536, Richard Bockland, burgess of the town of Ross, made this will: "First, I bequeath my soul to Almighty "God, to his mother Mary, and to All Hallows in heaven, "and my body to be buried in the churchyard of Ross. "*Item*, I bequeath to the cathedral church of Hereford, "xii*d*. I bequeath to the high aultar of Ross, xii*d*." In the year 1538, John Holder, of the parish of Churcham, made this will: "First, I give and bequeath my soul to Almighty "God, to our blessed Lady, and to all his saints. I also "bequeath to the high aultar of Churcham for obiit-tith, "xii*d*. *Item*, I will and ordain, that a priest sing for the "health of my soul, and my father's soul, and all Christian "souls, in Churcham, for the space of a quarter of a year." John Myllenchop, of the parish of Ey, in Hereford diocese, made these bequests: "First, I bequeath my soul unto "Almighty God, and to our Lady his mother, and to all "the celestial company of heaven; and my body to be buried in the churchyard of St. Pyturs, [Peter's,] of Ey. "*Item*, I bequeath to the mother church of Hereford, iiii *d*. "*Item*, to the high aultar of the church of Ey, two tapers "of the weight of two pound of wax, there to bren before "the blessed sacrament. *Item*, to Sir Hugh Holder, my "ghostly father, to pray for my soul, and all Christen "souls, iii*s*. and iiii*d*.

CHAP. X.

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France and Cesar apply to the King. The King congratulates the Elector of Saxony. Gresham the King's agent in Antwerp. The French successes against the Emperor. The English incline to the Emperor. Jealousies of France. Steuklie's intelligence thence. Minutes of Council for breaking with France. Fitz-Patric sent for home. Steukley committed. French commission for sea affairs.

Anno 1552.

The King's carriage with respect to France and the Emperor.

LET us now look abroad. This year 1552 (into which we are entering) was an ill year for the Emperor; who had at once upon him the Turk, the German Princes and States, and the French King: and war waxing very warm between him and the Emperor, applications were made by both princes to the King. It was about the close of the last year, that the French King had made a league, offensive and defensive, with divers of the princes of Germany; as Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Duke of Mecklenburgh, the Marquis Albert, or Albright, of Brandenburgh, the Duke of Anhalt, Duke Augustus, Count Mansfield, and other princes. And both the French King and the Princes, in the beginning of this year, invited the King into the league. But he, at the audience he gave the French ambassador, put off entering into a war, by a speech he made to the ambassador, which he had penned before. And he sent Sir Philip Hoby and Sir John Mason to the said French ambassador, to declare at more length the King's mind in that matter. Nor would the King grant the French King's request delivered by his ambassador in April, to carry the provisions for his army by sea to Calais, and so to Ard, for conveniency and safety, that is, through the King's territories; because it was against his league with the Emperor. And on the other hand, upon the motion of De Corrier, the Lady Regent's ambassador, the King readily renewed a promise he had made before, that the Emperor's ships might take harbour in his havens, to be sheltered, upon occasion, from the French.

The French King's message.

Anno 1552.

The King carries it fair to both.

For the King now kept himself unconcerned from the quarrels of each Prince, and carried a fair face to both. It was observable, that when the French ambassador, Seigneur de Sulpice, had in June advertised the King of his master's success in the said month, in winning the castle of Robdemac and mount St. Anne, and taking the strong town of Du Villers, wherein was much booty and ammunition; the King sent a letter of gratulation to that King, for his prosperous successes in the present wars; and another to the French Queen, for the said successes, advertised by her 323 letters. And when in the said month, by the Emperor's letters, the King had intelligence of an invasion into Champaign, insomuch that the Dauphin had been like to have been taken; and the Queen being in those parts, was glad to send away some of her stuff to Paris for safety; and the town of Guise was taken, and the country spoiled by the Flemings: the King in like manner sent letters of congratulation to the said Emperor by Seigneur de Corrier, ambassador in England, now going home; and likewise other letters gratulatory to the Lady Regent of Flanders for the same.

The Emperor's demands.

The Emperor being put to great straits, and the French having now invaded Luxemburg, in July he required the King's assistance of five thousand footmen, or 700 crowns a day, during four months, according to a treaty made with the King's father at Dort, 1542. But the King's principle still was to keep himself from engaging in war as much as he could: which made him decline granting this to the Emperor, by urging, that his father's treaties did not bind him; that he had sworn amity with the French, which he could not break; and that the Emperor had refused to aid him, when in the year 1549 the French foraged in the low country of Calais. But he offered himself, if the Emperor pleased, to be a mediator for a peace between both. Yet it was not long after, namely, in the month of September, the King disliking the French's successes, and growing more and more in jealousies of that King, changed his mind, and was disposed to fall in with the Emperor against France, could he but find out a fair and just way to do it: which we shall see in the process of our story.

Anno 1552.

The King congratulates the Duke of Saxony's liberty.

John Frederic, the good Duke of Saxony, who had been the Emperor's prisoner, was in July discharged: who sent a letter to the King the same month, signifying his liberty: which, on the 27th of July, the King answered with all humanity, congratulating him heartily his delivery out of prison. To him, in September, the King wrote another letter in Latin: the import whereof seemed to be, that which about this time was in chief consultation at the court, *viz.* to strengthen the King's interest, in contracting a friendship with the Germans, such especially as were Protestants.

Gressham sent to Antwerp.

Thomas Gressham, esq. a merchant in London, (famous to posterity for the Royal Exchange, which he was the builder of, and for the college and lectures of the arts and sciences, in the same city, which he founded,) had been sent over to Antwerp the latter end of the last year, about February or March, to transact matters of money between the merchants there and the King. For the King was fain to make that shift to uphold himself and his affairs, by borrowing great sums of money at high interest. Some whereof the King paid by his said agent at the day, and for some he desired forbearance. April 31, a debt of 14,000*l.* was paid to the Fuggars: and again, in May, Gressham was sent over to make a payment of 20,000*l.* to the said Fuggars, who required to have this paid; and then they would be willing to stay longer for the rest that remained. At this voyage the King, to gratify his agent, (unless, perhaps, it were for the King's own use,) granted him a licence to carry over fifty kintals of copper in bullion and plate, within the space of one year. In August, certain other payments (in all 56,000*l.*) became due to those rich bankers Anthony Fuggar, and his nephews and partners, and Jasper Schetz, and his. Gressham was sent again, with a commission to 324 take up monies of others for those payments, but could not. So now he was ordered to deal with them for forbearance, for some time longer. Of which counsel, the Duke of Northumberland, and the Earl of Pembroke, as well as others

Anno 1552.

of the Lords, were the chief authors. But these monies having been taken up for the King by Gressham's agency, and in part by his credit, he being an exact merchant, was exceeding uneasy at this failing of payment, as looking upon it as a great reflection, both upon the King and upon himself too. The King owed in the whole at Antwerp at this time an hundred and eight thousand pounds.

His memorial.

But to understand more particularly this affair, I shall here present the memorial given to Gressham in this journey:

"That whereas the said Thomas had commission of late "to put over certain debts due by the King's Majesty, the "15th and 20th of August, that is to say, 48,000*l.* Flemish to "the Fulkers, and 12,000*l.* to the Schetz: wherein although "he travailed, he could not hitherto accomplish the purpose "of his commission: therefore his Majesty's pleasure is, that "the said Thomas shall return over the seas thither again, "and see what more good he can therein do, for the performance of his former commission, and follow the same, "to the most advantage of his Majesty. And if he can so "do, then shall he repair to the Fulkers, or their agents in "Antwerp, and delivering to them such letters as be there "prepared, shall declare unto them how desirous the King's "Majesty would be, to have now, at their day, made ready "payment of the money due; but that in this troublesome "time of the world, it behoveth his Majesty so to consider "his estate, that, for divers great and weighty considerations, his Majesty otherwise is moved to employ the same "money which was prepared for this payment. And therefore his Majesty doubteth not, but the said Fulkers will "be content to think this consideration reasonable; and not "forget the benefits and good bargains they had had of "the King's Majesty, with good and true payments at all "times made: and assure themselves, that were it not for "weighty causes, his Majesty would not at this time defer "any such payment: whereof his Majesty the rather "hopeth of their contentation, for that Antonio Fulker "himself, being herein conferred with by his Majesty's "ambassador with the Emperor, seemed ready to gratify "his Majesty, not only in this such a matter, but also a "greater." These humble and gentle words was the King fain to use to his creditors, to incline them to defer his payments, and to keep up his credit with them.

Gressham writes to Northumberland.

Gressham, August 21, which was the day after his arrival at Antwerp, wrote to the Duke of Northumberland; wishing that God would give him such success, that the King's honour and credit might not be touched. For that it would be no small grief to him, that he being agent, merchant strangers should be forced to forbear their monies against their wills: advising earnestly, that such a matter should for the time to come be well foreseen, or else in the end the discredit would lie upon his neck, if it should go otherwise than well with the Duke and the Earl of Pembroke. But he doubted not, if God gave them both their lives, they would foresee in time. He spake of two things, wherein he feared the King and Council had disobliged these merchants: and so they might be the more difficultly brought 325 to deal with the King for the future. The one was, that when he, the said Gressham, had lately offered a fine jewel at 8000*l.* to sell, which if the King would have bought, they should have lent him 52,000*l.* for a year, the Lord Wiltshire, Lord Darcy, Lord Warden, Sir John Gates, and Secretary Cecyl, of the Privy Council, undervalued the jewel, as though it were worth nothing. And at another time he offered, in the name of the Fuggars, a bargain of fustians to the King of 5000*l.* for the prolongation of 25,000*l.* which also did not like them. But the Council would have these bankers continue their money for another year, without taking any merchandise or jewels. This, as Gressham said, did abash him, considering how things went heretofore, when the King's father, who first began to take up money upon interest, did use to take his fee-penny in merchandise, either jewels, copper, gunpowder, or fustians: and that so it was accustomed ever since, to take wares, when the King made any prolongation, until the charge of this business, as he said, was committed to him.

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And therefore, he added, if there were not some other ways taken for the payment of the King's debts, but to force men from time to time to prolong them, the end thereof, he said, would neither be honourable nor profitable for the King. In consideration whereof, if there were no other ways taken henceforth, he beseeched that he might be discharged of his office of agentship: for otherwise, he saw in the end he should receive shame and discredit thereby, to his utter undoing for ever: which yet, he added, would be the smallest matter, if his Majesty's credit should not be spotted thereby; specially in a strange country; where, at that present, his credit, he said, was better than the Emperor's. For the Emperor had offered 16 per cent. and yet no money could be gotten.

Gressham's commission.

Gressham was also, in this mission, to deal with the Fuggars for prolongation of 43,000*l.* and on that condition he was to signify that the King was content to take 6000*l.* in fustians: and with the Schetz to prolong 10,000*l.* that would grow due to them November 20 next.

His device to bring the King out of debt.

And being sensible of the King's growing debts, and the great inconveniences that at last would follow, he projected, that in case this agency of his for the prolongation of these payments succeeded, to find out a way to bring the King wholly out of debt in two years, in case the King and Council would assign him 1200*l.* or 1300*l.* a week, to be secretly received at one man's hand, that so it might be kept secret. And he would so use that matter in that town of Antwerp, that every day he would be seen to take up in his own name 200*l.* sterling by exchange: which would amount in one year to 72,000*l.* And thus doing, it should not be perceived, nor administer any occasion to make the exchange fall. He projected also a great benefit to the King, if all the lead were in the King's hands, and the King to make a staple thereof, and to make a proclamation, or to shut up the Custom-house, that none should convey out of the land any parcels of lead for five years: whereby the King might cause it to rise, and feed them at Antwerp, from time to time, as they should have need thereof. By which he might keep his money within his realms, and bring himself out of the debts, which his father and the late Duke of Somerset had brought him into. 326

But in conclusion, as to this continuation of money upon usury, he assured the Duke of Northumberland, that it would prove a marvellous great hinderance to his Majesty. But if these his counsels were taken, he mistrusted not to save the King 20,000*l.* in the payment of his debts, ere the year went about. This may serve to shew the pressing state of the King's debts abroad; and, by the way, to display somewhat the abilities of this brave English merchant. C.

Gressham's account of money received and paid.

The said Gressham, Sept. 23, gave in a very fair and large account during the time of his being at Antwerp this year, between the King and him: which he entitled, " A " brief declaration of the whole account of your Majesty's " servant Thomas Gressham, mercer, of all such sums of " money as he hath received and paid in the town of Antwerp, for your Majesty's behoof, since the 1st of March, " anno 1552, until the 27th of July, 1552, as hereafter shall " more plainly appear to your Highness.

" *Imprimis*, Received by the hands of Sir Philip Hoby, " knt. the 1st of March, 1552, in French crowns of gold, " the sum of an hundred fourscore thousand two hundred " twenty-five pieces, at 6*s.* 6*d.* the crown, amounts to the " sum of

" Received of Jasper Schetz, the 1st of March, 1552, " which was taken upon interest by Sir Philip Hoby, and " me Thomas Gressham, for three months, after the rate of " twelve upon the hundred,

Money also was mentioned to be taken up of Anthony Relinger, and Condrat Relinger; and much more, and at several times, of Jasper Schetz. At last, " *Item*, Paid for " a supper and a banquet that I had made to the Fuggar, " and to the Schetz, and others, that I have had to do with " for your Majesty since the time that your Highness hath " committed this great charge unto me, 25*l.*

"The sum total of all my whole payments amounteth "to 106,301*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*"

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The English like not the successes of France.

We will now look out again over the seas, into France and Germany, according to whose successes it must necessarily go with England. As the Turk had prospered against the Emperor this summer, so had the French also and Germans ravaged and spoiled, and greatly distressed him in his Low Countries: whose ill successes the English began to take to heart. For they cared not that either the one or the other should be too prosperous. Chamberlain, the ambassador residing then at Brussels, spake his thoughts in a letter to the lords, about the beginning of September, that he did right well weigh with himself the present time, [thinking England to be in danger by the French successes,] and he did earnestly wish, he might have occasion to certify of some exploit done by Cesar, who was then on foot again. A matter, he believed, that would be a means to make England's other neighbour [of France] deal more gently with us. "For to say the truth," as he further explained himself, "the game had not gone indifferently, having too long "gone on the other side."

The Emperor was hastening now in September to face these triumphing Frenchmen, who carried all before them. The foresaid ambassador wrote to the Council, that, according to the secret talk, the Emperor was, September 12, (the day on which he wrote his letter,) at Spire or Strasburg. 327 From whence it was thought he would direct an army to enter France, by the way of Burgundy, and make the Prince of Piemont general thereof, who was come to the Emperor in post. And others did think, that his Majesty himself would pass by Loraine and Luxemburgh, and seek to enter France that way; meaning so to cause the enemy to divert his power from the Low Countries, especially from Artois: where, it was said, that the French did at that present burn and spoil greatly; and were then before a place of Mons. De Reux, called Renty, where he did not a little lament, that he might not set upon them as he would; which the

The Emperor is coming against the French.

Emperor had forbidden, until such time as he was clear out of Germany. It was then commonly reported, that the Emperor was now strong, and reckoned out of all danger among the Germans, and that his power daily increased, by good numbers of men of war that drew unto him. So that in that court, where the English ambassador was, they said, that ere it were long, the world should hear that his imperial Majesty was revived, and not so much put to the worst as men thought. But for all that, others there were that thought the Emperor not so well furnished of money, presently to do so great feats withal. And indeed in the burse of Antwerp money was never so scanty: where he ran, as the ambassador was informed, martely great and excessive interest for large sums already had, and most part spent, as it was thought, by the Queen Regent, to defend those Low Countries. And so men did conjecture the Emperor should have two impediments; the one, the year being spent; the other, want of money. But in the midst of these expectations from the Emperor, at this juncture the French took two places of importance in Piemont; the name of one whereof was Crescentia.

The Emperor loseth himself more in Germany.

In the midst of these turmoils of the Emperor, he still shewed his zeal to Popery, even at this present, when thereby he did but more irritate and provoke the Germans against him. The before-mentioned ambassador wrote hither, that every man there wished, that the Emperor, to win the Germans, would dissemble, and shew them best countenance at this time. But, it seemed, he took the contrary way; having made Don Lewis d'Avila of his privy chamber, captain of all his light horse; which the nobles of those Low Countries did much mislike, being a stranger; and so it was thought the Germans would too. And upon conference the ambassador had with divers, he found that the most part did then mislike in the Emperor, that he could not play the part which he was wont to play so well, being a chief principle with the Spaniards, among whom his Majesty was brought up for a good part of his youth; that is, to dissemble, and temper with the times. For when he passed

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through Ausburg, he had expelled some of their preachers, taking for colour, that their preachings tended more to sedition than religion. In which, the ambassador said, that in his conceit he had much overshot himself. For, as some persons of virtue and good judgment said, if ever he could dissemble, it behoved him now to do it, and to make fair weather with the Germans; shewing them the best countenance he could, whatsoever he meant besides. And so, indeed, there went a talk, that the Emperor would forget and forgive all unto Marquis Albright, [who was the chief
328 of the German Protestants that confederated with France, and made havock in the Emperor's countries,] and rather reward him with good livings besides, to win him from the French King's devotion: which, as the ambassador went on and expressed his judgment, whether they said as they would have it, or what was thereby meant otherwise, he knew not: but that a man would not think it the worst means to reckon, having made so fair a *skapada*, as they called it there.

The Low Countries suffer much by the French.

The Low Countries were all in a great disturbance at these ravagings of the French, beating down all before them. But at the Emperor's being now on foot, and coming down towards them with the forces he had gathered, they grew more easy, and the court at Brussels was presently reduced to some quietness, over what it was before: every one expecting, with the present fair weather that happened this latter end of September, to hear of some good exploit to be done by the Emperor, upon some places which the French had gotten in his absence. And this also the English would inwardly be glad enough to hear of, not liking these French proceedings. And therefore Chamberlain, the ambassador, promised the lords, to get all the intelligence he could, and hoped to acquaint them with matters worthy his writing: beseeching them to assure themselves, that of his part should no negligence be shewed, for lack of advertisement. For that he knew the same to be the best service he could do; and did consider how much he was bound to employ himself thereto, without refusing any pains or labour.

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News out of Germany, by the English ambassador.

The news out of Germany, as the ambassador now sent it to the lords, were, that Mons. de Bossu, general of the Emperor's army, was repairing to the Emperor with part of the forces of the countries where the said ambassador was; and that he was, September 26, at a place called Gelven, within eighteen leagues of his Majesty. That the soldiers of Marquis Albright of Brandenburgh, the chief enemy of the Emperor on the German side, and that had pillaged and plundered extremely the Emperor's towns and places, finding themselves wealthy, and rich of the branskating and spoil, did daily slip away from him and leave him. And a bruit was, how the French King should ask reckoning of Albright, of that he had branskated; and that Albright had yet to receive 200,000 florens from the city of Treves: which, it was to be thought, the Emperor now coming, would keep him from at this time, albeit he had threatened to burn the city, if he had it not. That the Bishops of Colen and Treves did furnish Bossu his camp with victuals, and did send unto the Emperor 1500 horse, and six ensigns of foot.

The English lend the Emperor gunpowder.

The King lent the Lady Regent, for the Emperor, 112 barrels of gunpowder, lying then at Antwerp, upon her desire to borrow it for three or four months. And Damsel, the English governor there, delivered it to Corrier, one of that Queen's Council.

How the French about this time dealt with King Edward and his subjects, which served more to cool the affection of the English to him, I proceed next to shew.

The English misused by the French.

The French King having been complained to by the King, for the great wrongs done on the sea to the English by his men, to pacify him somewhat, commissioners were in September sent into England from France, to hear and determine such maritime matters. But as Chamberlain, the ambassador, wrote to the Duke of Northumberland, that the report was there, that while the French King did send 329 his commissioners into England, to understand the spoliations his subjects had committed upon the poor merchants, they did not stick to take still at the sea what they could get of ours: whereupon the said ambassador gave his own judgment, "That for his part, he wished that fortune "would shew herself a little indifferent, and turn another "while on the other side, and then he would well hope we "should have good restitution. And so if she would dally "now on the one side, and then on the other, for a year or "two, he would verily believe we should dwell by good "neighbours on each side a good while after."

The French continue their piracies.

It was now the 24th of September, and these commissioners from France, though in London for some days, yet had not yet been at the court, by reason, as was said, the ambassador had been lately sick and disordered of a rheum; but being amended, that day they desired access: which was granted them. Yet at this very time the Frenchmen upon the seas continued their depredations on the merchants, and had lately taken certain passengers towards Calais; alleging, that unless certain pirates of theirs, taken and detained at Calais for notable piracies, were set at liberty, the same passengers should not be delivered, but should be used as the English should use theirs. And this the Council signified to Sir William Pickering, ambassador with the French King.

Steukley's intelligence concerning France.

At this juncture one Steukley, once the Duke of Somerset's servant, who, upon his troubles, fled to France, and there abode, came now over, and brought with him this intelligence, as he pretended to have from the French King himself, *viz.* that the said King intended, upon peace made with the Emperor, to besiege Calais, and to invade England about Falmouth, and more to that purpose; as, the invading it at the same time on the north, by the help of the Scots. This information startled the court.

Rumours about seizing the King.

There went also rumours abroad, of the French's design upon the King: which was, that the French ambassador should invite the King to a banquet aboard some French ships; and having him thus in their hands, to convey him away. This report fled over to Antwerp by a merchant that haunted England, and came lately thence with the said news: and withal, that the ports and passages were stopped;

an hundred sail of French ships arrested in the west parts; and the French ambassador forbid to approach to the court: which perhaps might be true enough, upon the displeasure taken at the French, as for other matters, so particularly for Steukley's discoveries.

The Council writes to the ambassador concerning Steukley. Galba, B. 12.

Concerning which, to be the better satisfied, and that they might not seem too credulous, the Council wrote to Pickering, ambassador in that court, especially because Steukley had pretended to have imparted something of this to him. Their letter ran to this tenor:

"After our hearty commendations unto you. Ye shall "understand, that Thomas Steukley returned hither into "the realm about the latter end of August; and since his "coming, upon some demand made, hath uttered certain "matters of great importance: alleging, that he did disclose "some part of the same to you: whereof he inquireth, whether you have at any time advertised; that is to say, that "the French King understood certain advantages for the "taking of Calais, by the surprising of Newenham bridge, 330 "the taking of Ricebank, and so consequently Calais: which "thing, he saith, he understood of the French King him-"self. The matters he telleth be of great moment; which, "he saith, he hath had of the French King himself, with "whom he entered into such credit, as we here be somewhat "amazed how to interpret the tales, and how to judge of "the man. For some trial of whom, we thought to under-"stand certainly, whether he hath uttered any like matter "to you at any time, as he saith he hath: and thereof we "do not remember that ye did ever write any thing to us, "as we know; surely ye would, if he had. We remember "ye wrote to me, the Duke of Northumberland, in the "man's favour, for his return into this country, with the "King's Majesty's favour. Wherefore, for our better judg-"ment of the man, and his strange tales, we pray you to "certify us what intelligence he hath at any time given you "of these manner of matters, and of others also: and the "same to send in cipher to us, as ye shall think needful, "&c. From Windsor, Sept. 24, 1552.

"Your loving friends,

"Winchester.	T. Darcy.
"Northumberland.	G. Cobham,
"J. Bedford.	Rich. Cotton.
"W. Northampton.	John Gate.
"E. Clynton.	W. Cecyl."

Consultation of breaking with France. Galba, B. 12.

What answer the ambassador gave to this letter we shall see by and by. But how weary the English court already grew of their friendship with France, and how busily it was employed at this very juncture to fall in with the Emperor, will appear by this deliberation, contained in these minutes of Council following:

Minutes of Council.

I. To consider by what means the Emperor shall be induced to demand aid again of the King, [who had some months ago denied him.]

II. If that cannot be compassed, then to consider how the Emperor shall understand the King's contentation to aid him, and what personages shall execute this, either with the Emperor or with the Regent.

III. To order, that upon this opened to the Emperor, our ambassador with the French King may withdraw himself secretly.

IV. To consider how the Princes Protestant of Germany may have some intelligence and accord with the King.

V. To devise to practise with the Scots, to further their discontentation with the French.

VI. Whether Steukley shall return into France, and continue his practice there, for more intelligence.

VII. To see the estate of Calais, Guisnes, and the marches, well ordered and guarded with officers, and helps of other lacks there: and therein to consider the report of the commissioners, [*viz.* Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Richard Cotton, and William Berners, esq. who were sent to view the condition of those places in June last.]

VIII. The like order for Barwick, and other frontiers upon Scotland.

IX. To give order that the passages at Dover be well looked unto.

X. To see to the guard of the Thamise. Mr. Gonston and Mr. Winter to take two pinnaces, and to keep the Thamise. 331

The Secretary's discourse on that argument. Galba, B. 12.

A discourse was also drawn up by Secretary Cecyl, upon two questions serving for this present occasion:

I. Whether the King's Majesty shall enter into the aid of the Emperor.

II. Whether he shall only declare the French King his enemy, without sending aid according to the treaty.

Vol. ii. Append. p. 82.

The discourse in answer to the former of these is printed (but with some variation) in the History of the Reformation, which endeth with the reasons against the conjunction; but this is thus continued in the manuscript I make use of:

" A third opinion upon this, Whether it were best to im-
" part to the Emperor by the ambassador, that the King's
" Majesty meaneth not to neglect the Emperor's estate, but
" will herein, for the help and defence of the Low Coun-
" tries, do that he may.

" And likewise to cause Mr. Chamberlain [ambassador in
" the Low Countries] practise, that the Imperials may re-
" quire and provoke him to make this motion; forasmuch
" as they have already begun the like talk with him: and
" in the mean season, to permit indirectly our merchants to
" reprize upon the French, and to hear the French com-
" missioners.

" To proceed in the mean time, both for money, and
" likewise the fortifying and guarding of the frontiers, with
" such other things fit for to enter the war withal.

" Move the Emperor indirectly, that where the French
" King induceth the Turk, it might be considered by his
" Majesty, and other princes of Christendom, how the said
" French King might be impeached from his enterprize.

" *Reasons for this.*

" First, By this means we shall enter with mo than the

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"Emperor: as with the Germans, and such other. And so "though the Emperor should die, [being aged, and much "afflicted with the gout, and last year dangerously sick,] "yet the band should not be without parties.

"Secondly, It shall be also most honourable to break "with the French for so common a quarrel, for the faith "of Christendom.

"Thirdly, We shall hereby avoid the costly and charge"able aiding of the Emperor according to the treaty."

Fitz-Patric sent for home from France.

These were the secret debates and consultations in the Council, for the effecting this design against the French; which as yet they had no mind the French should so much as suspect. In the mean time, the King shewed his love to his schoolfellow and friend Barnaby Fitz-Patric, that was now in the French King's court, sent thither in the summer, to learn experience and see fashions. The King was now desirous that he should come home: and that his revocation might be without giving any suspicion or offence, Pickering, the ambassador, was by the Council ordered to give him advice and furtherance to obtain leave, as of his own disposition, and not taking knowledge of the King's pleasure. And therefore Barnaby was to be instructed by the ambassador, that he might pretend, that he was of himself very
332 desirous to return now, and see the King's Majesty this winter season, the wars being for the season of the year suspended: and that he should so use his coming away, as the same might not be any ways taken suspiciously. The Council prayed the said ambassador further, to give him his good counsel and advice for his like demeanour.

Pickering's answer concerning Steukley:

By this time Pickering had returned his answer to the Council's letters concerning Steukley: the sum of which was, that whatsoever the said Steukley had told them, he had declared nothing to him of all that he had informed the Council; and moreover, that it was his thoughts and belief, that he never heard the French King speak such words as he reported, nor was in credit with him: upon which, Steukley was committed to the Tower. And this the French ambassador was advertised of, that the King had committed him thither for unruly slandering his master: which was told him the rather, to suspect the English renegades that were in France, as the King himself notes in his Journal.

Which the Lords acquaint the ambassador in the Low Countries with.

The Lords of the Council also, in their letters to Chamberlain, ambassador at Brussels, informed, him that things were fair between the French and English as to the jealousies raised by Steukley's information, the ambassador at the French court having satisfied them of the said person's falsehood and imposture. Whereat all the answer Chamberlain gave was, that he thanked God that all things were so well as the Lords' letters reported. Letters also of great weight were now sent to Sir Richard Morison, ambassador with the Emperor, bearing date the 24th of September, which Chamberlain conveyed out of hand, with diligence and surety, as he was commanded: of which we shall have account by and by.

The French commissioners about sea affairs.

The French commissioners, being two lawyers, that came hither about the spoils done to the English, gave little satisfaction. They gave an account, how the matters of the English merchants were examined and transacted at their courts in France. Secretary Petre, Dr. Wotton, and Sir Thomas Smith, were appointed to treat with them. These shewed how the merchants' losses amounted to 50,000*l.* and upwards, for which they expected satisfaction. To which the French commissioners gave little answer, but that they would make report of it when they came home, having no commission for the consideration thereof. In the beginning of October came over Mons. Ville Andre in post from the French King about these matters. His message was, that though certain ships and goods of Englishmen were justly condemned in France, yet the French King was contented, out of respect to the King, whose servants the owners were, to restore them *gratuito*. But this was refused; and answer was made, that the King desired nothing *gratuito*, but justice and expedition. And when Ville Andre signified that it was his master's desire, that some agreements were made between the English and French, concerning the ordinances and customs between England and France in maritime af-

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333 clemency should be shewed to some. Upon his departure, letters were writ, and sent by him to that King, answering other letters which he brought from him; therein particularly thanking the French King for certain edicts he had lately issued out, which would for the future serve to the benefit of our merchants. To this indifferent understanding were the two crowns already come.

CHAP. XI.

An embassy to the Emperor. Morison's address to him. The King offers aid against the Turk.

Instructions sent to the ambassador resident with the Emperor.

WE have seen what were the consultations at the Council-board concerning the assistance of the Emperor; now let us hear how the English court proceeded in the resolutions they had taken. It was the 7th day of September, that John Weston, servant to Morison, ambassador with the Emperor, had his passport and letter to all kings, princes, &c. to suffer him to pass safely by them to the Emperor's court: he brought with him instructions and a memorial, to enter this communication with the Emperor. It was the desire of the Lords of the Council, that the Emperor should be so managed, as to be brought to require their aid before they offered it: which they thought he would be ready to ask again, having been but the last summer denied it; for which the ambassador was now instructed to make excuse. A great difficulty to this their falling in with the Emperor, was the amity lately entered into with France; therefore, for the preserving and covering that, they thought it best to offer him aid against the Turk: yet were desirous to have a special messenger sent from the Emperor hither, to hold some further and more secret conference; not liking the Emperor's ambassador that then resided here. Thus then orders came to Morison, for addressing himself to the Emperor, in this month of September, upon the King's return home from his progress, and upon the Emperor's advance for the defence of the Low Countries.

Morison's address to the Emperor.

For the managery of which address he was instructed, "to seek to have access to the Emperor's own person, "and to declare to him the King's affectuous commendations, with such other friendly words of office, signifying the King's hearty love to his said good brother; "and so to enter into the matter of his charge. And "first, to shew the Emperor, that the Regent, his sister, "sent to the King her letters about the latter end of July; "by the same making declaration of the French King's attempts, and proceeding in hostility against the countries "of his said good brother the Emperor; and in the end "remembering to the King, the treaty of alliance heretofore made between the King's father and the Emperor, "she, the King's said sister, by her letters required, in following the tenor of the said treaty, to declare the French 334 "King, and his confederates, the King's enemies. The "which letters came to him, being in his progress and "pastime, having then very few of his Council with him, "(the greatest part, and that of his trustiest counsellors, "being severally dispersed for his service into the remotest "parts of his realm,) the matter being of itself great and "weighty, and the like being moved to him as strongly as "could be. Nevertheless, upon some consideration, such "as, for the time and place where the King then was, could "be no other, he caused his answer to be made to his said "good brother's ambassador, in such sort as he thought in "reason should content him: which was this summarily: "that he was right sorry of the ill chance of these wars, "and especially of the extreme continuation thereof, be-

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"tween his good brother and the French King, with both "whom he was at peace. And therefore, considering the "ruin that might thereby come to Christendom, besides his "own private friendship and love to his said good brother, "he was content, if his said brother would so think good, "to travail the best he might to bring the matters in con-"troversy to a treaty and friendly composition, (as, indeed, "so he meant,) and was desirous with his whole heart and "mind. Secondly, he let his said good brother's ambas-"sador understand his earnest and constant abiding in the "same."

He was instructed further, that finding the Emperor not satisfied with the King's former answer, he should descend into this open and manifest declaration of the King's great love and amity, and say, "that now, upon the King's re-"turn from his progress, and the assembly of his coun-"sellors together again, his former answer and the whole "matter was newly considered, and conferring together di-"vers reasons, with the King's hearty love towards the "state of his good brother, he resolved not to forbear the "demonstration of the same his love, notwithstanding the "great extremities which might much move him to the "contrary, if he did not prefer honour, truth, and perfect "amity, before all other worldly matters. And, together with "his Council, considered the ancient, old, inviolate, and "natural amity between his realm and the house of Bur-"gundy; feeling himself as naturally moved to the tuition "and confirmation of the same, as if it were his own pawn-"money." And with all this preface and protestation, was brought in the King's offer of assistance of the Emperor and the other states of the empire, with forces for the repelling of the Turk, if he could bring to pass some league against the Turk and his confederates. The ambassador concluded, he had nothing more in commission; but if the Emperor would send somebody into England, he might know more. And herein the policy was, to check the French, to keep fair with the Emperor, and to procure more friends in Germany.

Overture made to the Emperor, to assist him against the Turk.

In the same manuscript volume where I find the memorial, with these instructions abovesaid, there is also another memorial of the charge committed by the King to the said ambassador, dated Sept. 24, with lines drawn under many of the words and sentences, and a note of Secretary Cecyl's hand, that what was so underlined was to be put in cipher. So that I conclude, this was the authentic memorial sent to the ambassador; the drawing up of the other, above specified, being not so well approved of. This other memorial then ran to this tenor:

"That he should with all diligence procure audience 335 "of the Emperor; and at his access deliver his letters of "credence, with the King's most hearty commendations, "and earnest declaration, that he was most glad to have "understanding of his good estate and health: and that "the King, understanding his good and honourable avauncement towards his Low Countries, to the great comfort of "the same, and having the same love and good-will towards "the prosperous success of his said countries that his late "father and other his progenitors had many years past, "willed him, his ambassador, expressly in his name to congratulate his coming thotherward, and to shew him, that "the good success which the King wished to him and his "affairs and enterprises, was as much as he would to himself, and his own countries and patrimonies.

"That when the ambassador had opened thus much, "with as good words as he could devise, he should begin "to descend to this that follows: using his earnestness and "frankness as he should see, by his former sayings, occasion given to him by the Emperor's acceptation thereof, either by his good words, or other behaviour in his gesture, "he should say, that where the King had lately understood of the great murders, spoils, and cruelties done and "committed both in Hungary, and upon the coasts of "Naples, and other parts of Italy, by the Turks, the old "common enemy to the name and religion of all Christianity, like as the King could not but from his very "heart lament the same, so he would, for his part, as might

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"This being spoke by the ambassador in such good sort "as he should see occasion require, he was instructed to "stay and pause a while, as it were looking for some answer to be made thereto by the Emperor. And that if "the ambassador perceived he took it in thankful part, "then might he entertain the talk modestly, with such "good words as might seem to him best, to confirm the "King's good affection to the continuance of the amity, "and his great offence and grief for the entry of the Turk "into Christendom. And that if he perceived the Emperor "did in so good part receive this the King's overture, that "he should shew himself willing to enter any further talk "or device for the further proceeding, the ambassador "might, as of himself, shew his readiness and good-will to "do all that he any wise well might, as a good minister, for "the bringing this purpose to some profitable effect: which "he should say, in his own opinion, should the better take "good entry and success, if, by some special man to be sent "hither, the King might understand more fully the Emperor's mind in this matter.

336 "But if he should perceive the Emperor did not regard "this overture, either in not liking the matter itself, or not "regarding the King's amity as reason would, and as it "was on his part offered; then the ambassador might use

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" himself more coldly, and diminish the declaration of the " King's earnestness, in like sort as the Emperor shewed " himself, and conclude, that he had thus done the message " committed to him, and would leave the consideration to " the Emperor, as he should think good.

" That if in the opening of the premises, the Emperor " should make any mention or interpretation against the " French King, referring the Turk's invasion to the said " French King as some occasion hereof, and so should demand directly or indirectly, whether this overture be " meant to extend toward the French King, or any other " of Christen name that should join in league or amity " with the said Turks; the ambassador might thereto say, " that he had no more in charge presently than he had said; " and therefore, for further opening of the King's mind, he " thought the same might be best had here.

" That if at any time of this his talk, the Emperor should " gather occasion to ask the ambassador, what the King " would do, for giving aid against these invasions made by " the French King upon the Low Countries, he might answer, that as he had nothing to say therein, but that he " thought the answer which the King declared to his ambassador here resident, upon the letters sent to the King from " his good sister the Queen of Hungary, had both been signified to him long before this time, and also, as he trusted, " in reason contented her. And that in this point, although " the ambassador knew what was answered, yet the King " would not he should enter into the dispute thereof: meaning in this, and the rest of things to be treated with the " Emperor, that he should rather procure the sending of " some special man hither, than to treat any thing by the " Emperor's ambassador, then resident in England; who " hitherto had not appeared the fittest man to increase or " enlarge the amity betwixt the Emperor and the King.

" Finally, it was the King's pleasure, that the ambassador " should, in the execution of this present charge, wholly extend his good policy and wisdom, to mark and well advise " all such words of moment as the Emperor should utter to

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"him in this talk, by what order, behaviour, gesture, or "other passion of joy or grief, the same should be spoken; "so as the King might simply, plainly, and very orderly "have the true declaration thereof from him: wherein he "desired so express and special a report of this matter, as "upon the same he might better conceive, what should be "expedient to be further done in this and other his weighty "affairs."

The Council to the ambassador.

Together with these instructions, the Council wrote this letter to Sir Richard Morison; wherein may further particulars of this transaction be seen.

"After our hearty commendations, with our like thanks "and commendation of you, for your good diligence in advertisements: We do at this time send with this packet a "certain charge, articled in a memorial sent to you from "the King's Majesty, and signed with his gracious hand.
337 "In the execution whereof, we doubt not but ye will use "good wisdom, considering the importance of the matter. "And where his Majesty in the last clause requireth your "diligence in observation, and to have the report made orderly and simply; the meaning is, upon the same to consider here the consequence of more matter. And at this "time we send this *dépêche*, not by thorow post from hence, "because we would avoid the suspicion of the French: "who, giving us lately many causes to doubt them, may "perchance be the more jealous of our sending thither. "Herein, we know, you may add matter of weight. And "yet, we pray you, take no more knowledge than in the "King's Majesty's instructions you are certainly prescribed. "For it behooveth, in these manner of matters, to use great "secrecy and foresight. The French King's commissioners "come hither to the court, with the French ambassador, "the 27th of this September. Of whom we shall hear what "restitution is to be made for our depredations.

"The Emperor's ambassador's wife hath here a son born; "to whom the King's Majesty is pleased to be godfather. "We pray you, either let us have certain answer by the

" bearer hereof, or by some of your own; and that with as " much diligence as may be. Any other thing we have not " of importance: and therefore end with wishing you there " such success as we have need of; and after these your late " turmoils, to have some more rest. From Windsor, the 24th " of September, 1552.

" Your loving friends,
" Winchester. Rich. Cotton.
" Northumberland. John Gate.
" J. Bedford. William Petre, S.
" F. Huntingdon. W. Cecyl."
" G. Cobham.

The effect of this embassy.

When Morison had delivered the aforesaid message to the Emperor, according to his instructions, the Emperor thanked the King for this offer, and said, he would cause the Regent to send a man to the King for the said purpose, and to know the King's further meaning in that behalf. And so the ambassador signified to the King in the beginning of October.

CHAP. XII.

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The King's military exercises. A splendid muster before him. The dearth. The Lady Mary. The King's progress. Occurrences. A monstrous child born. Strange fishes taken in the Thames. The King consults for the estate of religion and the realm.

The King rides with his guard armed to Black Heath.

NOW let us look upon matters at home. In the month of May, behold, some of the King's martial exercises and recreations. On the 12th day, he rode through Greenwich park unto Black Heath, with his guard armed with bows and arrows, in their jerkins and doublets. Then the King ran at the ring, together with other lords, knights, and gentlemen.

A splendid muster before him.

The last year the chief lords of the land, and such as waited on the King, had appointed under themselves a con-

Anno 1552. siderable body of men, well armed and horsed, to be for service upon any emergence or summons of their Prince. On the 16th day of the month aforesaid, the King rode into the said park to see the goodly musters of the lords' men: where every lord's men marched in several companies: a trumpet blowing before each: and they had each their standards, with pensils; their coats in embroidery of their lord's colours; their spears of the like colour, and their footmen attending. The first band was of the King's pensioners, the Lord Bray being their captain, and the King's great banner of arms, borne of four, of damask, blue and red: the King's trumpeter blowing, and the pensioners in goodly array and harness from top to toe; having goodly bosses on their coats; and their men in like colours of cloth. The second band of men of arms was the Lord Treasurer's, Marquis of Winchester, having a white standard, with a falcon of gold; their coats white and red: who two days before had mustered in Moorfields, being a goodly company, consisting of an hundred men well furnished, provided with great horses, and a trumpeter blowing before them. The third captain was the Lord Great Master, with his men of arms: his standard of red damask, a lion silver, crowned gold, and ragged staff: the coats all black velvet in embroidery the half, and the other half in cloth embroidered, white and red. Fourthly, the Duke of Suffolk, with his men of arms; and his standard an unicorn silver ermine in a sunbeam gold, white and murrey, and his pensils Flanders colour. The fifth, the Lord Privy Seal, his men of arms: his standard of three colours, a white goat, the standard powdered with escalop shells; his coat red and white in broidery, and pensils of the same. The sixth was, the band of the Lord Great Chamberlain, Par Marquis of Northampton: his standard yellow and black, a maidenhead crowned gold; his coats yellow velvet, half the men, and the other half wearing cloth: footmen in yellow velvet,
339 and pensils. The seventh band was, the Master of the Horse, Lord Warwick, his men: his guidon of red damask, a white lion crowned gold, and powdered with

ragged staves of silver, and pensils. The eighth captain was, the Earl of Rutland, with his men: his standard of yellow and blue, with a peacock in pride gold, and pensils with a peacock: coats blue in broidery. The ninth was, the Earl of Huntingdon, with his men: his standard a baboon, [which indeed is the crest of the Lord St. John's,] the coats blue embroidered velvet; and pensils, with a bull's head crowned, about his neck. The tenth band was, the Earl of Pembroke, his men: his standard of three colours, red, white, and blue; and a green dragon with an arm in his mouth; and pensils. The eleventh was, the Lord Admiral, with his men: his guidon the cross of St. George black, with an anchor of silver; coats black, and broidered with white. The twelfth, the Lord Chamberlain Darcy, his men: his standard a maid with a flower in her hand: coats red broidered with white, and pensils. The thirteenth, the Lord Cobham, with his men: his standard white and black, and a Saracen's head in it. His coat black garded with white, and pensils. The fourteenth belonged to Mr. Treasurer Cheny, lord of the cinque ports: his guidon a red cross, and half a rose in a sunbeam black; spears and pensils. Some of these bands of men of arms consisted of an hundred, and some of fifty.

Care taken for the dearth.

Provisions of food continued dear, notwithstanding a proclamation the King had lately set forth, fixing the prices of victuals: which was not so well observed in London, as it was expected upon such a command it should be. Though in this month of May, a cart-load of beef was brought away from a butcher, as forfeited, because he refused to sell it according to the proclamation. But this would not remedy the dearth, but people were forced to buy at high prices. Whereupon, June 7, the Duke of Northumberland, and divers other lords of the Council, came into London, and sat at Guildhall: where being waited upon by the lord mayor, and his brethren the aldermen, they were severely reprehended, as for certain other causes, so chiefly because the mayor looked no better after the provisions in the city, and for the reasonable selling of the same.

Anno 1552. The King's favour to poor strangers.

The Parliament having given the King a subsidy, this summer the officers were busily employed in collecting it. But here a remark must be made of the King's grace and charity towards the poor godly strangers that were fled hither: for in this month of June, he made a grant to divers of these aliens, being born out of his dominions, to detain every sum of money taxed on their heads, for their relief, as of the King's free gift.

The Lady Mary goes to court.

The Lady Mary's Grace came, June 11, on horseback through London unto St. John's, with a goodly company, both of gentlemen and ladies: and two days after, rode from St. John's to Tower-wharf, and took her barge to Greenwich, where her brother then kept his court: and in the even she returned again by water. Her visit seemed to be, to take her leave of the King, ready to take his progress.

Northumberland goes into the north.

June 16, the Duke of Northumberland took horse at five of the clock in the morning, intending towards the north, to look after the marches against Scotland; of which he was constituted lord warden; accompanied with a gallant retinue of lords and knights, to bring him on his way. He 340
took in by the way, at Sempringham, the Lord Admiral's: thence to Lincoln, and Hull, where he spent eight or ten days. He declined York, because of the plague there: and so northward. We shall hear more of him hereafter.

The King begins his progress.

June 27, the King removed from Greenwich by water unto Putney: and there he took horse unto Hampton Court on his progress. And lying there ten days, he went forwards to Otelands, and so to Guilford, and other places southward, as we shall read hereafter.

Religious cheats.

This time was not without religious cheats. There was one Greg, who once counterfeited himself a prophet, set on the pillory, July 1, for cheating, in selling pots of strawberries filled up half way from the bottom with fern. And in the same month were whipped publicly a young man and two women, for pretending to signs and visions. One of these women endeavoured to poison her husband, and admitted her servant to her bed. Therefore the morrow after the whipping, she was set on the pillory.

A monster born.

August 3, in Oxfordshire, in a town called Middleton Stony, eight miles from Oxford, the good wife of the house, known by the sign of the Eagle, was delivered of a double child, begotten by her late husband John Kenner, deceased. The form whereof being so monstrous, there were printed relations of it, and multitudes of people were curious to see it. It had two heads, two bodies, four arms, four hands; but downwards one body, one navel, one fundament, at which they voided both urine and ordure. It had two legs, with two feet on one side, and on the other side one leg with two feet, having but nine toes. The 18th of August following, one of these children died, and on the 19th died the other.

Divers great fishes taken in the Thames.

August 10, were three dolphins taken up between Woolwich and Greenwich. One was sent to the Court for the King; the other were sold in Fish-street, to them that were minded to buy them. And on the 16th day were taken up at Broken-wharf, three other great fishes; and in three other places, three more, and sold in Fish-street. And, to put these matters together, on the 10th day of the next month, were three great porpuses driven up to London-bridge with a great number of boats; some with nets, some with bills, and some with morice-pikes. And then they returned down again, and the boats after them, between four and five of the clock in the afternoon. There had been great rains: after which they were seen. The 9th day of the next month, *viz.* of October, were taken and brought through London, and under London-bridge, two great fishes, and so to Paris garden, and next unto Westminster: whereof the one was the male, and the other the female.

Sir Anthony Wingfield dies.

August 15, died at Bednal Green, that noble knight Sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of the King's house, and of his Privy Council, and knight of the Garter. And Mr. Cotton was advanced to be comptroller in his stead. And

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on the 21st of the same month was the aforesaid knight buried at Stepney, with a great company of mourners, with priests and clerks singing, and an herald. The order of the funeral was after this manner: the corpse was carried from Bednal Green over Mile-end Green, with his standard, and a great banner of arms, and his helmet, target, the garter, the sword, the crest a bull of gold and sable. There was a 341 communion; at which preached the vicar of Shoreditch, a Scot, [named Makebray, if I mistake not, afterwards an exile.] Afterwards was a great dinner made for all comers: and after dinner were set up over the place where his body lay, his helmet, his target, his sword, his standard, and his banner of arms, having all, piece by piece, been before offered to the priest.

And Sir Clement Smith.

August 26, departed this life, Sir Clement Smith, knight, a gentleman of Essex, uncle unto the King, having married Queen Jane's sister.

Prices set upon meat.

September 5, a proclamation went forth, that the butchers in London should sell beef, and mutton, and veal, the best, for a penny farthing the pound; and necks and legs at three farthings the pound: and the best lamb eight pence the quarter. And such as refused to sell after these rates, were to forfeit their freedom for ever.

A fight at sea.

Things at this time were not over-fair between England and France; as may appear by this skirmish at sea, first began by the French; who with two great ships came down upon a little English bark, called *the Little Ager*, bound for Spain, which suffered sore by them, striking down her great mast. But in the fight, another ship, called *the Great Bark Ager*, following her, rescued her, and overcame them both, and brought them to Portsmouth. This happened Sept. 26.

Great horses.

October 8, a proclamation was issued forth, commanding that no men that had great horses, fit for service, should sell them; lest by the furnishing of France, or the Emperor, (who, no question, offered tempting prices,) England might leave herself disfurnished.

The King being returned from his progress to Hampton

Court, Sept. 28, began now, after his pastime, to set himself, like a wise and conscientious Prince, to the serious thoughts of his kingdom. And by this that I am now going to relate will appear, to what maturity of understanding and wisdom, far beyond his years, he was already arrived, being now in October fifteen years old. In which month, he exercised his thoughts on three weighty matters for the public good: the first was, for religion; the second, for the security and prosperity of his kingdom; the third, for the procuring a sufficient quantity of money, to clear himself of debt, and to raise a treasure for all events. And for each of these, he drew up with his own hand *memorials*, consisting in divers particulars: which were as followeth.

The King bends his thoughts for the good estate of his realm.

And first, for his care of religion, he digested this into several articles. I. *For an uniformity of doctrine, to which all preachers should set their hands.* This was intended to establish the Church in a truth of doctrine, as it was already in a sober, decent form of worship in the public addresses made to God; and to put a check to the old errors and Popish opinions that yet remained in the heads of many priests still officiating in the Church. And this good purpose of his he brought to effect before his death, by setting forth the book of Articles of Religion, entitled, *Articles agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned men, in the Convocation held at London, anno* 1552, *for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and establishing consent touching true Religion.* They were in number forty-two, and are most-what the same with the thirty-nine Articles established in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

His devices for religion.

II. *For the abrogating the old canon law, and establishing a new.* There was so much popery and superstition mixed with the ecclesiastical laws, and such a multitude of Popish canons and decrees, that they became a snare and a burden: being also very injurious to the state and dignity of princes, extolling so immensely the Papal power, and subjecting kings in their own dominions to the Bishops of Rome: insomuch that the King's father procured an act of Parliament for the purging those laws, or rather for the

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framing a body of good laws in their stead. This was, after divers years, by the indefatigable labours of Archbishop Cranmer, and the countenance of this King, brought to perfection, and wanted nothing but the King's longer life, and an act of Parliament, to bring them into force and practice.

III. *A Catechism to be set forth to be taught in all grammar schools.* This the King thought very needful, for the bringing up youth in Christian principles, and knowledge of true religion. And this he saw finished in his lifetime: a short catechism in Latin coming forth not long after this, by the King's authority, Alexander Nowel, master of Westminster school, and prebendary of the church there, being the author thereof.

IV. And because the age was so loose in their manners, and many gross sins were ordinarily and openly committed, to the scandal of the Christian, especially the *reformed* Christian religion, and because ecclesiastical discipline was so necessary for the good estate of the Church; therefore did the good King set it down in his Memorial, for another material thing to be regarded in religion, *that commissions should be granted those bishops that were grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion, for the executing of discipline.* There were still many that filled the episcopal sees, that were old Popish bishops, but made a shift to comply. These the King was minded to exempt out of this commission, not thinking it fit to intrust discipline with them, but only with those that were *grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion.* And,

V. Because the incumbents of churches, and those that had livings and benefices, and the cure of souls, were very negligent in their office, and non-resident, and followed other callings, and took little regard of the people committed to their charge, leaving their churches sometimes destitute, or putting in ignorant curates, that could scarcely read, much less edify the people by sober instruction in preaching of the word of God: and many bishops took little regard of all these defaults in their clergy, and kept

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but few preachers themselves: therefore for the reformation of this, he seemed to determine another royal visitation; and therein, *to find fault with the slothfulness of the pastors*, [*i. e.* bishops,] *and to deliver them articles of visitation; willing and commanding them to be more diligent in their office, and to keep more preachers.*

VI. *For making more homilies, and more injunctions*, for the service and supply of ministers, who were ignorant, and could not preach; or negligent and superstitious, and did not sufficiently observe the rules and institutions of the reformation. But this came to no effect in his reign.

VII. The King did also at this time make memorandums for certain bishoprics, namely, for the filling of two then vacant, *viz.* an archbishopric in Ireland, and the bishopric of Hereford. For which latter, he noted down Mr. Harly, one of his own preaching chaplains: who soon after was accordingly preferred to that see. And Tunstal being deprived of the bishopric of Durham, the King made a memorandum for dividing that rich bishopric into two, and 343 for placing fit men in them. These were King Edward's thoughts and memorials for religion.

His devices for the nation's security.

Secondly, His deliberation for the security and prosperity of the realm, as it appears under his hand, consisted in several particulars also.

I. The former, namely, the *security* and safety of his kingdom, he found very necessary to be consulted at this juncture. For he was in effect come to a resolution of breaking with France, which had dealt so injuriously with his merchants and subjects, and trifled with him in making that reasonable satisfaction he required: and which, as soon as a peace should be made with the Emperor, intended, as the King had intelligence, to fall upon his territories in France, and upon England by the help of the Scots. And in this month of October it was also discovered, how that King practised in Ireland with the Earl of Desmond, and other Irish lords, by one Paris, an Irishman, who now revealed it, and got his pardon.

Therefore the King first made a remembrance of things

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to be done for the strengthening of his territories bordering on France, *viz.* 1. *For the fortifying of Newenham bridge:* which place, as Steukley had discovered, the French King intended to force. 2. *For amending the city of Calais.* 3. *For making storehouses at Guisnes.*

Next, for the providing for his realm at home, he made these remembrances: 1. *To strengthen the havens of Falmouth and Dartmouth:* about which places, the said Steukley had informed, that the French King intended to invade England on the west. 2. *To amend the pier of Dover, and repair the castle there, and the haven of Sandwich.* 3. *To fortify Portsmouth;* another haven lying towards France. And then for securing the parts of England bordering upon Scotland. 4. *To accomplish the fortifying of Berwick, and the reparation of Beaucastel in Tyndal, and the fortification of Black Bank.* And still further, for the strength of the nation: 5. *To make more great ordnance of the copper in the Tower, and the bell-metal.* 6. *To provide more armour, and more pikes, hagbuts, staves, bow-staves, bills,* &c. 7. *To send commissioners for viewing the state of the realm, for keeping of great horses; and whether they did observe the statutes made concerning the same.* For which purpose, at this very time a proclamation was issued out, dated October 5, admonishing all persons that were bound by the statute made anno 33 Hen. VIII. to keep great horses, to have the same in a readiness at all times, to be mustered by such commissioners as the King should in every country appoint for that purpose, upon pain of the forfeitures in the said statute expressed.

II. For the *prosperity* and wealth of the nation, the King made these two memorials: *the device of two marts;* one at Hull, for the northern parts; and the other at Southampton, for the southern. For the better making himself master of this project for the marts, he penned another distinct discourse: first, of the reasons and causes, why it was then most necessary to have a mart in England: secondly, how the mart would be brought to pass: thirdly, the discommodities and lets to the mart to be kept in

England: fourthly, the remedies and answers thereto. His writing concerning every of these particulars, are published in the History of the [a] Reformation. 2. *To bring more arts into the realm: so that all may not stand by* 344
clothing.

His device for raising money.

His third consultation was as weighty as any of the former, namely, for the procuring of a quantity of money, to enable him to pay his debts, and to make a fund for any future service. For indeed the King found himself now sinking deeper and deeper into debt, by borrowing money at high interest, more than he could well pay. For I find him this year taking up money thrice at Antwerp, by his agent Gressham. That is to say, in May,

Of Wolf Rechelinge - - -	64000 flor. Car.
Of Jasper Schetz, and his partners	64200 flor. Car.
Of Anthony Fuggar, and his nephews	160500 flor. Car.

Whereof the two former sums were payable in December, and the latter in November. Again, in July the King took up

Of the Schetz, and his nephews	44640 flor. Car.
Of Conrad Raylinger, and his sons	36860 flor. Car.

Both sums payable in July 1553. For which the mayor and city of London were security. And to them the King gave a recognisance, therein discharging them, and their heirs, and successors, lands, possessions, and goods, both on this side the sea and beyond. Again, in September the King took up

Of Francis Van Hall - - -	185560 flor. Car.
Of Anthony Fuggar, and his nephews	164116 flor. Car.
Of John Rantzow, knight - -	18559 flor. Car.
More of the Fuggars - -	128500 flor. Car.

Whereof the two former sums were payable in August 1553, the third in September following, and the fourth in February the said year.

By this frequent taking up of money, it appeared his debts were great, and his treasure was low: so that upon any emergent necessity, he might be put to pressing straits: which the King well considering, contrived with

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[a] Vol. ii. Append. p. 78.

BOOK II. Anno 1552. himself for the composing of two things; *viz.* the discharging of his present debts, which amounted now to 300,000*l.* and to get a treasure for all events, whatever chances might happen, whereby he might have present occasion of a mass of money; which treasure, he concluded, should be 50,000*l.* For the effecting of both which, he laid this scheme; *viz.*

I. For the getting himself out of debt, to retrench his expences: 1. *By diminishing the charges of the Pensioners' table, of the Lord Privy Seal's, of the Physician's, and of the Master of the Household; giving them reasonable recompences.* As the month before, *viz.* in September, the King began that course, when the young Lords' table was taken away, and those of the Masters of Requests, the Sergeants at Arms, and divers other extraordinary allowances, as the King noted in his Journal. 2. *By providing for the wardrobe, that the charge might be the less.* 3. *By discharging of the admiralty;* 4. *And of the posts;* 5. *And of certain bulwarks on the sea-side, thought to be superfluous.* And accordingly I find a letter in this month of October, to the Lord Chamberlain, for his warrant, to discharge the unne-
345 cessary bulwarks in the county of Essex, according to a schedule of the same, signed by the Privy Council. And hereupon the bulwarks of earth and boards in Essex, which had continual allowance of soldiers in them, were discharged. By which was saved presently 500*l.* per annum; and hereafter 700*l.* more, as the King notes in his Journal. 6. *Discharging likewise of one thousand men in Ireland, besides what had been already discharged.* 7. *Of five hundred men at Barwick, when his forts should be repaired; and two hundred at Guisnes for the winter.* 8. *By bringing the Augmentation Court into the Exchequer, and so likewise the Court of First-Fruits and Tenths, and saving all those fees that might be spared.* 9. *By examining, whether the receivers of the King's monies, and such like officers, had portage money allowed them by their patents. And if they had, how they gat it:* it being something, it seems, not formerly allowed. By which portage money they had good consideration allowed them, for the bringing or

sending of the King's money to the Exchequer, or elsewhere. This the King made a note of, to retrench. 10. *By discharging likewise of superfluous fees in the duchy and the wards.* And as these were the King's thoughts of good husbandry, and for cutting off what expences might be spared, for the saving money to enable him to pay his debts: so,

II. For the gathering of a treasure, and getting a mass of money, he devised this course: 1. *To gather and coin the church plate.* For which there were soon after commissions issued out to persons of the chiefest eminency in the several counties, to take away, and convert to the King's use, all such plate as was more than necessary for the celebrating the communion. 2. *To sell some lands, for the making up the sum of* 5000*l.* namely, *the lands of certain chantries, colleges, houses, and Beaumont's lands,* late master of the rolls, forfeited now to the King. 3. *To redeem the leases pertaining to the liveries at Westminster, Waltham, Reading, and St. Albans.* 4. *To call in for the remnant of the King's debts.* 5. *To take account of all those that have had to do with the King's money since the* 36*th of King Henry VIII.* For this also a commission was issued out. 6. *The stay of lead.* This was Gressham's counsel to the Duke of Northumberland, as may be seen before. 7. *To sell the bell-metal.* 8. *To execute the penal laws touching horses, ploughs, &c. for riots, oppressions, planting, and graffing of trees, for the size of wood and billet, forestalling and regrating.* I find divers commissions issued out for these purposes: which, no doubt, created sometimes oppressions and hard dealing towards the people. And I am apt to think the hand of Northumberland was with the King in this, whose father had put it into the head of this King's grandfather, to take his advantage upon his subjects, for the breaking of old obsolete laws, which had pecuniary penalties annexed to them: but it cost him his head. 9. *To take the advantage of the offences and forfeitures of the merchants of the Stilyard.* 10. *To call a Parliament, to get a subsidy in respect of the defence*

Anno 1552. *of the English robbed by the French.* 11. *To sell certain jewels, to the sum of* 15,000*l.* 12. *To examine how the sale of the fustians was made, and also of the copper;* which the King had bought of the Fuggars and the Schetz, according to the custom of those that borrowed money of them, to take some part in commodities. 13. *To borrow money of the staplers;* which the King did this month, to the sum of
346 40,000*l.* that is, 20*s.* upon every cloth exported. And there was at a shipping this month of October carried out 40,000 broad cloths. 14. *To call in for Sir Anthony Guidot's obligations:* for there were some dealings between the King and him, the King granting him, being a stranger, a liberty of trade, and he entering into obligations to the King for that privilege. I find also the King granted him a protection. Lastly, *To take order for the mines in Ireland:* for there were mines lately found out there, and several Almains, expert in mines, were procured, to search and dig in them. But I think this turned but to little account, and the King, not long after, had thoughts of discharging these Almains.

Commissions issued out for raising money.

According to these devices of the King for raising money, there were in December and January divers commissions issued out; and some of them somewhat oppressive. As for that, for requiring of all church plate, (excepting what was requisite for the administration of the sacrament,) the King, it appears, was moved to do this upon these considerations, as he wrote himself, "That he thought that way best, because it should make things to be looked for, that else "peradventure would be lost: as church plate; which, as "men said, was daily conveyed away. And hereby the "bullion might remain still, [and be for a further reserve,] "and the land not sold: [which was appointed so to be, "for raising money:] which the King thought better to be "bestowed upon those that had served him, [in places of "trust, and offices about his person,] than sold to auditors "and penmen; [such, he meant, as were in places of ac"count, and receivers of the King's revenues;] who, having "store of money, would buy it." And as for the commission to examine the breakers of laws, which were to be punished by pecuniary mulcts and forfeitures, to alleviate this, the King wrote, "That the forfeits being demanded of "such as had willingly devoured their neighbours, and "broken the law, would do much good." He meant, by making the laws better observed for the future, and to pacify many people that had suffered by their oppressions. And lastly, for the commissions, whereby the King's officers and receivers, and those that were intrusted with the King's money, were to be called to account, he intended, that what monies should be recovered of them, should be set apart for a stock for any future event. For so he wrote in his book, "The arrearages of the surveyors and auditors of the "courts shall be left for a treasure, or not dismembered."

The King's computation.

In fine, it was not far from this time, that the King applied himself to compute his own debts, and his own treasure, thus:

	£.	£.	
Debts owing beyond sea - - - - -		200,000	
Debts owing to him - - -	100,000	200,000	
The subsidy, which he reckoned at -	80,000		
Superfluous church plate - -	20,000		
Besides this he had,			
In the Household - -	20,000		
Of the Mints - - -	10,000		
Michaelmas Rent - -	10,000		
Treasure - - -	100,000		
Bullion - - - -	34,000		347
Lands to be sold - -	3000		
Fustians - - - -	14,000		

Thus did this young Prince mind his royal estate, and look after his treasure, as knowing it the very nerves and marrow of the flourishing condition of a kingdom.

BOOK II.

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CHAP. XIII.

Matters of Ireland. The Emperor raises money in the Low Countries. Antwerp. The English merchants there. Buckholt's process against the King.

Disturbances in the north of Ireland pacified.

MATTERS in Ireland about this time stood thus. There had been lately some disturbances and commotions in the northern parts, by O'Conor, and some other Irish lords, blown up, as it seems, by the French and the Scots: making use of the practice of one George Paris, a discontented Irishman; who, at length, in hope of his lands, made discovery, and had letters promising him pardon, and more favour. Which coming to the knowledge of the Queen of Scots, he was clapt up in Striveling Castle, when he was about coming out of Scotland into England. Seasonable opposition being made against these stirs, by some of the nobility and chief men in that kingdom, and by the cities of Dublin and Drogheda, under the Lord Deputy, things were appeased, and set at quiet. Whereupon, in October, the King sent several letters; one to the Lord Chancellor and Council; another to the Master of the Rolls there; another to the Master of the Ordnance; and a fourth to the Earl of Desmond; signifying, that as the Lord Deputy there had advertised his Majesty of their diligent service done to him in the expedition northwards, so he would not neglect to keep the same in good remembrance to requite, when occasion should require. And two other letters of the same effect were sent to Drogheda and Dublin. The King was now busy for settling the whole state of Ireland in good order.

The Lord Deputy sent for over.

At this juncture, the King sent for Crofts, the lord deputy, over to his presence, the letters importing, That forasmuch as certain articles sent unto the Privy Council could not be resolved and answered, without present conference with him, by his Majesty and the Council, he should repair thither, leaving the charge of that realm, during his absence, to the Chancellor there, the two Justices of the Bench and Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, jointly to minister the affairs of that realm, by the advice of such other counsellors there as they should think needful. This letter was dated October 27. Yet, counsels altering, 348 November 7. following, letters came from the King to the said Lord Deputy, to nominate and appoint Sir Thomas Cusake to supply the place of chief governor of the realm, during the absence of him the said deputy, together with Sir Gerard Aylmer, justice of the Bench. And another letter, of the same date, was sent to the Earl of Desmond, to aid and assist them, together with thanks given him for his former service. But upon some new advice, it was not safe for the deputy as yet to be absent from Ireland; for November 26, letters were sent to him, to stay his coming away for a while, till the King's pleasure should be further signified unto him.

But stayed: and why. King's Journal.

The reason whereof was this: letters had been seized in Boloignois, by some Burgundians in the Emperor's service: which letters were writ from the Queen of Scots to the French King; importing, how she had sent O'Conor's son into Ireland, to comfort the lords of Ireland, who had lately been defeated, and to encourage them to attempt new disturbances. These letters being brought to the Queen Regent, she ordered Mons. De Langie, the treasurer of Flanders, to acquaint Mr. Gressham, the King's agent, (then at Antwerp,) with them: who, November 24, arrived at the English court, and shewed these matters there: whereupon counsels were taken to send letters by Henry Knowles, a special messenger, in post, to stay the deputy, if he met him in Ireland, that he might watch these intended mutinies, and be provided against them; with advice that he should pretend his own private affairs, for his present stay, and to prolong his going from week to week, lest it might be perceived. Knowles also carried with him articles concerning the whole state of that realm; which the deputy was willed to answer. For the which purpose he had been sent for over, to give satisfaction thereunto by his own mouth. For this discovery and intelligence, a letter of thanks was written to the Regent; signifying withal a desire of further amity.

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Coinage of monies in Dublin.

In November some stop was put to the coinage in Dublin, upon the death of Martin Pirry, esq. treasurer of the mints there. But December 25, letters were wrote to the Council, to give order to the officers of the mint to proceed to the coinage of such further portions of bullion, as ought to have been coined by the grant made to the said Pirry, so the same exceeded not the value of 8000*l*. more than was already coined. For it was but in July last, that an indenture was made between the King and this Pirry, witnessing, that for divers urgent causes and considerations, the King, minding for the present to coin a certain mass of bullion within his mints erected in the city and castle of Dublin in Ireland, had ordained and made the said Martin to be master or treasurer of his said mint, Oliver Daubeny to be the comptroller thereof, and William Williams to be assay-master: and where his Highness had delivered to the said Martin the quantity and sum of 1500 pound weight of fine silver of troy weight, his Majesty willed, granted, and agreed, that the said Martin Pirry, his executors and assigns, with the comptroller and assay-master of the said mint for the time being, and with such monies, ministers, and labourers, as to them should seem good, should melt, work, and make in the foresaid mint, the said quantity and sum of 1500 pounds
349 weight of fine silver, into one manner of silver monies, which should be called *pieces of six pence*, running for six pence of lawful money of England; and should be of such weight, as sixty and twelve of them should weigh one pound weight of troy; and that every pound weight of the same monies should hold and be three ounces of fine silver out of the fire, and nine ounces of allay: which his Majesty had ordained to be standard.

The Emperor raises money for the war.

In the winter of this year, great preparations were making for carrying on the war between the Emperor and the French, who was somewhat too hard for the former the last summer. And what means were made in the Low Countries by the Queen Regent, for the raising of money, the nerves of war, and which the Emperor had extraordinary need of, Chamberlain, the King's ambassador, informed the Council, in a letter writ January 8: "That on Thursday last, the "proposition to be made unto the states, both temporal and "spiritual, assembled at Bruges, arrived from the Emperor, to whom it was sent to be seen; and it was immediately propounded there. Wherein the Queen herself, as "it was said, played the jolly woman, exhorting the states "and burgesses at this time to help the Emperor, being "provoked to a war against his will: whereto the preeminence of answering fell at this time to Flanders, because "the demand was there made. They of that town answered "for all Flanders before Brabant, which else ought to have "had the preference. And so declared themselves to be "willing to aid the Emperor's Majesty, like good subjects, "according to their power. Forthwith the next day her "Majesty had all the commoners of the towns of Brabant "and Flanders before her, in her privy chamber, where all "men were put out, officers of the household, and others, "except the Council. The day on which the ambassador "wrote his letter, the rest for Holland and Zeland, Artois, "and Henault, Freezland, and others, were before her Majesty in the same place.

"The demands made by the Queen were, from Flanders "480,000 gulderen, from Brabant 400,000. Henault and "Artois did pay less always, because they were nigh the "enemy, and should feel the war more than the rest. And "those said sums it was agreed to be assessed upon them: "Zeland was cessed at 40,000 gulderen; the bishopric of "Utrecht at 20,000. The clergy were not mentioned in "the sums above specified. Besides, these demands of the "Emperor were to be put out to rent for the sum of "600,000 gulders: which, after the wars ended, the subjects were like to redeem themselves. Howbeit the thing "was so raised upon their meat and drink, that it would be "almost not felt. The answer to this demand was to be "made at Brussels within ten days.

"Here were now taken great determinations to bend a

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"mighty power against the French King. And the Emperor had a great quantity of gold and silver of the "Indies, come by land from Jeanes thither; which was "put to be forged into money. But yet he sought nevertheless to have what he could by finance, and other "means. And a person of the ambassador's acquaintance, "newly come from Zeland, had learned certainly, that sixty "ships of war, that were prepared to have gone to the sea "with the Admiral, were then all dismissed. And order was "taken for to excuse the charge of 100,000 gulders monthly 350 "for the same. And that every of the towns of Holland, "and Zeland, and Flanders, should rig out ships of themselves, for which they had an ordinance of their own; and "the Emperor should be at no more cost, but the wages of "certain soldiers in every ship. And so they should of "themselves both keep the seas, and convoy their merchants "ships from time to time."

England keeps itself disengaged.

In all this time England kept herself disengaged to either party, and was only a spectator, however well it wished to one side more than the other. Yet jealousies were conceived of her. Skipperius, the Emperor's admiral, in some discourse with the English ambassador, said, that it was told him, that 2 or 3000 horsemen should be sent out of England to France: which, he added, he could not believe. And the ambassador assured him it was untrue.

A friar hinders a truce between the Emperor and the Turk.

The Emperor, that he might have the less upon his hand, was making some good advance toward a truce with the Turk: which a friar, of great pretended sanctity, did endeavour to obstruct; probably set on work by the French: and the saying went, that he practised with the Turk to have undone again all that was there in so good forwardness. Whereupon the report was, that John Baptista Guastaldo, a great officer of the Emperor's, had caught him, and put him to death: which, some thought, would make a shrewd stir among the Hungarians, who, it seems, had a great opinion of him.

Oppression of the English mer-

The Emperor's treasurer general, called Mons. Langie, came to Antwerp in February, to see and mark how all chants at Antwerp.

things went there, and to prove what money might be found to serve the Emperor: and seeking among the merchants to take up 60,000 gilders, could not find the one half. And, as it was told the English ambassador, (who also wrote this to the Lords,) there was no money to be had at finance in Antwerp under 16 in the hundred for one year; and very little so: for the wealth of the place depended upon the English trade; and there were now such heavy impositions upon merchandises brought thither, upon this necessity of the Emperor, that the English merchants had of late imported very few commodities: and that rich place began now to be very poor. This being perceived, some part of the duty had been taken off; but still other impositions were required, contrary to the intercourse for trade with England. The Treasurer, in talk with an English merchant, that had been suitor to him, asked him, why their ships with merchandise came not? and said, that now the impost of the half hundred penny was dissolved, the merchants had no cause to complain. Yes, said the merchant, we have a great deal more wrong done us, directly against the liberties we ought to enjoy by the intercourse: and with that, told him of paying 20*s.* upon a last of herrings now, more than ever was before. Especially, he told him, that he thought they ought not to exact any such thing upon what was carried from thence into England. To that the Treasurer had nothing to say, but that it was victuals: and that we might in England do the like upon victuals, when we would. But here, as the English ambassador added in the letter wherein he related all this, neither the Treasurer had regard, nor our merchant did remember to tell him, that their people did fish the herrings upon our coast through our sufferance: which did not require in friendship, that therefore there should be exacted upon the same, greater customs than in 351
time past. The Treasurer leaving off talk, said, if the English merchants were any way molested, and did complain, they should have redress: for they had indeed been very hardly used before, when they appealed for justice in their courts.

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The English courted to renew their trade at Antwerp.

In some talk between the President and the English ambassador, in the conclusion, he asked him concerning a poor English merchant, that had been long trained there in the law by the Countess of Meghen, very uncharitably, and against all right and conscience. He told the President, that the man was by long suit undone, and almost desperate how to obtain justice. Whereupon the President said, he should have sentence shortly; and that, said he, in such sort, that it shall appear, that good justice is ministered without regard to Madam de Meghen, though she be a great woman. Whereat the ambassador made this consequence to the Lords of the Council, to whom he made this relation, that they might perceive, that at these folk's hands, with a little abstinence, [and forbearance of trade,] favour and gentleness would be achieved, rather than they would forego our merchants, which at that time they truly stood in great doubt of.

Antwerp almost undone by impositions.

The rulers of Antwerp had been very earnestly in hand with the Queen and her counsellors, for to call in their placarts and ordinances late made; which, by experience in their town, they did perceive to be the utter ruin of the negociation, which they laboured to have free and at liberty, as in the time past it had been: which, they said, had been the only enriching of those Low Countries throughout, and that the whole welfare thereof depended upon the same free negociation. And they had, among many other things, persuaded the Queen, that without a short redress, there would be, by reason of the same, such a sort of idle people, as they should not be able to rule; who were before maintained by the trade of the place, and now had nothing to do.

Buckholt's complaint.

There was about this time one Buckholt, an Almain officer, that gave much trouble to Chamberlain, the ambassador. For he had lately exhibited a request and writing unto the Privy Council of the Lady Regent, of certain sums of money owing from England to him: which request and writing was brought unto the ambassador in a judicial way, by a sergeant at arms, by order of the said Council. This

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Buckholt was to have served King Henry VIII. under the regiment of one Risenburgh, about five years past. Upon the sight of the said request, with the demand of the Privy Council, that the ambassador should answer to the same, he sought access, and shewed the President and Council, that this man had received great sums of money of the King's father; but that he, with the rest of his Almains, in their journey, had devoured and consumed it, with overdoing of every kind of service, by raising great displeasure, devasting and spoiling the Emperor's country of Liege, and his subjects there; wholly refusing to go to some place, as they were bound by their oath and covenant; like as divers commissaries sent then by the Emperor unto the King's commissaries (whereof this ambassador was one) could testify. Besides also he shewed, that they kept one and other of the King's commissaries prisoners, and entreated them as evil as they could. Moreover he told them, that whereas the said Buckholt did claim debt of the King's Majesty for that journey, he would prove, by acquittances signed and sealed by him, that he had of the King above 20,000 gilders 352 more than he ought, although he had served three months, and yet served not one hour. Whereupon the ambassador further declared unto the Regent's council, how the King's father had caused him to convent the said Buckholt, Risenburgh, and others, before the Emperor; to the intent he might have knowledge of their treasons used against him: which the said ambassador opened sufficiently before Skipperius and Naves, commissaries appointed by the Emperor to understand the same. And withal told them, the King had not caused him to convent these men before the Emperor, meaning to enter in judgment there with the parties; but thinking the Emperor, of good zeal towards his Majesty, would have punished the traitors, being under his obeisance, for example to all others, to deal with any prince of honour after the like manner; like as his Majesty would have done, if any of his subjects had done the like unto the Emperor. But, he said, it appeared that the Emperor had not had any such consideration. And whereas now before

The ambassador's answer.

them the said Buckholt did attempt to seek justice against the King's Majesty, and convent him to answer him in law, as though the King were bound to their jurisdiction; he told them, that he hoped they would have the same consideration that appertained in that behalf; no more seeking to judge the question between the King's Majesty and his servant, than the King should do between the Emperor and his servant; which were not reasonable. And whereas the said Buckholt did mean to make his action good against him [the ambassador] because he was the King's Majesty's commissary, he said, he then acted under him; and the same commission was now out; and his account, with Buckholt's acquittances, yielded up upon the same. And he prayed them moreover, to consider that he was his Majesty's ambassador, and a public person: and therefore not to consent that the said Buckholt, or any other, should convent him to answer, whereas he was not bound.

Buckholt's process in the year 1548.

This troublesome man had been making these his demands some years before, namely, in the year 1548, when Secretary Smith was ambassador at Brussels, together with Chamberlain. Then he urged to the said Secretary and Chamberlain, that there [at Brussels] his debt should be adjudged. Chamberlain told him, that the King of England, their master, was not bound to stand to their judgments. He would have had Chamberlain to have given him in caution to stand there at justice with him. But Chamberlain told him, he was revoked from that charge long since. But that if he would come into England, he should have safe conduct to go and come; and there it should be tried what was due to him. And so should he do better than to slander the King, saying that his Majesty owed him, when indeed rather he owed the King. Besides, that no service was done by him, nor the rest, that had among them 10,000*l.* which grieved the ambassador to think on. Also by Secretary Smith's letter to the Protector, about the same time, it appeared, that Buckholt had been favourably heard at the Emperor's court at Brussels; and according to the tenor of which, the Emperor had wrote in

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his favour. But the secretary, and the other ambassador, answered him, that the King's Majesty had made a reasonable answer to the Emperor, and that so much was offered to him as could be demanded, *viz.* that bringing his accounts into England, if he could approve more to be due to him 353 than was paid, he should be reasonably satisfied: as again, if he had too much, it was reason he should repay it. His learned men he brought with him thought this reasonable. But he stood much, that the matter was begun there, and therefore there it should be answered. And needs he would have had Sir Thomas Chamberlain to have found him sureties, and to have answered there. They both answered, that Chamberlain was not sent for that purpose, and that it had not been seen, that a king should be required to answer in another prince's court, especially seeing Buckholt should be actor, [*i. e.* plaintiff.] After much reasoning to and fro, he required Smith to see and hear his accounts, and to make the report to the Protector. To this, Smith refused not. But when he came to Skipperius to have his process, he came again to the ambassador's, and said, he could not get it of him. To the which they said they could not do without it. And so for that time they were rid of him. But he afterwards persisted in his pretences, as was shewed before. By all which may be seen, how favourable and partial this government was to their own subjects, when there happened any competition between them and foreigners, though they were crowned heads.